THE ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, 1593-1676.

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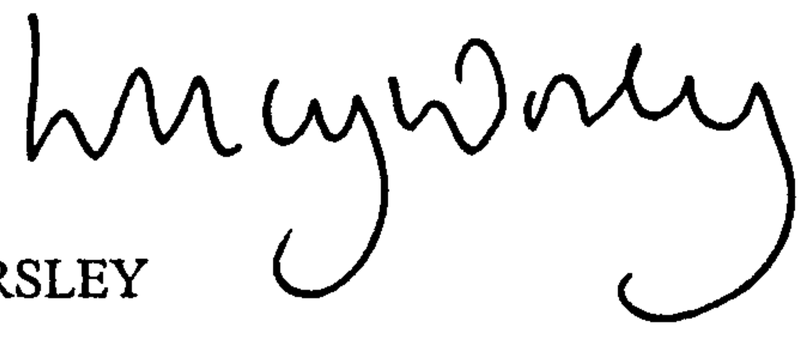
I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other University for a degree.

Signature: 

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the architectural patronage of William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676). It consists of several great houses, chiefly Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, Welbeck Abbey and Nottingham Castle, Nottinghamshire, Newcastle House, Middlesex, and minor works in Antwerp, Yorkshire and Northumberland. The assumption that there is a connection between building and power is reassessed in the light of William's building programme. While it can be argued that there are connections between its timetable and his court career, this ultimately dissatisfies as an explanation. William's political career was characterised by disappointment, as Chapter One shows, and a level of royal toleration for the biting criticism aimed at him for his behaviour and conduct in the Civil War. This criticism extended right into the heart of his household, with allegations of sexual misbehaviour being made by and against its members. An underlying explanation for his building programme, therefore, which is also valid for the periods when he was estranged from the court, arises from the micro-politics of the household and family. In Chapter Two, an exploration of the building process reveals the limits of William's agency to control his architectural self-image. His amorphous household emerges as a generator of the Cavendish style discussed in Chapter Three, which fuses positive local and historical characteristics with the classical knowledge that William acquired in London and Italy, and which has previously been privileged by art historians. Chapter Four examines the buildings' function: the household hierarchy and access to William's presence were constantly contested. William's buildings, then, are seen not as symbols of power, but of power struggles. Chapter Five argues that they capture an exchange in a discourse between court and country, between the local and international influences within their patron's cultural capital, and between William and his own family. A second, factual volume, containing a Gazetteer of William's projects supports the argument.

PREFACE

This project was inspired by reading Mark Girouard's *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* in 1995. This book introduced me to Bolsover Castle and to architectural history, interests that led to me join English Heritage in 1997 to work on the Bolsover Castle redevelopment project. My thanks are due to English Heritage for acting as an enlightened employer in allowing me to develop my research at Bolsover (which led in 2000 to the writing of a new guidebook) into this thesis by sponsoring me throughout.

Bolsover Castle interested me because it seemed both dense in meaning yet difficult to understand. It soon became obvious that it is in some ways typical of William Cavendish and his family's numerous building projects, many of which no longer survive. In the past, the eccentricity of this 'Cavendish' style, and of the British version of classicism in general, has been ascribed to a provincial ignorance or inability accurately to recreate continental classicism. This is so inadequate as an explanation of the creative eccentricity of the Cavendish style that it seemed necessary to seek an alternative. Avoiding qualitative judgements, this thesis takes into account the style's important and positive local characteristics, and then seeks to explain how the style may relate to a social reality. This study of William Cavendish's architectural patronage argues that far from being an autonomous patron with a clearly-defined agency, his relationship with his disordered household was an important underlying motivation behind the style of his buildings. It is a case-study that demonstrates the application of this particular theory to this particular patron, but it may well have a wider relevance to seventeenth-century architecture in general. William Cavendish inspired this approach because his architectural patronage was characterised by an extreme of eccentric mannerism that is otherwise hard to explain, and the Portland Archive and the other documentary sources suggest that his household was characterised by particularly frequent and violent disputes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have already acknowledged my debt to Mark Girouard's *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House.* Geoffrey Trease's *Portrait of a Cavalier*, Lynn Hulse's various articles and Timothy Raylor's volume of *The Seventeenth Century* on the Cavendish circle were particularly useful among the secondary works on William Cavendish.

My grateful thanks are due to many people, but first and foremost to Maurice Howard, who has been the most thoughtful and inspiring of supervisors I could have hoped for. I am also particularly grateful to Lynn Hulse for her generous encouragement in the early stages of my project. I would also like to thank, in no particular order, the following people for their shared information or useful discussions, and I have given an indication of their area of expertise where relevant: Charles Avery, (Giambologna); Catherine Barne, (heraldry); Susan Bracken, (Chinese influences); Anne Brookes, (engraved sources for Bolsover Castle); Rosalys Coope, (especial thanks for lending her unpublished research on Bolsover); Ben Cowell, (Hardwick); David Durant, (Bess of Hardwick); Stephen Freeth, (Guildhall Library); Paula Henderson, (fountains); Adrian Henstock, (Nottinghamshire Archives); David Howarth; James Knowles; Arthur McGregor, (riding houses, the Louvre); Richard Morris; Sir Oliver Millar (Diepenbeke); Christopher Norton, (The King's Manor, York); Michael Partington, (documentary work on the Bolsover project for English Heritage); Annabel Ricketts (especially for the list of fowl from the 1634 entertainment at Bolsover); Christopher Ridgeway, (archivist of Castle Howard Archives); Martin Ripley, (archivist at St Mary's Church, Handsworth, Sheffield); Harry Rowland, (Northumberland); Barney Sloane, (Museum of London Archaeology Service, for his unpublished work on St Mary's Nunnery, Clerkenwell); Nick Smith, (Rare Books Department, Cambridge University Library); David Swinscoe, (Elizabeth Bassett); Alan Tadiello and John Jones, (Balliol College, Oxford); Rutger Tijs, (Antwerp); Anthony Wells-Cole, (engravings); Malcolm Underwood, (archivist, St John's College, Cambridge); Adam White, (sculpture); David Withey, (Finsbury Local Studies Library); Adrian Woodhouse, (the Smithsons); Patrick and Rosemary Wormald, (for hospitality and photographs); Giles Worsley, (riding houses); Sir Marcus and Lady Worsley, (Hovingham Hall); Mr Yorke, (College of Arms); Reverend David Wakefield, (vicar of Car Colston, Flintham and Screveton, Nottinghamshire).

For access to Cavendish buildings, I would like to thank Derek Adlam and Keith Crosland at Welbeck Abbey, and especially Derek for our many useful discussions; Dawn Beer and Charles

Sample at Bothal Castle; Mr and Mrs Boanas at Ogle Castle; Tony and Joy Shaw Browne Cavendish Lodge, Clipstone; the Castle Howard estate for Slingsby Castle; Carl Depauw at the *Rubenshuis*; and of course my most sincere thanks go to John Coulson, Sarah Chapman and all the girls at Bolsover Castle, who have stoically put up with my accidentally taking vital keys home with me several times. Among my other colleagues, I would particularly like to thank Glyn Coppack and Tony Fleming from the former Historic Team, English Heritage East Midlands Region, who were jointly responsible for winding me up and pointing me in the right direction. Later Anthony Streeten let me take a month's unpaid leave at a crucial time for which I am very grateful. I have been privileged to work with my colleagues from the Bolsover Castle project, including Tom Addyman, Mark Askey, Judith Dobie, Nick Hill, Helen Hughes, Richard Lea, Stephen Paine, Richard Sheppard and Mike Sutherill. With particular reference to riding houses, Tom Addyman and those who attended the seminar at Bolsover in September 2000 deserve special thanks: Mark Askey, Nicholas Cooper, Mark Girouard, Nick Hill, Robert Howard, Richard Lea, Richard Sheppard, Elaine Walker and Giles Worsley.

I found that giving papers provided some useful stepping stones, particularly those to the BAAS in September 1999, to the University of Warwick postgraduate art history seminar in October 1999, to the University of Sussex postgraduate research day in July 2000 (I'm also grateful to Mick O'Malley for organising other events at Sussex), and to the conference on Europe at the Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies at the University of Durham in July 2001. The Society for Renaissance Studies kindly awarded me a travel fellowship that enabled me to go to Belgium and the University of Sussex contributed towards reprographic costs.

I am particularly grateful to the people who read and commented on sections in draft form for me: Mark Askey, Stephen Brindle, Tarnya Cooper, Lawrence Stewart Owens, David Swinscoe and John Thorneycroft. Nick Hill and Liz James in particular deserve special thanks for their incisive comments on the entire draft text. I would also like to thank my friends, especially Alan Gardner, Amanda White, Juliet Carey and Tarnya Cooper, and my Attingham Summer School friends, for their encouragement. My friends Katherine Ibbett and Rosa Schiano di Cola also helped with the translations and Mark Hines drew the plans. My final and most important thanks are to my parents, to my dad Peter Worsley, and especially to my mum Enid Worsley, who drove me round the country, and to Mark Hines, on whose kitchen table most of this thesis was written.

A NOTE ON USEAGE

The Smithsons

The spelling of the Smithson family's names has been standardised in this thesis to Robert *Smythson* and John *Smithson* and Huntingdon *Smithson*. Modern writers usually spell John's surname with a 'y,' following Girouard. However, unlike his father, Robert, John spells most commonly spells his name with an 'i' in the contemporary documents.

Charles Cavendish

The elder Sir Charles Cavendish (1553-1617), son of Bess of Hardwick, will be referred to as Charles (I). His second son, Sir Charles Cavendish, William's brother, (d.1654) will be referred to as Charles (II), and William's own son, Charles Cavendish, Viscount Mansfield (1626-1659), will be referred to as Charles (III). See the Family Trees on pp.218-220.

Katherine Cavendish

Charles (I)'s wife, Lady Katherine Cavendish, neé Ogle's name is sometimes spelt with a 'K' and sometimes with a 'C'. However, Katherine seems to have been the more common spelling, and has also been adopted here as it distinguishes her from her mother, Catherine, wife of Cuthbert, seventh Baron Ogle.

Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*

Reference will frequently be made to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. Macray, W.D., Oxford, 1888. Quotations will be made as follows: Clarendon's original book and chapter number, followed by Macray's edition's volume number and page number, for example, Book VIII, Chapter 85, Vol.3, p.382.

Translations

Quotations from documents in foreign languages have been left verbatim in the text, with a translation in the relevant footnote.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the great houses constructed or added to by William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676), in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Northumberland and London. The introduction reviews the historiography of the period and the approaches that have previously been taken to the study of patronage. It then draws attention to the areas of debate that will be explored in the following chapters, outlining the concept of agency as a component of self-fashioning, and examining what has been written about the seventeenth-century themes of classicism and privacy.

Any art object is studied today as the archaeological "deposit of a social relationship," a relationship that is disguised by its reification.[1] Mirroring developments in literary theory, where the 'death of the author' has resulted in the overwhelming dominance of the text and context, this attitude justifies art history as a way of studying society. However, this now-familiar approach in fact simplifies a more complicated reality. Artefacts can only mediate, rather than define, relationships as meanings always compete within objects, and the following chapters will argue a particular set of functional meanings that must compete with the more conventional explanations for the appearance of this group of buildings. However, the argument presented here about the importance to William Cavendish of his 'family' - a word used in two senses for both his blood-relations and for his household as a whole - can provide a cohesive alternative explanation for architecture which adds to our knowledge of seventeenth-century society as well as building.

1 Historiography

The seventeenth century has been a historiographical battleground for many years, and at every point the changes in its interpretation have matched changing interpretations of William Cavendish. The new professional historians of the nineteenth century interpreted seventeenth-century Britain as a country already preparing itself for future greatness. Parliament and the Parliamentarians were seen as the key figures in a 'British revolution,' in opposition to a monarchy that isolated itself from the country. This was the approach of S.R. Gardiner, for example, who saw a 'Puritan revolution' creating the modern Church of England: one of the defining characteristics of his Britain, and of course, of himself.[2]

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1 Baxandall, Michael, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford, 1972, p.1.

2 Gardiner, S.R., *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I, 1637-1649*, London, 1882; *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660*, Oxford, 1889.

These attitudes were long-lasting. Even when art historians attempted to extend politics into cultural manifestations, the idea that the Puritans had somehow been 'right' lingered on. A straightforward story used to be told of the arrival of continental influences in British society, describing a court that became so obsessed with international style that it alienated both the conservative and puritanical through its leanings towards absolutist control.[3] The conventional picture of Charles I's patronage, therefore, sees the cold classicism of his Banqueting House, for example, as a dangerous taste for foreign absolutism that encouraged the Civil War. This supposed link between architecture and high politics was the assumption that this thesis set out either to explain or, as it turned out, to question.

By the 1960s, it began to be assumed that the political relationships that mattered were not so much debates in parliament, but the face-to-face conflicts over minutiae in the localities. Many young social historians turned to detailed studies of counties, seeing them as microcosms of the national conflict, and William Cavendish is occasionally encountered in these surveys as an agent of royal power in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.[4] Eventually, however, some of these local historians began to be accused of triviality, and from the late 1970s onwards there was a return to 'high politics.' The Revisionists extended the localist perspective developed for the shires by looking at personal interaction at court. But wary of Whiggish grand schemes, historians such as Conrad Russell and Kevin Sharpe created their antithesis.[5] They argued that events were the haphazard results of the chance meetings of those who happened to hold office and their petty pursuit of personal gain.

In the 1980s, a more integrated view was taken of the institutions marginalised both by the old Parliament-centred historiography and by the reaction against it. Revisionism had also tended to concentrate on Parliament, even if just to show that it was a less cohesive institution than previously thought. The royal court increasingly became to be seen as the focus of politics by historians such

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3 For example, Stone, Lawrence, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1965, pp.711-712.

4 For example, Dias, Jill, 'Politics and Administration in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1590-1640,' D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1973; Cust, Richard, *The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1616-28*, Oxford, 1987, pp.197, 248; Seddon, Peter, 'The Nottinghamshire Elections for the Short Parliament of 1640,' *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Vol.80, 1976, pp.64-65.

5 Russell, Conrad, *The reign of Charles I, 1625-1642*, London, 1974; idem, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, The Ford Lectures, University of Oxford, 1987-8; idem, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-42*, Oxford, 1991; Sharpe, Kevin, ed., *Faction and Parliament, Essays on early Stuart history*, Oxford, 1978.

as Neil Cuddy and David Starkey.[6] Biographies of Charles I appeared, including Charles Carlton's psychoanalytical approach, and Malcolm Smuts began to develop political explanations of what he terms the 'material culture of majesty.'[7] Sharpe went so far as to claim that the court was not "a retreat from Reality, but rather a model for the reformed government of Church and State."[8] His proposition that Charles I did not distinguish between ceremony and power is one of the central arguments to be tested - in a different context - by this thesis. William Cavendish explicitly spelt it out. "What preserved you kings more than Ceremony?" he asked the future Charles II, as a boy under William's instruction.[9] "Seremoney though itt is nothing in itt Selfe, yett it doth Every thing," he wrote years later, in his *Advice* to Charles II, "for what is a king, more then a Subiecte, Butt for Seremoney, & order, when that fayles him, hees Ruiend."[10] The ambiguous relationship between the ceremonial or official order of the household and its reality will be examined in Chapter Five.

Court historians have sometimes underestimated the complexity of the process by which cultural imagery encapsulates political meanings. Bolsover Castle, in particular, has suffered from being seen, straightforwardly, as a house built in expectation of receiving a royal visit, from which it was hoped court advancement would stem. Its garden and the 1634 masque, for example, can be treated

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6 For example, Cuddy, Neil, 'The Revival of the Entourage,' and Starkey, David, 'Court History in Perspective,' in Starkey, David, ed., *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, London and New York, 1987, pp.173-225, 1-25.

7 Carlton, Charles, *Charles I, The Personal Monarch*, London and New York, 1983, second edition 1995; Smuts, R. Malcolm, 'The Political Failure of Stuart Cultural Patronage,' in Lytle, G.F. and Orgel, S., ed., *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, pp.165-190; idem, *Court Culture and the origins of a royalist tradition in Early Stuart England*, Philadelphia, 1987; idem, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty,' *The Stuart Court and Europe*, Cambridge, 1996, pp.86-112.

8 Sharpe, Kevin, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England*, London, 1989, p.107. These ideas were prefigured in Yates, Frances, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London and Boston, 1975; Orgel, Stephen, *The Illusion of Power, Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Berkeley and London, 1975; Strong, Roy, *Art and Power, Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650*, Woodbridge, 1984.

9 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.112r, 'The Earl of Newcastle's Letter of Instructions to Prince Charles.'

10 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, William Cavendish's *Advice* to Charles II, 1658/9, p.52. This must have been a favourite axiom as Margaret also quotes it in *The Life of ... William Cavendishe*, London, 1667, p.168. The copy of the *Advice* at Welbeck, published in Strong, A.S., *A catalogue of letters and other historical documents exhibited in the library at Welbeck*, London, 1903, is in William's own handwriting. The Bodleian Library's fair copy has been checked for this thesis. A modern edition has been produced as *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, ed. Slaughter, T.P., Philadephia, 1984; see also Anzilotti, Gloria Italiano, *An English Prince. Newcastle's Machiavellian Political Guide to Charles II*, Pisa, 1988.

as ways of flattering the king.[11] Similarly, increasingly ingenious attempts to impose interpretations linking day-to-day court politics to masques, for example, continue to be made by David Howarth, John Newman, John Peacock and others.[12]

On the other hand, a more sophisticated view of art objects or entertainments produced by royal patronage is that they enabled the subject to reject or modify the ruler's official image. Smuts, for example, explains the political 'failure' of Stuart royal culture through the absence of any evidence for intentions for its 'success' in controlling opinion.[13] In his view, court culture was under-funded and not connected to an absolutist programme. Masques, too, and in particular household entertainments, in which there have been much recent interest, could be vehicles for subversion or criticism. Anne of Denmark's masques can be seen, for example, as complaints about her lack of freedom to choose her own household officers.[14]

However, studies of individual patrons in particular have suffered from the court-centred attitude that these historians still encouraged. Monographs on Arundel and a host of other courtiers have been written in the context of the court, or a binary relationship with it. The subject is usually emphatically *not* at court when in Italy, Ireland or retirement.[15] Something much more ambiguous comes over in one of the best-known texts connected to William Cavendish: Ben Jonson's royal

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11 Gordon, D.J., 'Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.12, 1949, pp.152-278, reprinted in *The Renaissance Imagination, Essays and Lectures by D.J. Gordon*, ed. Orgel, S., Berkeley and London, 1975; Strong, Roy, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979 and 1998, pp.199-200; Barton, Anne, Barton, 'Harking back to Elizabeth: Ben Jonson and Caroline Nostalgia,' *Ben Jonson, Dramatist*, Cambridge, 1984, p.300.

12 Peacock, John, 'Jones' Stage Architecture and its sources,' *Art Bulletin*, Vol.64, No.2, 1982, pp.195-216; idem, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones, The European Context*, Cambridge, 1995; Howarth, David, 'The politics of Inigo Jones,' in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, Cambridge, 1993, pp.68-89, Newman, John, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture,' in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Sharpe, Kevin, and Lake, Peter, Basingstoke, 1994, pp.229-256.

13 Smuts, (1981), pp.165-190; idem, (1987).

14 Lewalski, Barbara, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, London, 1993, p.22.

15 Huxley, G., *Endymion Porter: The Life of a Courtier*, London, 1959; Wedgwood, C.V., *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641, A Revaluation*, London, 1961; Lockyer, Roger, *Buckingham, the life and political career of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1981; Howarth, David, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, New Haven and London, 1985; Merritt, F., ed., *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, Cambridge, 1996.

masque of 1634.[16] One of its key messages could not have been calculated to please the court. Ben Jonson's well-known dispute with Inigo Jones, the favourite court architect of the moment, was dramatised in Jonson's depiction of Jones as the buffoon Coronel Vitruvius.[17] If a piece of entertainment can be a way of mediating power between individuals, so, then can a building, and it can be argued that William's *failure* to build in the latest style, like his tactless masque, contributed to his court disappointments. This failure, it will be argued, was partly the result of William's difficulty in focussing the resources of his extended household, of which Ben Jonson was loosely a member. The household's interests were not primarily courtly advancement, but the celebration of locality, although this too could be positive in a courtly context. Chapter One will argue that William's court life was characterised by a sense of failure, despite his advancement up the peerage, despite his self-publicity and despite his burial in Westminster Abbey under an inscription giving him the ultimate sobriquet of the 'Loyall Duke.' It comes over in the strong strand of criticism that survives in the documentary records of his lifetime, and he occasionally even spells it out himself. In 1630, for example, he wrote to his mentor Strafford after his successful but unpopular collection of the local fines of knighthood. Instead of reward, he complained he had received "little thankes" and had "taken a Great dell of paynes In Vayne."[18] The long-awaited Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was in some ways an anti-climax, as William found his influence at court limited, and he retired to his country estates. His chaplain sympathetically preached a double-edged sermon at Welbeck on 19th May, 1661, taking his text from Psalm 118: "This Stone which the builders refused, it become the Head-stone of the Corner."[19] However, William's buildings could have had a positive effect in local terms, irrespective of the court, and his patronage of Jonson's 'courtesies of place' was an equally important aspect of his masque at Bolsover.[20]

2 The Patron

What approaches have previously been taken to the study of patrons? Studies of individuals have taken increasingly complex approaches, developing from what might be termed 'naïve biography,'

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16 BL Harleian MS 4955, ff.199r-f.202, 'The King and Queene's Entertainment at Boulsouer, July 1634'; Lindley, David, ed., *Court Masques*, Oxford, 1995, pp.194-99.

17 Gordon, (1949), p.175; Brown, Cedric, 'Courtesies of Place and Arts of Diplomacy in Ben Jonson's last two entertainments for Royalty,' *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol.9, No.2, 1994, pp.147-171.

18 Sheffield City Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford Papers, Vol.12, f.151.

19 Ellis, Clement, *A SERMON Preached on the 19th of May 1661 ... Before His EXCELLENCY WILLIAM Ld MARQVIS of NEWCSTLE. at his House of WELBECK*, Oxford, 1661.

20 The term was coined by Brown, (1994).

where the facts are selected to fit a highly judgmental picture. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), was an early master of this genre, and his thumbnail sketches of his main characters use striking details to create a quirky but misleading picture. William's reputation, for example, has never recovered from Clarendon's condemnation of his "delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted" during the campaign which led to the defeat at Marston Moor.[21] Geoffrey Trease's romantic biography of 1979 attempted to turn this image around, showing William Cavendish as an impulsive but a loyal and talented man.[22] Readable biography of this kind provides a constant background to more transient intellectual fashions.[23]

It is inevitable that modern readers will also remember Mark Girouard's similarly-striking sketch of William in *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*: "He is a man of whom it is impossible not to be fond, so gentle was he, so brave, so tolerant, so easy. He had a genius for getting on with people ... He was, in fact, a hopeless and incurable dilettante..."[24] It is difficult but important to set aside these preoccupations in favour of a more contextual view of William Cavendish as a product of his family, household and locality, rather than simply as a personality. Susan Frye found, in writing about Elizabeth I, that "even updated biographies inadvertently invoke the received story of the late queen of famous memory."[25] Like Elizabeth's, William Cavendish's life is defined for us by the surviving documents. But this thesis will argue that his buildings should *not* be added to the list of surviving artefacts merely as evidence for the construction of his self, but as a record of his relationships with other people and his household.

The biographer's interest in the nature of the individual developed into a school emerging in literary studies in the 1980s that treated the individual as a microcosm for society. It saw itself as reacting against the humanism of the nineteenth century that had caused Burckhardt to argue that the Renaissance created a modern 'sense of self.' The so-called New Historicists placed literary works

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21 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. Macray, W.D., Oxford, 1888, Book VIII, Chapter 85, Vol.III, p.383.

22 Trease, Geoffrey, *A Portrait of a Cavalier*, London, 1979.

23 For example, Spence, Richard T., *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, 1590-1676*, Stroud, 1997, p.252.

24 Girouard, Mark, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, Yale, 1983, pp.246-7.

25 Frye, Susan, *Elizabeth I, the Competition for Representation*, New York, 1993, p.8.

back in their historical contexts, and in looking for evidence of 'self-fashioning,' concluded that selfhood is a construct.[26] It has survived as a useful tool even though it has been realised that historians tend to recognise 'selves' only when they share modern concerns. In fact, Terry Eagleton goes as far as to say that historicist themes always "cropped up somewhere in the work of Michel Foucault, or had some fairly direct bearing on the somewhat parlous condition of present-day American culture."[27]

A more holistic picture of a single patron emerges from combining the efforts of historians investigating different avenues of patronage. Cardinal Wolsey has been treated in this way: his different fields of influence have been assessed in comparison to other English patrons by specialists, thereby enabling the editors to position him in a European context.[28] Howarth has examined Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646) and his collecting without explicitly searching for an individual, but this theme of self-hood emerges nonetheless.[29] One of the keys to understanding Arundel, Howarth argues, is the new art of *cortesia*, propagated by continental fashions and writers such as Castiglione. Howarth describes how Arundel's Italian experiences moulded him into the embodiment of *cortesia* that won him renown in England, and Chapter Three of this thesis examines how his kinsman William Cavendish was similarly affected. The point can be illustrated in reverse by Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), whose life span was so very nearly identical to William's. She, too, owned a collection of northern castles, but unlike Arundel, came to define herself in opposition to these models of courtly, social behaviour. She provides good material for historians of self-fashioning, because, as Alice Friedman admits, her compulsive diary-keeping provides the necessary evidence in abundance.[30] But her archaising buildings have not

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26 For example, see Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Chicago, 1980; Dewald, Jonathan, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture, France, 1570-1715*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1993, pp.1-14; Howard, Maurice, 'Self-Fashioning and the Classical Moment,' in *Renaissance Bodies*, ed. Llewellyn, Nigel, and Gent, Lucy, London, 1990, pp.198-217; Verheyen, Egon, 'The Palace as a Symbol of Federigo's Fame,' in *The Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, Images of Love and Politics*, Baltimore and London, 1977, pp.21-23.

27 Eagleton, Terry *An Introduction to Literary Theory*, Oxford, second edition, 1996, p.198.

28 Gunn, S., and Lindley, P., ed., *Cardinal Wolsey, Church, State and Art*, Cambridge, 1991.

29 Howarth, (1985), especially pp.2, 149, 157.

30 Friedmann, Alice, 'Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts,' in *Albion's Classicism, The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Gent, Lucy, New Haven and London, 1995, pp.359-376; see also Parry, Graham, 'The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford,' in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, ed. Howarth, David, Cambridge, 1993, pp.202-218.

been assessed as part of her self-image. Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw write them off as being of only 'psychological' interest, because they do not fit easily into their thesis of a teleological tidal flood of developing classicism.[31] Her decision to repudiate classicism, although she had been married to the Earl of Pembroke when Wilton was being built, is extraordinary to those who consider its arrival a kind of triumphal progress through history. She describes how, paraphrasing Jonson, "the marble pillars of Knole and Wilton were to [her] oftentimes but the gay Arbours of Anguish."[32] This negative view of classicism is important, and draws attention to the survival and revival of local traditions that play a similarly underestimated part in the Cavendish houses and the self-definition of their builders' family.

Another strand of self-fashioning is the concept that individuals signalled one overriding meaning out of all the competing meanings which can be read into an art object. Attempts to 'unravel the hidden meaning' have dominated huge swathes of recent art history of the Renaissance, and in particular of Bolsover Castle.[33] However, it is ultimately questionable in value because, as David Freedburg says, we cannot examine the art of the past in 'its own' terms: "we have seen and learned too much: we cannot see with old eyes."[34] Svetlana Alpers makes the point that this kind of detective work is essentially too simplistic through the emblems of Jacob Cats, for example, which were frequently used as devices in seventeenth-century Dutch interior paintings. They sent commonplace moral messages; examples of shared rather than secret wisdom, and could be 'unravelled' with only a minor effort. The message behind the various situations was not particularly interesting. What *was* new was its representation through the medium of realism. "The question," as Alpers puts it, "is not whether there is a connection, but what that connection tells us about the art."[35] William was almost stating the obvious when he used the Renaissance device of comparing himself with Hercules, or had his designers use particular pattern books or Italian

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31 Mowl, Tim, and Earnshaw, Brian, *Architecture Without Kings, the rise of Puritan classicism under Cromwell*, Manchester, 1995, p.19.

32 Clifford, Anne, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. Clifford, D.J.H., Stroud, 1990, p.94.

33 An early example is Gombrich, E.H., 'Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought,' *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.11, 1948, pp.163-92. For Bolsover, see Strong, (1998), pp.199-200; Raylor, Timothy, ' 'Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue': William Cavendish, Ben Jonson and the Decorative Scheme of Bolsover Castle,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.52, 1999, pp.402-39.

34 Freedberg, David, *The Power of Images, Studies in the History and Theory of Repsonse*, Chicago and London, 1989, p.431.

35 Alpers, Svetlana, *The Art of Describing*, Chicago, 1983, p.229.

engravings for his interior decoration. The question is why he chose to do it through the painted schemes of a mock-medieval castle at Bolsover.

My argument will be that he found the process of building more important than its end product as it involved many members of his family and household, and was a useful way of creating harmony in the achievement of a shared goal. The alternative was in-fighting, disorder, and household chaos, encouraged by his own whimsical and impulsive escapades into inappropriate behaviour. I will argue that this explanation is more valid than the discovery of a 'hidden meaning' based on style and iconography, as the 'family' meaning privileged in this account of William's building has several advantages. It does not preclude the interpretation of the buildings as manifestations of either local or classical styles - or more properly neither - and this avenue is explored in Chapter Three. Nor does it deny them a purely functional explanation as set out in Chapter Four. It does, however, provide an undercurrent bringing together all the disparate strands of evidence available to create a coherent picture. This thesis has therefore taken a new and systematic approach to the whole of the Cavendish documentary archive, searching not just for the conventional source-material of architectural history - accounts, plans, inventories, references to building work - but also for all references to the household and the use of houses.

Another area of evidence that has been frequently left out of interpretations of Bolsover Castle is the fabric itself. In contrast to looking at the patron for evidence of intention, Malcolm Airs rightly claims that "a detailed knowledge of the processes by which the houses were constructed is essential to an understanding of their finished appearance,"[36] filling the gap between the work of art historians and archaeologists. But his article on the 'designing' of five Norfolk houses can only trace the typical emergence of the high-status architect, because of the limitations of the sample and the sources.[37] 'Bottom-up' approaches from craftsmen and masons can be limiting if they treat Baggs, Basil or Smythson as autonomous, creative individuals. John Smithson's name is probably better known among architectural historians than his patron's as a result of Girouard and Airs' work.[38] Chapter Two will show that the categories of maker and patron are simply not applicable in the case of William Cavendish, who took an informed interest in building.

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36 Airs, Malcolm, 'The Designing of Five East Anglian Country Houses, 1505-1637,' *Architectural History*, Vol.21, 1978, p.58.

37 ibid, pp.58-67.

38 See note on useage on p.4 for an explanation of the spellings chosen for the Smythson family's names.

The supposed hierarchy of patron, designer and craftsman no more reflected the real world than did contemporary models of social order, which were designed to create rather than to reproduce social reality. It can be argued that architecture reflects the tensions present during a period of tumultuous social change. It is now customary to conclude that minor interludes of disorder such as the Skimmington procession depicted in the frieze at Montacute, or grain riots, in fact reinforce the overall ordered nature of society.[39] But A.A. Tait sees the world reversed in the architecture of 1640-60, with urban forms being used in the country, and even sees the prevalence of balconies as references to the "notorious or glorious" balcony in Whitehall.[40] At the heart of the debate about the arrival of classicism lies the idea of order, grammar and decorum being imposed. This functional explanation of classicism as a means of imposing order will be discussed in Chapter Five, where it will be demonstrated that the household was far from being the orderly organism implied in books of orders. It is particularly useful that such a book survives from William's time in the household of Prince Charles.[41]

Looking back to that premise that Charles I and his foreign classicism were one of the causes of the Civil War, the stakes are raised in the debate about whether the possessors of power use architectural styles to their own ends. In this thesis, the assumption that buildings are connected with politics - in the sense of "relations, assumptions and contests pertaining to power"[42] - will be laid out, but in a more focussed sense than the conventional connection made between magnificent buildings and court life.

William's buildings transmit a message about the princely qualities of magnificence, the usual rhetoric of power that is often seen in the great houses of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. "Power houses" is the term most frequently-used term since Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* was published in 1978.[43] However, the connection between spending and

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39 For example, see Davis, Natalie Zenom, 'The Reasons of Misrule,' in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, Stanford, 1975, pp.97-123.

40 Tait, A.A., 'Post-Modernism in the 1650s,' in *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism*, Georgian Group Symposium, London, 1989, pp.23-35.

41 BL Harleian MS 7623, 'A Copie of The Booke (assigned by his Maiestie,) of Dietts, Wages, &c. For Prince Charles.'

42 Appadurai, Arjun, 'Commodities and the politics of value,' in *The Social Life of Things*, Cambridge, 1986, p.57.

43 Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House*, New Haven and London, 1978, p.2.

power appeared as long ago as 1899, when Thorstein Veblen introduced the concept of conspicuous consumption, and was taken up by Lawrence Stone, who dissected the aristocratic household in economic terms.[44] More recent interpretations of the connections between buildings, magnificence and policy have included Simon Thurley's of the Tudor royal palaces, or Charles Samaurez Smith's of Castle Howard.[45] William's buildings can certainly be seen as fitting into this pattern: he was described as being worthy of the Garter partly because of having "Lived in his Contrey in as great honour and splendour as any of the Nobility."[46]

But perhaps more relevant to Bolsover Castle is the associated idea that magnificence was intended to induce the feeling of wonder. It is significant that the only surviving seventeenth-century reaction towards William's buildings from outside his client circle is Thomas Povey's comment on their curiosity and rarity. In September, 1668, Povey described a visit to see "the Queen of Sheba and her more considerable Prince, the Duke of Newcastle and his palace, stables, riding-houses and horses, the most extraordinary in Europe, in the curiosity and excellence of their menage discipline."[47] The "Queen of Sheba" stresses William's wife Margaret's exotic, fantastic qualities, and this in turn applies to her husband's buildings and his horsemanship or *manège*. Christy Anderson describes how "discovery, wonder, and amazement were all common categories used in the appreciation" of seventeenth-century architecture."[48] Similarly, Howarth found the defining feature of Arundel's collecting policy, encompassing the classical past through art and statues, was "curiosity unlimited."[49] This idea of rarity was linked to the rise of personal taste as a matter of distinctive self-presentation, and was part of a new set of attitudes towards the body that also included the rise of privacy and solitude, friendship through intimacy and self-knowledge gained

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44 Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* New York, 1899, especially pp.43-62, 103-116; Stone, (1965), p.552.

45 Thurley, Simon, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England, Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547,* New Haven and London, 1993, especially pp.11-12, 18; Samurez Smith, Charles, *The Building of Castle Howard,* London, 1997, especially pp.26-32.

46 Bod. Ashmole 1110, f.170r.

47 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1666-7,* London, 1893, p.602.

48 Anderson, Christy, 'Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance,' in *Albion's Classicism, The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660,* ed. Gent, Lucy, New Haven and London, 1995, pp.263, 269.

49 Howarth, (1985), p.149.

through private writing.[50] "Certainly a *Solitary Life* is the happiest of all lives," wrote William's second wife Margaret.[51] But this thesis refines the reasons behind this new trend for privacy and individuality. As well as magnificence, William's buildings also send out a more personal - and more interesting - message about bawdiness and eccentricity, arising, as I will argue, out of a specific set of family circumstances. The process of building can be more usefully seen not as a statement by the patron, but as a discussion or discourse between William and other people.

3 Agency

I began this thesis thinking that William's architecture was a form of self-representation, with 'political' results in mind. However, through a better understanding of the building process, I came to realise that the urge to build was more than just an individual's conscious action; it was defined and limited by his agency. While architectural historians usually treat patrons as autonomous individuals, fully-formed 'selves' in Burckhardt's sense, Frye uses the concept of 'agency' to describe Elizabeth I's 'performance' or construction of herself, her willingness to change the rules of discourse about gender.[52] Barbara Lewalski inverts this idea to argue that Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, exploited her institutional roles of courtier and literary patroness along with her independent wealth to create her own life, so as to be able, as she said herself, to "spin her owne free hours."[53] This has rarely been discussed with reference to architecture, except by Friedman, who sees Wollaton Hall up on the hilltop with its grand but inaccessible state suites as Sir Francis Willoughby's attempt to marginalise his difficult wife.[54] Friedman is also unique in suggesting that Bess of Hardwick was able to embrace such an innovative idea as a centrally-entered hall at Hardwick partly because of her gender. Having already stepped outside the feminine sphere to become a patron of architecture, perhaps she became more easily able to subvert the old medieval ideas of hierarchies in planning.[55]

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50 Chartier, Roger, ed., *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance,* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1989, p.163.

51 Cavendish, Margaret, *The World's Olio*, London, 1671, p.55.

52 Frye, (1993), p.7.

53 Lewalski, Barbara, 'Exercising Power: The Countess of Bedford,' in *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, London, 1993, p.122.

54 Friedman, Alice, *House and Household in Elizabethan England, Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*, Chicago and London, 1989a, pp.67-70.

55 eadem, 'Did England Have a Renaissance?' *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts,* Washington, 1989b, pp.95-110.

This debate about agency or its absence continues the debate about the nature of the self in different terms. Susan Doran's alternative interpretation of Elizabeth as unable, rather than unwilling, to marry, because any husband would destroy the teetering Protestant consensus, argues not against agency itself but for an agency so small it left no room for manoeuvre.[56] William, too, was tightly circumscribed by his roles as courtier, Midland landowner, and member of the great building family of Cavendish. As Werner Gundersheimer points out, previous studies have concentrated on the binary relationship between patron and artist, forgetting that "Big Men in the Renaissance are sustained by corporate structures, and the most important are their own families."[57] The decisions William took can map out his agency's limits. The fact that he constantly began new projects hints at his dissatisfaction with the results; he never quite achieved his aims because of his agency's constrictions. As Chapter Five will argue, this is a vital explanation for the exceptional longevity of his interest in building.

4 Classicism

When William Cavendish's household and craftsmen allowed him to say 'I am Hercules' through his wall-paintings at Bolsover, the statement was not necessarily true, but the culture existed where it could have been true. As Stephen Orgel says, the choice of mythological *personae* for the Renaissance prince was almost a universal one.[58] This implies that one important set of meanings associated with the buildings - and those that have previously received the most attention - are associated with classicism.

The categories of 'classical' and 'native' - so easy to apply to different elements of Bolsover Castle - are not very useful. This is partly because they were not perceived at the time, and, as Anderson demonstrates, classicism could be used as a form of heraldry.[59] It is necessary to go beyond the mere identification of source material to investigate the fusion, or the relationship that exists

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56 Doran, Susan, *Monarchy and Matrimony, the Courtships of Elizabeth I*, London and New York, 1994, p.11.

57 Gundersheimer, Werner, 'Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach,' in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Lytle, G.F., and Orgel, S., Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, pp.13, 19.

58 Orgel, Stephen, 'The Royal Theatre and the Role of King,' in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Lytle, G.F., and Orgel, S., Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, p.261.

59 Anderson, (1995), pp.255-7.

between the influences, in order to throw light on the design process. This contrasts with the old way of defining the Renaissance, which was simply to plot the arrival of classical features in architecture, with the result that the Whiggish view of an inevitable progress towards the Palladian seems halting and uncertain in England. The concept of classicism misunderstood or distorted by transcription gave rise to John Summerson's derogatory term 'Artisan Mannerism' to describe an early British classical style.[60]

The attraction of such an approach is that it is easy and fruitful to date the 'arrival' of rustication or other features. For example, Bolsover Castle sprouted Holborn gables within fifteen years of their appearance in London, where John Smithson drew them in 1619. But this as much explains architectural development as "pinning a burglary on Bill Sykes explains crime."[61] Classicism, of course, exists only in the eye of the beholder, and the classical features arriving in England would be described as Mannerist if seen in Italy: Vasari may well have claimed that they knowingly broke 'the rules' of the fifteenth-century high Renaissance. Summerson claimed that English patrons did not know 'the rules' and therefore subconsciously broke them. This, of course, is to impose the view that 'the rules,' usually seen as demonstrated in Inigo Jones' work because of his canonisation in the eighteenth century, are without ambiguity. The huge range of interpretations of Jones over the course of the twentieth century begins to show how controversial this is. The other extreme view of 'Artisan Mannerism' is that adopted by Mowl and Earnshaw. They claim that Bess of Hardwick and her fourth husband "deliberately turned the clock back and allowed the north to approach the Renaissance again from a different angle."[62] This ascribes an extreme sophistication to these patrons: they knew the rules but decided to break them. It is equally teleological as an interpretation of the Renaissance in Derbyshire, implying that Italian ideas were consciously absorbed, then reinterpreted with a peculiarly English meaning.

This teleological view of the development of continental ideas in England involves a simplistic view of successive 'styles' which does not take account of their co-existence, or of less easily-definable trends such as the survival of Gothic features. Nor does it explain what David Evett has explored under the heading of the "grotesque," summed up by Sir Henry Wotton as "*medlie* and

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60 Summerson, John, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830,* London, 1953, p.97; see also Gent, (1995), p.1.

61 Mercer, Eric, 'The Houses of the Gentry,' *Past and Present*, Vol.5, 1954, p.30.

62 Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), p.168.

motlie Designes, confined onely to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and Borders, their properest place."[63] Grotesque consists of the natural put into an unnatural context. Evett, interestingly, interprets this as "a cat-call from the back," the refuge of an illiterate mason who could read the books brought from Italy.[64] This is a way of using art objects to reveal the archaeology of social relationships: the grotesque, a liminal style used around the edges of architectural features, may contextualise those around the edges of decision making.

This nostalgic tendency, then, is perhaps the inevitable flip-side to even the work of Inigo Jones. Vaughan Hart sees it as kind of neoplatonic magic, for "the esoteric pictorial art of emblematics had the power to encapsulate the science or underlying order of the natural world."[65] With this in mind, Hart considers that the sources of Jones's architecture have been studied "at the expense of its meaning."[66] Anderson sees nostalgia as a tendency that Jones simply repressed in himself in order to differentiate himself from his rivals.[67] The Cavendish houses are remarkably suitable for investigating this tension between old and new. Not one of them was built on a virgin site, and in each case the survival of a medieval castle, nunnery or abbey provides a vital contribution to the houses' appearance. Art lies at the intersection between cultural tradition and contemporary society, just as the fabric of the abbey continues to exist in the heart of Welbeck and so many other courtier houses. Friedman argues that the power of art was enhanced by the "expectations of a classically-trained audience and the distorted gothic-survival/revival medium through which messages are conveyed."[68] Evett, too, claims that the tension in sixteenth-century art arises from the fact that life did not live up to the orderliness expected by those who understood classicism. We return to a model of conflict in society, of order countering disorder, and the household provides a microcosm of society with art objects preserving its social relationships in concrete form.

Plotting of the rise and fall of various features is another favoured theme of architectural history. The retreat of the lord into privacy - frequently spelt out - should not have mattered, according to

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63 Wotton, Henry, *The Elements of Architecture, collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best Authors and Examples*, London, 1624, p.98.

64 Evett, David, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England*, Athens, Georgia and London, 1990, p.137.

65 Hart, Vaughan, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, London, 1994, p.2.

66 ibid, p.9.

67 Anderson, (1995), p.259.

68 Friedman, (1989b), p.97.

the model of the society of orders, for his representation or image could have done his job for him.[69] And yet it did, for in the household of William Cavendish access to his presence in the face of his own desire for privacy became the chief point of contention. Courtly society involved living all of life in public, and a royal court's sumptuousness had the rhetorical purpose of persuading onlookers of the king's power. However, the idea that solitude was an improving and pleasurable experience meant that luxury, a private pleasure, began to replace the public performance of sumptuousness. Smuts notes the change at court from sumptuousness to private luxury: from the traditional forms of display toward art collecting and patronage, "from older forms of extroverted display, toward a more refined and exclusive visual culture."[70] This made the older forms of magnificence such as generous hospitality outmoded, yet Chapter Four will show that William Cavendish was compelled by his household to continue them.

Oran Ranum terms the evidence of this change as "the archaeology of the intimate," and claims that for private areas "the significance of such spaces ... was encoded and perfectly comprehensible to others. The source of meaning was social."[71] The degrees of privacy accorded to the rooms of the ceremonial route through the house, from the Great Hall to the closet, was similarly constructed by the household. But in the Cavendish case privacy became indistinguishable from licentiousness. The most intimate rooms of the Little Castle at Bolsover, with their sensual wall-paintings, should have been the height of luxury, not sumptuousness, yet William Cavendish did not always distinguish between the categories of display and privacy. The archives reveal that the bawdy and disrespectful criticism of William's amorous and artistic activities (analysed in Chapter One) was reflected in a truly bawdy element in his patronage. Unseemly, luxurious aspects of William's household were actually put on display. As Patricia Fumerton says, aristocratic life combined a search for privacy and intimacy with its increasing elusiveness. Of James I, she says "his very need for intimacy swelled the ranks of intimates to the point where they themselves threatened intimacy," reflected by the lengthening of the chain of rooms in the suite. She argues that "the incessant segmentation and recession of rooms ... record[s] a privacy whose resident identity was

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69 Chartier, Roger, *Cultural History, Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Cochrane, Lydia, G., Cambridge, 1988, pp.1-16.

70 Smuts, (1996), p.101.

71 Ranum, Oran, 'The Refuges of Intimacy,' in Chartier, Roger, ed., *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1989, p.207.

forever elusive, unlocatable." The "self," she concludes, "was void."[72] William was therefore not alone in his lengthy search for identity, nor in unconsciously subverting the old order that he had such a strong, and strongly-expressed interest, in protecting: the world literally had been upside down since the Civil War. Just one example touching him was the fact that Charles II was forced to disrupt the proceedings when William was installed as a Knight of the Garter. William's son Henry attended on his behalf, and "ye Soueraigne perceiueing that ye Installation of all ye rest would take up much time" halted the ceremony. It became apparent that it would take all night because of the build-up of uninstalled knights during the years of the Interregnum, and was therefore abandoned.[73]

Given the different messages that could be conveyed, it becomes clear that the act of building is a discourse. It has its own background noises or mechanical and rhetorical statements that can be filtered out by an examination of William's buildings, as provided by the Gazetteer, within which we are secure in the knowledge that certain elements are unique to his patronage. The factors of variable ownership, locality and family background, which would have to be taken into account in a wider sample of buildings, can be ruled out as explanations for the changes that appear over time. Chapter Five also shows that the noise of the argument - and the resulting level of building activity - becomes louder when issues arise about the ownership of the buildings. For example, William's marriage, or the death of his second wife, heralded periods of intense building activity, and William's last building project can be seen as a challenge to his heir. When Bolsover Castle was sold during the Civil War, part of it was dismantled and materials sold off, another change of hands resulting in significant changes to the fabric. These are the times at which it could be argued that the houses were entering a 'commodity' phase, a period when the possibility of their changing hands arises, and what Appadurai terms the "politics of value" begin.[74] Chapter Five will conclude that the architectural discourse speaks more loudly about family and household micro-politics than it does about court or national politics. William's son Henry spectacularly failed to win control of the discourse for which he and other family members competed. The connection made here between family arguments and building may, in fact, be applied to other households as well, but William Cavendish's architectural patronage provides a particularly striking case-study because the

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72 Fumerton, Patricia, *Cultural Aesthetics, Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament*, Chicago and London, 1991, pp.142, 130.

73 College of Arms, Archive of Garter King of Arms, *Garters Register*, (no.1) 'An Historical Accompt of the Elections ... Collected & Methodised BY Sr Edward Walker Knight Garter Principall King of Armes,' f.49r.

74 Appadurai, (1986), pp.3-63.

unusual quirkiness of his household's buildings is mirrored by the evidence for the unusual vigour of their arguments.

Having plotted the very limited agency that William possessed to control his representation of himself, the considerations he was forced to take in favour of his 'family' therefore emerge as important explanations for these buildings. The next chapter will show that William fought hard for his agency in the field of building because of disappointments and a failure to control other areas of his life. Once the Civil War had created a climate conducive to those who made violent criticisms of William's self-image, his only response was to build faster and faster in order to try to suppress them.

CHAPTER ONE:
WILLIAM CAVENDISH, BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

1.1 Introduction

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers treated William Cavendish in two contrasting ways: with the respect and honour owed to a great nobleman and a loyal Cavalier, and at the same time with a vigorous disrespect for his 'weaknesses.' These were his ultimately unsatisfactory performance in the Civil War, and the antics of his wife. However, the development of a Romantic outlook in the nineteenth century increased William's attractiveness. His spirited but doomed support of Charles I made William - the 'Loyall Duke' - very popular. There was, in consequence, a proliferation of editions of his biography by his second wife Margaret: *The Life of the Thrice Noble and Puissant Prince ... William Cavendishe, Duke of Newcastle.*[1]

In the twentieth century, William's career has been examined with more rigour. He has been seen as a romantic victim of circumstance, but also as a politician with important views on art and society. The current state of knowledge focuses these views rather simplistically on the past and a lost golden age of Elizabeth, and uses his supposedly nostalgic political outlook to explain his personal failures at the court of the Stuarts. This chapter examines the criticism and sense of failure that characterised his court career, and opens up some alternative areas of debate for discussing his patronage.

1.1.1 Historiography before 1900

The most influential of the many works dedicated to William is his wife's biography. Although its format lies within a firmly-established genre of praise for great men - well-known classical examples include Suetonius's *Lives*[2] - the discursive, intimate style was a forerunner of future biographies. Margaret's work has also formed the factual basis of all future works on William. Yet her facts, as she admits, are not always reliable, and the narrative is padded out with eulogies for her husband. She follows the traditions of hagiography in demonstrating how he suffered. Although Margaret's version should be supplemented and corrected by many other sources, her

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1 Cavendish, Margaret, *The Life of the thrice Noble ... Prince, William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle, etc.*, London, 1667, reprinted 1675; ed. Lower, Mark Anthony, London, 1872; ed. Firth, Sir Charles Harding, London, 1886; Newnes' Pocket Classics, London, 1903; ed. Firth, Sir Charles Harding, second edition, revised, with additional notes, London, 1906; and finally as *The Life of the 1st Duke of Newcastle, & other writings*, ed. Rhys, Ernest, London and Toronto, 1915.

2 Suetonius Tranquillius, Caius, *Vitae XII. Caesarum. The Lives of the Twelve Caesars, the first Emperors of Rome ... now done into English by several hands*, London, 1688. Margaret was also familiar with Plutarch: 'Yesterday, being not in the Humour of Writing, I took *Plutarch*'s Lives...' Cavendish, Margaret, (1664), p.62.

text remains seminal because, at least from 1643, it has the status of an eyewitness account.

As well as official documents relating to William's position at court, there are the memoirs of those themselves involved in the Civil War, the best-known being the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England.*[3] Clarendon has been perhaps even more pervasive than Margaret in colouring views of William because his *History* has been so widely read. He knew William personally, and described him in a private letter as a "lamentable man & as fit to be a Gnell as a Bpp [a General as a Bishop]."[4] His published pen-portrait in the *History* was a little more balanced. Famously, it described a "very fine gentleman, active and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing and fencing which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music."[5] William had also an "invincible courage and fearlessness in danger," and sometimes, notoriously, changed the course of a battle by personal bravery.[6] But Clarendon also recorded William's reputation as a poor soldier. He "liked the pomp and absolute authority of a General well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full," but "the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand."[7] Of William's military role, "it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the fatigue and vexation of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection."[8]

This seems doubly damning as William cast himself as a man of action, not as a scholar, even though he spent much time writing poems and plays. His treatises on horsemanship and swordsmanship and the heroic tone of the offerings from his clients make it all the more unfortunate that his only excursion into warfare ended in a failure so resounding that his previous successes go unnoticed. Perhaps the most famous 'scene' from William's life confirming the 'heroic incompetent' view promulgated by Clarendon was the moment of decision after the battle of Marston Moor. Unfortunately, William was "going to his Coach hard by, and callinge for a pype of Tobaco" at the very moment that the enemy charged.[9] The scene after the defeat has been

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3 Clarendon, (1888).

4 Bod. Clarendon MS 40, f.11.

5 Clarendon, (1888), Book VIII, Chapter 83, Vol.3, p.381.

6 ibid, pp.382-3.

7 ibid, p.382.

8 ibid, p.380.

9 Bod. Clarendon MS 23, f.230r, notes on events in the north, n.d., Clarendon's own hand.

reproduced in anecdotal form many times since Prince Rupert's biographer first quoted verbatim from Prince Rupert's own diary:

> Sayes Generall King, "What will you do?" Sayes y^e^ Prince, "I will rally my men." Sayes Generall King, "Nowe you what Lord Newcastle will do?" [sic] Sayes Lord Newcastle, "I will go into Holland," looking upon all as lost. The Prince would have him endeavour to recruit his fforces, "No," says he, "I will not endure y^e^ laughter of y^e^ Court," and King sayd hee would go w^th^ him; and so they did...[10]

However misleading this is as a description of how William made his momentous decision, the man defined by his courage and loyalty had been found wanting. Despite the continued confidence of the king, the contemporary sources show William on the defensive for the rest of his life.

Clarendon's view is backed up by the often-quoted passage by Sir Philip Warwick, who also knew William personally. "He was a Gentleman of grandeur, generosity, loyalty, and a steddy and forward courage; but his edge had too much of the razor if it: for he had a tincture of a Romantick spirit, and had the misfortune to have somewhat of the Poet in him..."[11] This too, written long after the Civil War, picks up on what became the conventional view of William's character, stained forever by the events of 1644. Further, it also begins a long tradition of decrying William's literary efforts. Egotism was among Warwick's accusations, for William in his opinion had been reluctant to serve under Prince Rupert: "he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale."[12]

In 1752, the antiquarian Arthur Collins used Margaret's eulogy as his main source for a Cavendish family history. His *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle, with the Lives of the most remarkable Persons* was written for William's great-granddaughter Henrietta, who remodelled parts of Welbeck in an archaic style and was intensely interested in her family history. Collins describes how "Papers of the Family" were given to him on Henrietta's orders.[13] Although he quotes many contemporary documents in addition to

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10 Warburton, Eliot, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, London, 1849, Vol.2, p.468.

11 Warwick, Sir Philip, *Memoires of the Reigne of Charles I*, London, 1701, p.235.

12 ibid, p.243.

13 Collins, Arthur, *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle, with the Lives of the most remarkable Persons*, London, 1752, p.21.

Margaret's *Life*, Collins is not completely reliable.[14] He also had every reason to flatter, but the copy of his work formerly owned by Horace Walpole contains annotations based on various inaccurate rumours about the Cavendish family that give a less respectful gloss, including Walpole's own mocking epitaph for Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury.[15] Walpole summed up William and Margaret elsewhere. "What a picture of foolish nobility was this stately poetic couple," he wrote, "retired to their own little domain, and intoxicating one another with circumstantial flattery on what was of consequence to no mortal but themselves!"[16] He certainly did not gain these views from Collins' official history, and his amused but scathing views are typical of a strand of criticism which will be discussed after the histories inspired by or bound to the Cavendish line.

1.1.2 Historiography since 1800

There are perhaps two reasons for the revival of interest in William Cavendish after 1800. Firstly, he was involved in the Civil War, the time when British parliamentary democracy, as nineteenth-century historians saw it, was forged. Although William fought on the losing side, romantic writers saw this as a glamorous aspect of Charles I. Virginia Woolf was later to admire William as "the princely nobleman ... who had led the King's forces to disaster with indomitable courage but little skill."[17] There were new works about William[18] as well as numerous editions of Margaret's many books.[19] Charles Lamb admired "a dear favourite of mine ... the thrice noble,

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14 For example, he mistakes William's birth date, confuses Charles (I) Cavendish (p.20) with his elder brother Henry as colonel of a regiment in the Low Countries in the 1570s, (for which see Sydney, Sir Henry, etc. *Letters and Memorials of State ... faithfully transcribed from the originals at* Penshurst Place *in Kent*, ed. Collins, Arthur, London, 1748, Vol.1, p.266), and it was William's wife, not daughter, who was buried at Bolsover in April, 1643 (p.45), as revealed by Derbyshire Record Office, M 46, Bolsover Parish Registers.

15 Horace Walpole's edition of Collins, (1752), BL pressmark 1322.ff.8, is annotated 'Four times the nuptial bed she warm'd, / And ev'ry time so well perform'd, / That when death spoil'd each Husband's billing, / He left the Widow ev'ry shilling.'

16 Walpole, Horace, *A catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, 'new edition,' Edinburgh, 1796, p.183.

17 Woolf, Virginia, *The Common Reader*, London, 1925, p.101.

18 For example, Montégut, Emile, *Le Maréchal Davout - Le Duc et la Duchesse de Newcastle*, Paris, 1882; *The First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne*, by the author of "A life of Kenelm Digby", "The Life of a Prig", etc., London, 1910, (the author was therefore Longueville); Bickley, Francis, *The Cavendish Family*, London, 1911; Round, J.H., 'The Origins of the Cavendishes,' *Family Origins and Other Studies*, London, 1930, pp.22-32.

19 Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *Poems, and Fancies*, 1653; *Philosophicall Fancies*, 1653; *The World's Olio*, 1655; *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, 1655; *Natures pictures drawn by Fancies pencil to the life*, 1656; *Playes*, 1662; *Orations of Divers Sorts*, 1662; *CCXI Sociable Letters*, 1664; *Philsophical Letters: or, Modest Reflections...*, 1664; *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy ... The Description of a new Blazing World*, 1666; *The Life of the thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince*

chaste, and virtuous, but again somewhat fantastical and original-brained, generous Margaret Newcastle," endowing her with splendidly Victorian qualities.[20] His opinion was influential enough for R.W. Goulding, the Duke of Portland's librarian at Welbeck, to publish *The Letters of Charles Lamb's 'Princely Woman,' Margaret Lucas to her future husband, William Cavendish, Marquis, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, 1645.*[21] Even Isaac Disraeli wrote that "had her studies been regulated, she would have displayed no ordinary genius ... her verses have been imitated by Milton."[22] The later nineteenth-century editions of Margaret's *Life* do begin to attempt a corrective to her eulogy of her husband. By 1910, Longueville treated William with fondness but also apology.[23] Although he poses as a dilettante, Longueville provides the first alternative biography to Margaret's. It is a wide-ranging and well-referenced collection of contemporary sources, with clearly-defined authorial interludes.[24]

The Welbeck archives were catalogued in the eighteenth century by William's great-granddaughter Henrietta and her husband, later second Earl of Oxford, compiler of the Harleian collection of manuscripts. The Cavendish family's possessions passed by marriage to the Bentinck Dukes of Portland, but the seventeenth-century archival sources survived largely untouched. Also, Welbeck Abbey itself has never been quite in the front rank of stately homes according to public taste, and remains architecturally a palimpsest of many periods. It escaped complete rebuilding, allowing some of the seventeenth-century fabric to survive.

However, William Arthur Henry, the seventh Duke of Portland, made up for the earlier neglect with a spate of publications between 1890 and 1930. Further information on the Cavendishes emerged as part of the extensive work of cataloguing the collections.[25] Meanwhile, the Duke's

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William Cavendishe..., 1667; *Grounds of Natural Philosophy*, 1668; *Plays, never before printed*, 1668; *A True Relation of the Birth, Breeding and Life, of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle written by herself*, ed. Brydges, Sir Edgerton, Less Priory Press, 1814; Goulding, R.W., ed., *Letters written by Charles Lamb's 'Princely Woman,' Margaret Lucas to her future husband, William Cavendish, Marquis, afterwards Duke of Newcastle,1645*, Roxburghe Club, 1909; *The Phanseys of William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, addressed to Margaret Lucas, and her Letters in reply*, ed. Grant, Douglas, London, 1956.

20 Lamb, Charles, *The Essays of Elia*, London, 1849, p.101.

21 Goulding, (1909).

22 Disraeli, Isaac, *Curiosities of Literature*, London, 1849, Vol.1, p.365.

23 Longueville, (1910).

24 ibid, unpaginated preface.

25 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893; Garrard, James, *A catalogue of the gold and silver plate, the property of His Grace the Duke of Portland*, Chiswick, 1893; Nicholson, John, *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London*, London, 1893; Fairfax

librarians produced various books, such as R.W. Goulding's small volume on Margaret, his guidebook to Bolsover Castle and his picture catalogue,[26] and his successor, Francis Needham, produced another edition of poems by the Cavendish family. A.S. Turberville was encouraged to write his weighty history of Welbeck Abbey, accompanied by a volume on the Premonstratensian abbey by A.H. Thompson; both were professional historians.[27] Their patron's family pride, however, did not prevent these books from again taking an apologetic line. Meanwhile, the Duke of Devonshire's librarian produced an edition of various historical documents at Welbeck.[28]

A significant nineteenth-century edition of the family's literary efforts included a selection in the popular Golden Treasures series.[29] This consisted of William and Margaret's verse, published with extensive 'improvements' by the editor, but nevertheless treated as part of the literary canon. In 1886, C.H. Firth edited an annotated edition of the *Life* and provided the contribution on William in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[30] In 1957, Douglas Grant finally provided a biography of Margaret herself.[31] By that date, several scholars had produced a body of criticism including her work, setting her up as a major literary figure worthy of study.[32] Margaret's latest biographer has been Kathleen Jones. She states that her inspiration was hearing Margaret 'speaking' to her when reading an extract in an anthology, and her approach was to Margaret as a humanist

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Murray, Charles, *Catalogue of the Pictures of his Grace the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London*, London, 1894; Harding, G.R. and H.W., *Catalogue of the Ornamental Furniture, Works of Art and Porcelain at Welbeck Abbey,* London, 1897; Goulding, R.W., *The Welbeck Abbey Miniatures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G. A catalogue raisonné*, London, 1916; Jones, Alfred, *Catalogue of the Plate belonging to the Duke of Portland ... at Welbeck Abbey,* London, 1935; Goulding, R.W., revised Adams, *Catalogue of the Pictures of the Duke of Portland*, London, 1936.

26 Goulding, R.W., *Margaret (Lucas) Duchess of Newcastle*, Lincoln, 1925; *Bolsover Castle*, second edition 1914; Needham, Francis, ed., *A Pleasante & Merrye Humor off A Roge*, Welbeck Miscellany No.1, Bungay, 1933; idem, *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, Welbeck Miscellany No.2, Bungay, 1934;

27 Turberville, Arthur Stanley, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners, 1539-1879*, London, 1938; Thompson, A.H., *The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck*, London, 1938.

28 Strong, (1903).

29 Jenkins, Edward, ed., *The Cavalier and his Lady*, London, 1872, a selection of poems and other writings by both William and Margaret, including Margaret's brief autobiography.

30 Firth, C.H., 'Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle, 1592-1676,' *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Stephen, Leslie, London, Vol.9, 1887, pp.364-369.

31 Grant, Douglas, *Margaret the First, a biography of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 1623-1673*, London, 1957.

32 Montégut, (1882); Bickley, (1911); Upham, A.H., 'Lucy Hutchinson and the Duchess of Newcastle,' *Anglia*, Vol.36, 1912, pp.200-220; Perry, H.T.E., *The first Duke and Duchess of Newcastle as figures in literary history*, Harvard English Studies, Vol.4, 1918; Cocking, H.M., 'Originality and Influence in the Work of Margaret Cavendish,' Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading, 1973.

feminist.[33] However, she took no particular line on William, and singularly failed to confront Margaret's critics.

Geoffrey Trease did do this in his biography of 1979.[34] The standard biography on William, it is nevertheless more of a well-researched romance than a historical work. Although Trease used extensive primary sources, the lack of footnotes meant retracing his steps through the archive. This has proved that he quoted accurately, and in the few instances where it was not possible to verify his quotations, they can reasonably be relied upon. Trease set out to balance Clarendon's ultimately damning view of William. He argued that loyalty was William's defining characteristic, and considered his failures in the Civil War to be less significant that his faithfulness to the king. Margaret is again treated as being flawed by her lack of education, but William loyally endured the embarrassment she caused him. As a corrective, Trease claims that Clarendon was misinformed as he was not only absent from the battle of Marston Moor, for example, but also wrote well after the event. Trease neatly summed up his own view by judiciously quoting Clarendon's own admission that contemporaries "observed what [William] had done and suffered for the King and for his country, without inquiring what he had omitted to do."[35]

Since 1979 the increased accessibility of the Portland Collection at Nottingham University Library and the Nottinghamshire Archives has inspired a further group of historians. The current view of William rests heavily on his supposed 'nostalgia' for the past. Martin Butler wrote in 1983 that William "by birth (as the scion of a great Tudor family) and temperament an Elizabethan ... was out of his depth in Charles' progressive court, isolated, distrustful and saddened by the decline of the English nobility."[36] His reputation for being out of step with his times has its architectural equivalent in the view of his buildings as a backwater, as England's "lost Renaissance," or else as a freak accident in the teleological development of architectural styles. The holders of this view claim that "Cavendish came closer to the Medici for a few brief years than any other English nobleman."[37]

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33 Jones, Kathleen, *A Glorious Fame, The Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 1623-1673,* London, 1988, p.2.

34 Trease, (1979), pp.109-111

35 ibid, pp.109-111; Clarendon, (1888), Book VIII, Chapter 88, Vol.3, p.385.

36 Butler, Martin, *Theatre in Crisis, 1632-42,* Cambridge, 1984, p.195.

37 Strong, Roy, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*, Thames and Hudson, 1986, pp.64-5; Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), p.169.

The question of William's supposed nostalgia for the political and social forms of the past has been batted back and forth several times since Martin Butler's work.[38] More recently, the terms of the discussion have been broadened. The special volume of *The Seventeenth Century* devoted to the Cavendish circle opened up some new fields.[39] Rather than just assessing his political views through the means of his letters of advice to Charles I, or in terms of his local politics, the arrival of court and cultural history has broadened the study of William's interests, particularly his literary patronage.[40] This has recently been further developed with an examination of William's own writing, and also that of his daughters.[41] However, none of these works have attempted to link William Cavendish's theoretical views of the world - revealed through poems, plays and political writings - to life as he actually lived it. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to examine architecture as a concrete reflection of the social relationships making up William's household, in order to provide a more reliable route into his politics. With this historiography outlined, it is important to re-state and re-interpret the basic facts about the life of William Cavendish.

1.2 The life of William Cavendish

William's paternal grandfather was Sir William Cavendish (d.1557), a new-made man at the court of Henry VIII who bought the estate of Chatsworth in Derbyshire for his wife. She was the

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38 See also Barton, (1984), pp.300-320; Anzilotti, (1988); Peck, Linda Levy, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*, London, 1993, pp.215-216; Condren, Conal 'Casuistry to Newcastle: The Prince in the World of the Book,' in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Phillipson, Nigel and Skinner, Quentin, Cambridge, 1993, pp.164-186.

39 *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol.9, No.2, Autumn, 1994. A special edition on 'The Cavendish Circle' contained articles on William Cavendish's cultural patronage, including those by Brown, Cedric C., 'Courtesies of Place and Arts of Diplomacy in Ben Jonson's Last Two Entertainments for Royalty,' pp.147-171; Rowe, Nick, 'My Best Patron; William Cavendish and Jonson's Caroline Drama,' pp.197-212; Hulse, Lynn, 'Apollo's Whirligig: William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and his Music Collection,' pp.213-246.

40 Jonson, Ben, BL Harley MS 4955, ff.194-f.198v, 'The kings Entertainment, at Welbeck, 1633'; ibid, ff.199r-f.202, 'The King and Queene's Entertainment at Boulsouer, July 1634'; Baskervill, C. R., 'The sources of Jonson's *Masque of Christmas* and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*,' *Modern Philology*, Vol.6, 1908, pp.257-270; Gordon, (1949); Cutts, J.P., 'When were the Senses in such order plac'd?' *Comparative Drama*, Vol.4, 1970, pp.52-62; Love, Harold, 'Shadwell, Flecknoe and the Duke of Newcastle: An Impetus for *MacFlecknoe*,' *Papers on Language and Literature*, Vol.21.1, 1985, pp.19-27; Kelliher, H., 'Donne, Jonson, Richard Andrews and the Newcastle Manuscript,' *English Manuscript Studies*, Vol.4, 1993, pp.134-73; Mowl, Tim, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style*, London, 1993, pp.184-5; Rowe, Nick, 'Case Studies in the Aristocratic Patronage of Ben Jonson,' Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading, 1994; Brown, (1994), pp.147-71; Raylor, (1999); Hopkins, Lisa, 'Play houses: Drama at Bolsover and Welbeck,' *Early Theatre*, Vol.2, 1999, pp.25-44.

41 Ezell, M.J.M., ' "To Be Your Daughter in Your Pen": the Social Functions of Literature in the Writings of Lady Elizabeth Brackley and Lady Jane Cavendish,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.51, 1988, pp.281-96; Hulse, Lynn, 'The King's Entertainment,' *Viator*, Vol.26, 1995, pp.355-405; eadem, ed., *Dramatic Works, by William Cavendish*, The Malone Society Reprints, Vol.158, Oxford, 1996.

illustrious Elizabeth ('Bess') of Hardwick (c.1527-1608), Countess of Shrewsbury by her subsequent, fourth, marriage, and builder of mansions at Chatsworth, Hardwick and Oldcotes.[42] Sir William and Elizabeth Cavendish's third son, Charles (I) Cavendish, William's father, took the part of his stepfather, the Earl of Shrewsbury, when Bess began her well-known argument with her fourth husband.[43] The crux of the dispute seems to have been the Earl's making over of lands to her two elder sons, Henry and William, to avoid his having to pay them a settlement on their reaching the age of twenty-one.[44] Charles (I) seems not to have been involved in this arrangement, and, perhaps for financial reasons was firmly in the Shrewsbury camp. He was brought up in the company of the Earl's son Gilbert, later seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, and it was from the Talbot as much as the Cavendish connection that his influence derived.[45]

A romantic view persists of the two as sharing an "intire and constant Friendship," having grown up and having travelled on the continent together. They were also related by marriage for Charles (I) was "his Lordship's brother in law ... always at his elbow, politic, and having great sway with him."[46] Charles (I) naturally acted as trustee for his sister, Gilbert's wife Mary Talbot née Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, when Gilbert handed the possession of Welbeck Abbey to her, and Gilbert later transferred it to Charles (I)'s own use.[47] Shortly afterwards Bolsover Castle came the same way, being leased on generous terms and then purchased from Gilbert in 1613.[48] So William's step-family provided material benefits as well as prestige.

William's maternal grandparents were Cuthbert, the seventh Baron of Ogle and his wife Catherine. Their second daughter, Katherine, became Charles (I)'s second wife in 1592 and her father's

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42 Round, (1930); Gilchrist, Isabel, 'The Countess of Shrewsbury,' *The Antiquary,* Vol.12, 1885, pp.15-19, 74-77; Williams, Ethel Carlton, *A Life of Bess of Hardwick*, London, 1959; Durant, David, *Bess of Hardwick: a Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*, London, 1977 and 1999; Girouard, Mark, and Durant, David, *Hardwick Hall*, The National Trust, 1996; Worsley, Lucy, *Hardwick Old Hall*, English Heritage, 1998; Kettle, Pamela, *Oldcotes, the last Mansion built by Bess of Hardwick*, Cardiff, 2000.

43 See p.4, a note on useage, for the nomenclature adopted for the various Charles Cavendishes.

44 Durant, (1977), p.137.

45 For Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, see Bill, E.G.W. ed., *A Calendar of Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library*, London, 1966; Batho, Gordon, ed., *A Calendar of Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers at the College of Arms,* London, 1971; idem, 'Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury,' *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol.153, 1973, pp.23-32; Howarth, (1985), pp.14-22.

46 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.2; Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1591-94*, London, 1867, p.174.

47 On 13th July, 1607, Turberville, (1938), Vol.1, p.16.

48 NA DDP.50.69, 20th December, 1608; DDP.50.70, 19thAugust, 1613.

barony was revived for her after the death of both her father and her elder sister, Jane, who had also married into the Talbot family.[49] This connection with an ancient Northumbrian family, possessors of several of medieval castles, was vital for the chivalric style adopted in the Cavendish building work. Their castles at Ogle, Bothal and Cockle Park are discussed in the Gazetteer.

William spent part of his youth in the traditional placement with the Talbot household. Margaret admits that "To School-Learning he never shew'd a great inclination,"[50] and William himself later wrote "the greatest Captains, were not y^e^ greatest schollars, neither have I known booke-worms great statesmen."[51] He attended St John's College, Cambridge, between 1608 and 1612. On 3rd June 1610, he was made a Knight of the Bath for the creation of James I's son Henry as Prince of Wales, and a lengthy description survives of the ceremonies involved.[52] His education was completed with a jaunt round Europe with Sir Henry Wotton, diplomat and architectural writer, who was sent to Savoy in 1612 to discuss a match for Prince Henry. On his return, William studied horsemanship at the Royal Mews with Monsieur St Antoine. St Antoine, depicted with Charles I on horseback by Van Dyck, was the French master sent by Henri IV to coach his grandson, Prince Henry, in the continental art of *manège*, or horsemanship for the purposes of display.[53] During the 1620s, William is mentioned several times in the context of jousting at court.[54]

After his father's death in 1617, William married an heiress, Elizabeth Bassett, and lived the life of a local magnate. She brought him her family home of Blore Hall, which is also described in the Gazetteer. Chapter Five discusses the financial necessity behind the marriage and the previously-unknown background to the completion of the Little Castle at Bolsover, to give an impression of munificence at a time when William was in danger of being pauperised by Gilbert Talbot's unpaid debts to William's father. William was effectively the sole executor when Gilbert died, and he

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49 For the Ogle family, see Anon., *An account of the family of Ogle; and of their estates and possession in the county of Northumberland*, Edinburgh, 1812; Bibby, R., *Bothal Observed, a survey of a Northumbrian Castle, Village and Church*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973.

50 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.141.

51 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.111v.

52 Nichols, John, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, London, 1828, Vol.2, p.336.

53 Van Dyck's 'Charles I and Monsieur St Antoine' is in the Royal Collection and is illustrated in Worsley, Lucy, *Bolsover Castle*, London, 2000, p.6.

54 For example, Nichols, (1828), Vol.3, p.473; Vol.4, p.969.

dealt masterfully with the competing demands of the husbands of Gilbert's three daughters, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke and Ruthin. He gained not only financial security, but also a title, for his viscountcy was commonly acknowledged to have been "for the accommodating of your disputes between the heyrs of the late Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir William Cavendish ... at the request of the heyres..."[55]

James I visited Welbeck Abbey for hunting in 1619, and ambition now drove William to court. His popularity in the Midlands was even admitted by Puritan detractors such as Lucy Hutchinson. Despite this, "a foolish ambition of glorious slavery," as she put it, "carried him to Court, where he ran himselfe much in to debt, to purchase neglects of the King and Queene and scornes of the proud Courtiers."[56] In 1641, his debts were estimated to have totalled some £41,000.[57] William's annual income, expenditure on building and attitude to debt will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

1.2.1 Politics at court

William became increasingly visible through his role in national politics in the 1630s, and it is worth considering what his aspirations were and how they were fulfilled. This has not been done systematically either by those writing on William himself (such as Turberville or Trease) or those assessing the court in the period (such as Cust or Sharpe). In summary, a great amount of effort and expense went into achieving what was ultimately a disappointing post at court. William's court aspirations can be linked to his building programme, although Chapter Five will argue instead that a more immediate explanation can be found in the micro-politics of his household.

Loyalty was conventionally expressed in personal, rather than ideological, terms at court.[58] William had two main patrons in the 1620s and '30s: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham and then Thomas Strafford, Earl of Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1632, who shared William's interest in building. During the siege of York, William spent nine weeks at the King's Manor, which had been remodelled by Strafford in the 1630s.[59] After Buckingham's assassination, William became guardian to his young son the second Duke, and later purchased Nottingham

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55 Longueville, (1910), p.12, quotes John Woodford to Sir Fras. Nethersole, 7th November, 1620, in greater detail than the version in Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1619-1623*, London, 1858, p.190.

56 Hutchinson, Lucy, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Sutherland, J., 1973, p.61.

57 Hamilton, W.D. ed., *CSPD, 1641-3*, London, 1877, Vol.1, p.62.

58 Peck, (1993), p.3.

59 See illustrations 16.5 and 16.6.

Castle from him.[60] These two patrons are interesting, for they shared the skill of manipulating the field of culture to win political influence, and of broadening its boundaries. Buckingham's art collecting as a means of attracting the attention of Charles I is well known, and Strafford aggrandised the king's power both in the north at the King's Manor and in Ireland through building.[61]

On 30th June 1625, through Buckingham's influence, William's commission as Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire was drawn up. He took his duties seriously, skilfully combining the unpopular role of representing central authority with tactful handling of the local population. Richard Cust praises him, for example, for good public relations in advertising how the taxes raised for the militia were spent.[62] Yet this diligence was never rewarded to William's satisfaction. Given the difficulties that the increased scale of demands cost him locally, his disillusionment was typical - if a particularly striking example - of many the king's servants in the shires. In 1630, William had to administer a commission for the payment of knights' fines in Nottinghamshire and also in Derbyshire, as he had taken on its Lord Lieutenancy in 1628 during the minority of his Devonshire cousin. Yet despite his successful efforts, he wrote again that year in some disappointment. "My Ambition is not Great, and my expectation Less," he complained in October, but "if your Lop and I loose our Countries and have but little thankes above neither, we have taken a Great dell of paynes In Vayne..."[63] This exchange has received some attention as it signals one of the failures of Charles I's Personal Rule, and therefore an underlying cause of the Civil War,[64] but it has a personal significance for William in creating a situation in which his only successes were in building.

By the mid-1620s, Buckingham and Arundel were at loggerheads, and one of the reasons was Arundel's suggestion that the sale of honours should be limited.[65] William was now deeply involved in it on Buckingham's behalf. He complained on one occasion that his cousin Pierrepoint

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60 Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1635-36*, London, 1866, p.342.

61 Parry, Graham, *The Golden Age restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, pp.108-145; Merritt, (1996); see also Howarth, (1997), pp.191-216 for the cultural dimension.

62 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.6; Cust, (1987), p.197.

63 Sheffield City Archives, WWM Str. P. Vol.12, f.151.

64 Dias, (1973), p.356.

65 Sharpe, Kevin, 'The Earl of Arundel, His Circle and the Opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, 1618-1628,' in *Faction and Parliament, Essays on Early Stuart history*, Oxford, 1978, p.227.

found Buckingham's offer too expensive, but that William himself had "never herde that Baron was under 9 or 10,000£."[66] William received his own earldom on 7th March 1628, but needed a more lucrative court appointment.[67] Strafford, now a strong royalist, recommended Charles I's visit to Welbeck as the occasion for William to put forward his aspirations. But even after the royal visit in 1633, William remained unrewarded. He wrote to Strafford, saying "I have been put in Hope long, and so long as I will labour no more in it."[68] Still, with another royal visit to the Midlands planned for the following July, Strafford wrote again, recommending that "you should yourself gently renew the motion to the King ... be sure to express it plainly ... [that you] covet it not for any private bettering of your fortune."[69] Yet despite the expense of the entertainment, described as "such an excess of feasting, as had scarce ever been known in England,"[70] William received nothing. He entertained the king once more at Welbeck in 1636, but the appointment of the Earl of Holland as Master of the Horse in 1639 instead of himself was a bitter blow. William's staunch local ally Sir Gervase Clifton was sorry to see William "... soe often disapointed, & therby a little (with noe little reason) discontented..."[71] This rancour led to William's challenging Holland to a duel, caused by "a long bred discontent of the Earl of Newcastle's breast."[72]

The tone of William's private letters grew more desperate in the late 1630s as he glimpsed the opportunity of being made Prince Charles' governor. In 1636, he wrote to his wife from court that "Theye did crie mee Upp, & since Crie mee doune" and, month later: "I am very weary ... I find it is a lost business."[73] "The Prince will have A Gouernor In the Springe," he wrote in 1637, "Butt whoe shall bee thatt Man as God Helpe Mee, I thinke the Son off Man doth nott knowe."[74] Meanwhile he was over-taxing his relationship with Strafford, for "my Lordes Grace bides mee

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66 Longueville, (1910), pp.13-15, quotes William to the Duke of Buckingham, 27th February, 1627, in greater detail than Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1627-1628*, London, 1858, pp.68-9.

67 Hamilton, W.D., and Lomas, S.C., ed., *CSPD, 1625-49, Addenda*, 1897, p.752.

68 Knowler, William, Rector of Irthlingborough, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches*, London, 1739, Vol.1, p.101.

69 Knowler, (1739), p.274.

70 Clarendon, (1888), Book I, Chapter 167, Vol.1, p.105.

71 NU Clifton MS, Clc.231, Sir Gervase Clifton to Mr Hughes, 4th July, 1639.

72 HMC, *Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part II, The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire*, London, 1888, Vol.2, p.240.

73 BL Add MS 70499, ff.198, 200.

74 Sheffield City Archives WWM Str. P. Vol.17, f.293.

talke off an other matter, & sayes hee knowes nothinge I wayte off him as offten as I can nott to trouble him..."[75] Still, it was to Strafford that he wrote when he was finally appointed. "I have now the Greate Truste in my handes," he wrote in May, 1638, "God Bless mee with Itt."[76] William became a member of the Privy Council in December 1639,[77] and later wrote with satisfaction of coaching the Prince in practical and equestrian matters. But the longed-for appointment did not last. William found "fewe freindships at Courte"[78] and quarrelled with the Prince's tutor, the Bishop of Chichester.[79] According to his wife his retirement to Welbeck shortly afterwards was "to his great satisfaction."[80] He had been implicated - wittingly or not - in the "Army Plot," whereby he was to seize the Prince and join a conspiracy against Parliament.[81] In June, 1641, he either resigned (according to his wife), or, (according to another observer), was "removed from the Prince."[82]

What was William's place in the context of court patronage in the period before the Civil War? He obviously could have learnt the art of extending politics through culture from Arundel, Buckingham or Strafford. But looking at the court in terms of faction, William was poorly placed. He was hostile to the powerful Suffolks, with whom he argued over his wife's jointure from her previous marriage. In the 1626 Parliament, Buckingham held thirteen proxies - a good measure of his faction - and Arundel and Pembroke had five each.[83] These two latter, though, were not entirely well-disposed towards William since the arguments over Gilbert Talbot's will. William took part in the buying and selling of honours, a practice outlawed by statute in 1603.[84] He and Charles I had to share a language in which corruption was denied; Strafford warned William to seek his honour as if he repudiated the efforts of mediators to obtain it for him. Part of William's problem

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75 BL Add MS 70499, f.198.

76 Sheffield City Archives WWM Str. P. Vol.18, f.30.

77 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1639*, London, 1877, pp.158-9.

78 Sheffield City Archives WMM Str. P. Vol.18, f.76.

79 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1639*, London, 1877, p.69, Bishop Duppa of Chichester to Archbishop Laud, 2nd November, 1639.

80 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.10.

81 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1641-3*, London, 1877, Vol.1, pp.8,18.

82 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.9; Hamilton, W.D. ed., *CSPD, 1641-3*, London, 1877, Vol.1, p.24.

83 Peck, (1993), p.56.

84 ibid, p.9.

was that he overestimated his own importance, and lacked a faction base of his own. His shifting from one camp to another, his importunity with his patrons, and possibly his localist perspective explain his chequered political career.

1.2.2 The Civil War

Despite losing his longed-for job, William threw himself into raising troops for Charles I. He was appointed commander of the army in the north on the basis of his influence rather than his skill. The sources agree unanimously that he was a poor soldier, despite his undoubted bravery. According to Warwick, William's fondness for "witty society (to be modest in the expressions of it) diverted many counsels, and lost many opportunities."[85] Court gossip had it that William was "a sweet General, lay in bed until eleven o'clock and combed till twelve, then came to the Queen, and so the work was done, and that General King did all the business."[86] Even Margaret admitted that William "naturally loves not business, especially those of State, (though he understands it as well as any body)."[87]

William went into exile after Marston Moor in 1644 with a limited entourage and immediately found himself in want of money and friends. "After the Greate Misfortunes & miseries I have sufferde," he wrote to Prince Charles, "I carde nott howe soone Death closed my Eyes..."[88] His later claims of ingratitude from the Stuarts are more understandable in the light of their letters of 1644: Charles I promised him that "it shalbe one of our principall endeavours to ... recompense those that have with soe great an affection and courage as yourself assisted us in the time of our greatest necessity." Henrietta, meanwhile, promised in 1653 that she would never forget William, having "*trop de souvenance des service que vous ave's vendue ... pour pouvoir estre capable d'une in gratitude comme celle la...*"[89]

William's first wife died in 1643. In 1645, while in Paris, William made the unusual decision to re-marry; choosing a young girl without prospects, from a respectable but not exalted family from Colchester. Margaret Lucas was a waiting woman to the queen, and in marrying her William

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85 Warwick, (1701), pp.235-236.

86 HMC, *Portland*, Appendix, Part 1, London, 1891, Vol.1, p.701.

87 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.134.

88 BL Add MS 70499, f.258.

89 'too strong a remembrance of the services which you have done ... to be capable of such ingratitude as that...' BL Harleian MS 7003, f.14, Henrietta Maria to William, Paris, 3rd June, 1653.

displeased Henrietta Maria. "I fear she will tak it ell if she be not mad acquanted with our intenshoins," wrote Margaret, and "she may doe us harme."[90] William and Margaret's letters to each other are loving.[91] Perhaps he needed a companion, rather than waiting to make a shrewd, financially-advantageous match like his first.

By 1648, William and Margaret had settled in Antwerp, where they were to remain for the duration of the Commonwealth. They acquired the lease of a house from Rubens' widow with the help of a loan from the second Duke of Buckingham. This connection with Buckingham, whose father and William's patron the first Duke bought Rubens' sculpture collection, may provide the germ of the often-repeated story that William purchased Rubens' museum.[92] The story of William's purchase of a museum cannot be traced any earlier than 1872 and probably results from confusion between the two names.[93] The *Rubenshuis*, William's home, was a stimulating architectural experience, and the Gazetteer argues that William converted part of it into a riding house where he was visited by the horse-loving aristocracy of Europe. William passed his time unproductively in Antwerp, practising his *manège*, socialising with continental dignities and making unsuccessful efforts to intrigue on Charles I's behalf. He found his exile lonely. His usual good spirits had deserted him when he wrote: "I am so astonishte diseye, & a maysde with misforun, as I knowe nott wether I am a wake or no."[94]

In 1651, William's brother Charles (II) returned to England in order to compound, or pay a fine for his delinquency to the Parliamentary Committee, in order to regain his estates. He then purchased back William's.[95] William rejoiced in the news of the Restoration, but his return home was not as triumphant as he had hoped. He and Margaret were forced to take lodgings as their London home, Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, as described in the Gazetteer, was still in the hands of its Interregnum purchaser.[96]

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90 Goulding, (1909), p.16.

91 BL Add MS 70499, ff.259-298.

92 For example, Faulkner, Patrick, *Bolsover Castle*, Department of the Environment Official Guidebook, 1972, p.18; Woodhouse, Adrian, 'Nottingham Castle,' *Country Life*, 27th July, 2000, p.72.

93 See Gazetteer, p.105.

94 NU PW1.537

95 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.74; Green, M.A.E., ed., *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643-1660*, London, 1891, Part 3, pp.1732-7.

96 HMC, *7th Report, The House of Lords Calendar, 1660*, London, 1879, Part 1, appendix, p.135; see Gazetteer, p.76.

William seems to have been out of step with the court of Charles II, and retired to Welbeck surprisingly soon. He never regained his position as a figure of national importance, partly because of age, and partly because a suspicion lingered that he thought Charles II ungrateful. One of Margaret's anecdotes illustrates this: the re-marriage of William's late son Charles (III)'s widow meant that William regained her jointure, and he thanked heaven for this gift of £2,000 a year, "though his Earthly King and Master seem'd to have forgot him."[97] Making the best of the position, William's chaplain congratulated him on "the sweet *privacy* and *retirement* his *MAJESTY* is pleased to grant Your *LORDSHIP* here in the *Country,* where You live free from the *Noise* and *Cumbrance* of *Court* and *Citty*."[98] William did not attend his installation, for example, as a Knight of the Garter at Windsor on 15th April 1661, but sent his son instead.[99] Charles (III) and Henry had accompanied William into exile, but the boys had returned to England and married. Meanwhile, William's daughters Jane and Frances had remained at Welbeck Abbey when the Parliamentarians took it in 1644.[100] During William's exile, Bolsover was sold for the value of its materials, but it was repurchased by Charles (II) in 1652. Subsequently, William's sons Charles (III) and then Henry lived there. On returning to the Midlands in 1661, William began considerable improvements at both the half-derelict Bolsover and at Welbeck. He had not completed his final project at Nottingham Castle at the time of his death in 1676.[101]

William's later years were spent in local administration; he once again became Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, as well as Warden and Chief Justice Itinerant of the King's Forests north of Trent in 1661,[102] and joint Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland in 1670. In 1665, he received some recognition of his services in the form of a Dukedom. Obviously in response to William's needling, Charles II wrote that he was "resolved to grant your request. Send me therefore word what title you desire to have..."[103] William continued to visit London in the summers, and some

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97 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.188.

98 Ellis, (1661), Dedicatory Epistle.

99 College of Arms, Archive of Garter King of Arms, *Order of the Garter*, (No.50), p.116.

100 Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, Part III, 1691, Vol.2, p.644.

101 See Gazetteer, pp.28, 90-94.

102 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1661-2,* London, 1861, p.35, 10th July, 1661; NA DD6P.1.27.70.

103 Charles II to William, 7th June, 1664, HMC *Portland,* Appendix 2, London, 1893, p.145. (The original letter has since been removed from BL Add MS 70500.)

of his plays were performed on the London stage.[104] However, it was Margaret who created the greater sensation, though she was notorious rather than famous. Her writings and her unusual dress made her into a figure of fun and surprisingly vicious vilification. She died in 1673, after which William became more reclusive though his building activity did halt.

William would be worthy of study simply for the accident of his unusual longevity; his architectural patronage spans both before and after the Civil War. Another striking accident is the fact that so much of his architectural patronage survives. So much has been lost of the architectural work of his contemporaries at the court of Charles I that its survival would perhaps have illustrated more widely the conclusions of this thesis that English classicism had little to do with a court/country divide. If remains had survived, for example, of the less innovative work at Syon or Northumberland House the tenth Earl of Northumberland "would be more easily recognised as the equal, as a patron, of the fourth Earl of Pembroke."[105] Pembroke's classicism at Wilton did not prevent him from taking the Parliamentarian side in the Civil War, although like the Terrace Range at Bolsover much was done in the 1630s in the expectation of royal visits.[106] Strafford, like William, built both in an 'Artisan Mannerist' style at Wentworth Woodhouse and in a Baroque *palazzo* style at Jigginstown in Ireland, both now lost.[107] Buckingham's water gate at York House survives, in the native classical style, but his work at Burley-on-the-Hill remains mysterious except for the stables, which shared many features with William's at Welbeck.[108] However, the Italianate classicism of Arundel's gallery at Arundel House shown in Mytens' view is thought to have been imaginary: in reality, Arundel House continued to be a palimpsest of different periods. The building of so many gentry houses after the Civil War was usually done by new owners of the estates such as Sir Roger Pratt at Coleshill,[109] and William's own lengthy architectural development is to some extent striking simply because he outlived his contemporaries. But unlike them, William was harassed by criticism to an unusual degree.

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104 For example, see HMC *Hastings MSS*, 1930, Vol.2, p.152; Pepys, (1967), Vol.8, pp.386-7.

105 Wood, Jeremy, 'The Architectural Patronage of the 10th Earl of Northumberland,' in Bold, John and Chaney, Edward, ed., *English Architecture Public and Private*, London, 1993, p.80.

106 Hussey, Christopher, 'Wilton House, Wiltshire - II,' *Country Life*, 16th May, 1963, Vol.133, p.1111.

107 Howarth, (1997), pp.192, 203.

108 Summerson, (1993), p.136; Hussey, Christopher, 'Burley-on-the-Hill - 1,' *Country Life*, 10th February, 1923, Vol.53, pp.183-4; see Gazetteer, pp.135-7.

109 Tipping, H. Avery, 'Coleshill House, Berkshire - I,' *Country Life*, 26th July, 1919, Vol.46, p.114, though others believe that Inigo Jones was partially responsible for the design, see Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), pp.48-56.

1.2.3 Contemporary criticism

The review of the historiography at the beginning of this chapter traced the survival of an alternative, disrespectful narrative of William Cavendish's life. This stemmed in turn from a body of criticism, remarkable for developing around a prominent courtier even during his lifetime, and the contemporary evidence will be drawn together in this section. There are hints from the 1620s and '30s that he was not entirely welcome at court, as discussed above, but from 1641 the criticism became public and widespread. William's military ineptitude, socially-inappropriate interest in the stage and unsuitable wife were all taunts that gained currency because of the underlying weakness of his position at court.

In 1641, William was forced to renounce his hard-won governorship of Prince Charles. There was talk in June "of the Earl of Newcastle to be ... a delinquent, and the Prince to be sequestered from his tuition,"[110] and the Earls of Holland and Essex began a smear campaign against him: they "would pick all quarrels they could, and load him with all reproaches which might blast him with the people, with whom he had a very good reputation."[111] The following year, after having besieged Hull on the king's orders, William had to account for his actions before Parliament.[112] He was already tarnished in Parliamentarian eyes, even if his resignation - or dismissal - as governor, was essentially a result of the political struggle shaping up between the Parliament and the king.

William's lasting reputation as a general has already been commented on. But what were contemporaries' views of his actions? Margaret rails against the "Treachery, Jugling and Flashood in my Lord's own Army."[113] Charles I himself had to stiffen William's resolve against "impertinent or malitius tonges and pennes of those that ar or professe to be your frends."[114] Henrietta Maria too had to encourage him to ignore supposed slights: "*Laisons nos passions: et sougons que pour un petit despit nour prouvres tour ruines.*"[115] The view that William was frequently simply incompetent is sometimes confirmed. He was essentially garrulous, and in 1658,

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110 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1641-3*, London, 1877, Vol.1, p.18.

111 Clarendon, (1888), Book IV, Chapter 293, Vol.1, p.563.

112 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.11.

113 ibid, p.118.

114 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.173r, Charles I to William, Oxford, 5th April, 1644.

115 'Let us not mind our passions, and let us reflect that, for a small offence, we may ruin all,' BL Harleian MS 6988, f.141, Henrietta Maria to William, 10th May, 1643.

for example, let slip that the Earl of Ormonde was making a secret journey into Commonwealth England. One bystander wondered "that anyone who knows Newcastle would trust him with so important a secret, for it might as well be proclaimed at the cross."[116] These views on William's incompetence are in fact confirmed by a private letter of Henrietta Maria's to Charles I which has, surprisingly, passed unnoticed by William's biographers. Charles I was trapped in Oxford in 1643, desperate for more troops. His wife reported that some would be sent from the north, but "*tout ce cy sest fait avec grande paine car. nostre Generale* [William] *est fantasque et inconstant...*"[117] Although most of the Royalist leaders were treated to scurrilous descriptions, the attacks on William by the Parliamentarian side were particularly biting.[118] Artistic activity and amorousness are the unique terms in which William was criticised. He was described as "...one of *Apollo's Whirligigs*; one that when he should be fighting, would be fornicating with the *Nine Muses*, or the Dean or *York's* daughters."[119] His dramatic ambitions were parodied: "First, enter *Newcastle*; one that in the time of peace tired the stage in *Black-friars* with his *Comedies*; and afterwards, one that trod the stage in the *North* with the first *Tragedies*."[120] He was satirised by John Dryden, Harold Love argues, as the Emperor of the Realm of Nonsense.[121] The striking aspects of William's case are that the criticism continued throughout the Commonwealth and Restoration periods, in particular with open abuse of his second wife, and that it shared the common threads of inappropriate literary activity and sexual misconduct. Chapter Five investigates the possible effects of these personal characteristics on his architectural patronage.

William's decision to go into exile drew criticism from both sides. John Constable wrote in 1644 that "Prince Rupert is here mightily condemned for his rashness, but the Marquis of Newcastle more for coming away ... his going lost his army and all those that depended on him."[122] A Parliamentarian pamphleteer wrote about "the brave Marquess of *Newcastle*, which made the fine

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116 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1657-8*, London, 1884, p.300, Thomas Ross to Secretary Nicholas, 24th February, 1658.

117 'all this has been done by great pains, for our general [William] is fantastic and inconstant,' BL Harleian MS 7379, f.7r, Henrietta Maria to Charles I, York, 18th May, 1643. The letter is mostly in code but has been deciphered on the original.

118 See, for example, Brown, Angela, 'Propaganda in Nottinghamshire During the English Civil War,' *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 100, 1996, pp.96-7.

119 *Thomason Tracts*, E279 (6), 26th April, 1645.

120 From the newsletter *Mercurius Britannicus*, quoted by Trease, (1979), p.143.

121 Love, (1985), p.24.

122 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1644*, London, 1888, p.379, 25th July, 1644.

plays, he danced so quaintly, played his part a while in the North, was soundly beaten, shew'd a pair of heels, and exit *Newcastle*,"[123] neatly making fun of both William's supposed bravery and his dramatic efforts.

But why did Margaret conjure up so much hostility, ultimately reflecting onto her husband? Literary pretension is a simple explanation. "Here's the crime, a Lady wrote them," wrote William, defending her books, "and to intrench so much upon the male prerogative, is not to be forgiven."[124] She had remarkable views on female equality. Men treated women, she wrote, "like Children, Fools, or Subjects, in flattering or threatning us, in alluring or forcing us to obey; and will not let us divide the World equally with them."[125] Dorothy Osborne (letter-writer, 1627-1695), commented that "there are many soberer people in Bedlam."[126] John Evelyn's wife found her as rambling and obscene as her writings. William, too, could be foul-mouthed: there was a report current in 1650 that a supposedly diplomatic visit at Breda had ended with his being "rebuked ... for his customarie swearing, & sent home."[127] Samuel Pepys met Margaret but found "her dress so antic and her deportment so unordinary, that I did not like her at all, nor did I hear her say anything that was worth hearing..." Two years later, it was reading the *Life* itself that caused Pepys to think her "a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer [her] to write what she writes to him and of him."[128] John Stainsby, the writer, was provoked so far as to describe her as the "Shame of her sex, Welbeck's illustrious whore, / The true man's hate and grief, plague of the poor..."[129]

This accusation of obscenity and of sexual misconduct is even more interesting because it is also found within the Cavendish household itself, where Margaret was an unpopular and divisive figure. She disliked her stepsons. While in impecunious exile, she accused them of turning down some rich brides, "out of some reasons best known to them ... continuing, nevertheless, in *England*, and

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123 From a pamphlet quoted by Trease, (1979), p.143.

124 William's 'epistle to justifie the Lady Newcastle,' in Cavendish, Margaret, (1655).

125 ibid, '*The Preface.*'

126 Osborne, Dorothy, *Letters of Dorothy Osborne,* ed. Smith, G.C.Moore, Oxford, 1928, p.41.

127 Bod. Clarendon MS 39, f.155, R.W. (i.e. Mr Watson) to William Edgeman, Breda, 22nd April, 1650.

128 Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Latham, R., and Matthews, W., London, 1974, Vol.8, p.243; Vol.9, p.123.

129 Bod. Ashmole MS 36, f.185v.

living as well as they could."[130] Longstanding family servants such as Andrew Clayton turned against her, and organised a conspiracy to make William set her aside by accusing her of adultery with Sir Francis Topp, another new and unpopular member of the household. The surviving document entitled 'The true Narrative and Confession of that horrid Consperacie, against her Grace Margarett Duchess of Newcastle acted at Welbeck' not only gives some fascinating detail about household life, but expresses the view that "her whole care and studie was nothing more then to inrich her selfe for a second husband, well knowing his Grace could not live Longe." Then she "would break up the ffamilie and goe to Rant at London."[131] The "ffamilie," of course, was the household, bound by service and tradition rather than a blood relationship. The fact that these criticisms were also present at the very heart of the household suggested that William's court status, or lack of it, was marginal to the actual operation of his household and the building process in which it was so heavily involved. It was his role as head of the household, and therefore, by implication, dictator of the household's architectural style, that was being challenged.

This public criticism was somehow made acceptable by the fact that it seemed to be a reflection of royal displeasure, and Margaret was even more outspoken than William on the supposed ingratitude of the Stuarts. Despite the official language of flattery in the patent for William's Dukedom, Charles II was bound by obligation rather than feeling, or at least was so perceived by William himself. When William left court, Margaret put into his mouth a speech of protestation to Charles II: "I am not ignorant, that many believe I am discontented; and 'tis probable they'l say, I retire through discontent." It was obviously a sore point, for Margaret's writings include 'An Oration against those that lay an Aspersion upon the Retirement of Noble men.'[132] Clement Ellis, William's chaplain also made the best of William's retirement: Charles II's greatest possible gift to William was "thus to bestow *YOUR-SELF* upon *YOUR-SELF* ... then all the *Offices* and *Honours* which your *exemplary Loyalty* has meritted."[133] Charles II himself did not desist from the universal practice of belittling Margaret's appearance, if an anecdote by the Comte de Grammont is true. He encountered "the devil of a phantom in masquerade, who would by all means persuade me that the queen had commanded me to dance with her ... it is worth while to see her dress; for she must have at least sixty ells of gauze and silver tissue about her, not to mention a sort of pyramid upon her head, adorned with a hundred thousand baubles..." 'I bet,' said [Charles II] 'that

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130 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.57.

131 NU PW1.315, original; 316, copy; 317, notes on punishment.

132 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.89; eadem, (1662), p.66.

133 Ellis, (1661), Dedicatory Epistle.

it is the Duchess of Newcastle.' "[134]

1.3 New Approaches

In contrast to this biographical and anecdotal approach, this thesis seeks to explore William Cavendish's patronage through the approaches opened up by social history and art history, with the latter's theories of the consumption of, and the response to, architecture. Connections are often made between buildings and national politics, and a case can be made for linking the timetable of William's building programme with his court appointments. However, the conclusion reached in Chapter Four is that there is not enough explicit evidence to make this a compelling connection. Instead, Chapters Four and particularly Five will turn to micro-politics of the family as an alternative explanation for the buildings. This involves setting aside a biographical approach in favour of a more contextual view of William Cavendish as a product of his family and locality, rather than as a self-fashioned individual. As well as explaining a particular set of buildings, the conclusions of this thesis therefore also seek to refine the usual straightforward assumptions about the connections between buildings and power.

The connections between the concept of 'magnificence' and the search for political power still form the framework for much modern architectural history. Buildings such as seventeenth-century great houses are still more often than not discussed in terms of style, although there is more emphasis on function today. The connections to be made between style and function are examined, for example, by J.T. Cliffe, but in an unsystematic fashion.[135] This thesis builds on that approach by surveying, in the Gazetteer, a group of buildings where the variable of ownership is eliminated. Rather than taking a scattergun approach, comparing houses across the whole country, a deeper look at a single household building over a period enables function to be redefined. Function, it is argued here, is not only linked to daily routine, but also to the fulfillment of the philosophical and ideological needs of the household. There are three particular aspects of William Cavendish's life that provide important background for the complicated relationship between his architectural patronage and politics that have not previously been identified. They include his artistic patronage, his religious beliefs, and the role of his household, and will be introduced below.

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134 Anon., *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte de Grammont, contenant particulièrement l'Histoire Amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre sous la Règne du Roi Charles II*, Cologne, 1713, quotation from Hamilton, A., ed., *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, Philadephia, 1888, pp.153-4.

135 Cliffe, J.T., *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, New Haven and London, 1999.

1.3.1 Patronage of painting

Much of William's importance in recent historians' eyes has come from his unusually active patronage of the visual, literary and behavioural arts. Although he has been condemned as a dilettante writer, he nonetheless took his horsemanship very seriously, writing that "he that will take Pains for Nothing, shall never do any thing Well."[136] His writings show evidence of this, as do his buildings. But the well-known literary angle is supplemented by an artistic patronage that is currently uncharted. For example, the Smithson family of masons and their individual interpretations of Renaissance forms are usually given undue prominence in William's artistic patronage because the character of their buildings is so striking. It is surprising that William did not employ architectural designers better known at court, as he patronised Ben Jonson for writing entertainments, Mr Tomkins as an organist, the Florentine Francesco Fanelli for sculpture and Anthony Van Dyck as a painter, all cosmopolitan court imports. He even decorated the Hall at Welbeck in a highly cosmopolitan fashion with copies of the series of Roman emperors by Titian that Charles I had purchased from the Duke of Mantua in the 1620s. It is possible that William himself, during the course of his tour of northern Italy in 1612, visited the palace at Mantua where the famous series painted by Titian hung at that time in the cabinet of the Gonzaga Duke.[137]

English Heritage now owns a series of ten Roman emperors and two empresses, painted in oils on canvas and probably for William Cavendish. They are copies of Federico Gonzaga's series of portraits of the Roman emperors, commissioned in 1535 from Titian in order to hint at his aim of imperial power. In the palace at Mantua, the finished portraits hung with a series of equestrian scenes from the lives of the emperors by Giulio Romano. This great art collection was put up for sale in the 1620s, and Charles I's agent, Daniel Nys, in 1628 listed the group of Titian Caesars among other pieces which were to make the voyage to England.[138] The newly-acquired Caesars were hung by Charles I in his long gallery at St James' Palace. The main feature of the gallery was Van Dyck's *Charles I and M. de St Antoine*: William's riding teacher depicted by one of William's clients. The sequence of paintings that led up to the Van Dyck was Titian's series of Caesars, accompanied, as in Mantua, by Giulio Romano's portraits of them on horseback. Spectators were encouraged to see Charles as the heir to these imperial rulers, and his artist, Van Dyck, as the equivalent of Titian and Giulio Romano.[139]

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136 Cavendish, William, *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to dress Horses*, London, 1667, p.9.

137 Worsley, Lucy, 'A set of seventeenth century Caesars from Bolsover Castle,' *Collections Review*, English Heritage, Vol.2, 1999, pp.61-64.

138 Chambers, David, and Martineau, Jane, *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, London, 1982, p.244.

139 Parry, (1981), p.222.

The most widely-known set of engraved copies of the Caesars was made by Aegidious Sadeler, and a whole series of twenty-four (including empresses) was issued by Aegidious's nephew Marco Sadeler. The Cavendish Caesars, probably copied from these, certainly existed by 1695, when they appear in an inventory of Welbeck Abbey. They hung in the Hall with the twelve pictures of horses traditionally by William's client the Flemish artist Abraham Diepenbeke (1596-1675).[140] The coupling of Caesars and horses still existed in 1717, when "twelve large pictures of horses, very much damaged" hung with "twelve half lengths of the Roman Emperors."[141] It was the same combination of portraits of the Caesars accompanied by equestrian scenes. Possibly William was trying, in this instance, to recreate the atmosphere of St James' in his Midlands home. Presumably the combination of Caesars, and horses, mirrored to some extent the arrangement in the gallery there, and the giant horses hung on the walls must also have created something of the effect of the *Sala dei Cavalli* at the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.[142] William was emulating the very greatest collectors: Charles I of England, and consciously or not, Federigo Gonzaga, patron of Titian.

William also himself presented pictures to Charles I by Alexander Kierincx and "Bartholomeo,"[143] and owned works by Anthony Van Dyck and Hendrik van Steenwyck.[144] This cosmopolitanism in William's art collecting - he also owned equestrian bronzes by the Florentine Francesco Fanelli, who described himself as "sculptor magn. Brit. regis,"[145] - echoed current court taste more than has been recognised. His architecture, on the other hand, does not fit readily into court trends. This highlights the fact that there was a slightly different, perhaps local, audience for this key aspect of William's patronage, and therefore investigating the local situation may provide an explanation.

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140 'In an Inventory of Welbeck, dated 1695, it is recorded that 12 *Horse Pictures* & 12 *Cesars*, were then hanging in the Hall,' Goulding, (1936), p.114.

141 NA DD.4P.39.55

142 Illustrated in Gombrich, E.H., et al., *Giulio Romano*, Milan, 1989, p.341.

143 Horace Walpole describes Kierincx (or Carings) as 'employed by King Charles to draw views; his works are mentioned in the royal catalogue, particularly prospects of his majesty's houses in Scotland,' *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, Strawberry Hill, 1762, Vol.2, p.105. Two of Kierincx's topographical works are illustrated in Harris, John, *The Artist and the Country House*, London, 1979, pp.26-7. For William's gift of a painting by Kierincx to Charles I, and for Kierincx as a possible author of the Renishaw Drawings, see Girouard, Mark, 'Early Drawings of Bolsover Castle,' *Architectural History*, Vol.27, 1984, p.518. For William's gift of a painting by 'Bartholomeo' to Charles I, see BL Add MS 10112, f.5.

144 BL MS 70499, f.353. A copy of a friendly letter from William to Van Dyck (1599-1641) exists at BL Add MS 70499, f.218; the 'Stenwickes' that William mentions were probably by Hendrik van Steenwyck (c.1580-1695), a landscape and architectural painter who worked for Charles I, see Walpole, (1762) Vol.2, p.104; Whinney, Margaret and Millar, Oliver, *English Art 1625-1714*, Oxford, 1957, p.69; MacGregor, A., ed., *The Late King's Goods*, 1989, p.416; see Gazetteer, p.26.

145 Walpole, (1762), Vol.2, p.139.

1.3.2 Religious views

One particular element of the criticism against William was his supposed lack of religion, and Margaret too was described by John Stainsby as a "great atheistical philosophraster, / That oens no God, no devil, lord nor master."[146] It is worth investigating whether there is any truth in the claims. William's paternal grandparents were Protestants, and it has been argued that the iconography of Hardwick Hall suggests strong religious conviction.[147] But Gilbert Talbot was widely-known to be Catholic, and William had a mixed religious inheritance.

The evidence points to William's indifference to religion spiritually, despite his seeing it as a useful prop to the social status quo. In 1642, he publicly claimed his intention, to "dye in the profession of the true Reformed Religion, as it now standeth established by the Lawes of the Land, and as it was professed, and practised in the purest times of peerlesse Queene *Elizabeth*."[148] This has been interpreted as part of his reactionary image, although of course there was no single pure church under Elizabeth. In 1592, his father Charles (I) was listed among the notorious papists and dangerous recusants close to the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. In addition, Charles (I)'s "first wife was daughter of Sir Thos. Kitson, and a Papist by birth, and so continued, and his second wife is thought to be no better."[149] Lynn Hulse makes a convincing case for Charles (I)'s Catholicism, but his son's religious views are more ambivalent,[150] despite the fact that Colonel Hutchinson, at Nottingham Castle during the Civil War, refused "to yeild on any terms to a Papisticall Armie led by an Atheisticall Generall."[151] Elsewhere, William's army was thought to consist of "ravenous papists ... inveterate enemies to Gods true Religion."[152] It was perfectly true that William's army contained papists. Charles I commanded William to "make use of all [his] loving Subjects services, without examining there Contienses..."[153] William explained in 1642 that he had received

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146 Bod. Ashmole MS 36, f.185v.

147 Wells-Cole, Anthony, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England,* London and New Haven, 1998, p.295.

148 *A Declaration made by the Earl of New-Castle, Governour of the Town and County of New-Castle ... For his Resolution of Marching into YORKSHIRE,* York, 1642, p.8.

149 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1591-94*, London, 1867, p.174.

150 Hulse, (1994), pp.213-246.

151 Hutchinson, (1973), p.88.

152 BL Thomason Tracts, E84 (1), 17 *The Protestation and Declaration of Divers Knights, Esquires ... of the Counties of Lincolne and Nottingham*, London, 1643, p.4.

153 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.125r, Charles I to William, Shrewsbury, 23rd September, 1642.

papists into his army "not for their Religion, but for their Allegiance which they professe.[154] He even went so far as to make jokes about it. Warwick found William's army digging trenches in order to besiege Hull in 1643. The trenches were full of water, but on Warwick's criticising the workmanship, William "merrily put it off saying, 'You often hear us called the Popish Army; but you see we trust not in our good works.' "[155]

Indifference to religion is often ascribed to William on the basis of the 1638 report by a papal envoy. William was reported to have expressed dislike of both Protestants and Catholics: "*In materia di Religione é troppo indifferente. Odia li Puritani, si ride de' Protestanti, crede puoco ai Cattolici.*"[156] A later letter said that William had been accused of being a Catholic, but had lightly countered that he was glad. William had said "*che il mondo ora comincia à sospettarlo per Cattolico, ed egli mostra di rallegrarsi di esser tenuto di qualche Religione, perche' viene assai sospettarlo d'una totale indifferenza.*"[157] William himself reported his reputation back to his wife in a letter from court in 1636, saying that it was said that he was "off no religion neyther fearde God nor the Divell beleved Heaven or Hell."[158] William could hardly promote publicly a casual attitude to religion, and there is plenty of evidence to show that he considered himself a good Protestant. But there is a possible reading of the Heaven Room at Bolsover Castle which is difficult to explain iconographically, combining as it does country dance tunes with cavorting cherubs and a figure of Christ who appears to be dancing his way up to heaven.[159] Contrasting with the sensual Elysian room, this could possibly be a private commentary on the absurdity of taking religion too seriously. It is certainly most unusual to find Christ depicted at all, especially in a secular room. Even the second, revised, edition of Sir Henry Peacham's book on drawing, published 1634, still condemns depicting the figures of the Trinity as "blasphemous, and utterly unlawfull." On the other hand, Peacham does allow a "picture of Christ according to his

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154 *A Declaration ... For his Resolution of Marching into YORKSHIRE*, York and London, 1642, p.8.

155 Warwick, (1701), pp.294-5.

156 'In matters of Religion he is too indifferent. He hates the Puritans, laughs at the Protestants, believes little in the Catholics ...' BL Add MS 15391, f.241v, George Conn to Francesco Barberini, 17th September, 1638.

157 'He reported that the world now begins to suspect he is Catholic, and he is flattered because he is considered to belong to any religion at all - since he is often suspected to ignore religion entirely,' BL Add MS 15392, f.43v, 11th February, 1639.

158 BL Add MS 70499, f.198.

159 See Gazetteer, p.35 and illustration 2.11.

humanity."[160] Christ's humanity could certainly be expressed through dancing. William was certainly not a dogmatic Protestant. "Nothinge butt a meracle can restore us & I sweare as I am a good protestante I beleve miracles..."[161] he wrote, lightly, to an unnamed correspondent while in exile.

Yet, inconsistently, his chaplain, Clement Ellis, also reported a strict attitude towards religion in William's household. When a visitor once uttered some "profane jests" against Christianity, William asked Ellis to respond, and defended his chaplain from the gentleman's accusation of his being "rude and unmannerly."[162] This strain is borne out in some of William's private letters. Henry Bate, a chaplain, wrote to William in 1631, thanking the Lord that he was "ridd of these ... popish temptations."[163] William's private poems include several rants against 'disciplinarians' and 'ranters,' but also some convincing statements of religious devotion.[164]

1.3.3 The household

According to Castiglione, magnificence was one of the qualities of a great prince, and making family occasions public through profuse expenditure was the public manifestation of the generosity and liberality that were supposed to characterise a gentlemen. David Starkey writes that it was the household that was the "supreme and chosen vehicle" for magnificence, and previous studies have underestimated the importance of the household to the significance of the buildings that remain.[165]

The household was the unit of local government, and the members of a Lord Lieutenant's - or any other courtier's - household were also, by implication, the king's servants in the shires, and their magnificence in terms of number, clothing, food and accommodation supported his royal power. While Raylor and Hulse have investigated William's household by providing biographical details of certain individual members, William Cavendish's household has not previously been found relevant to the building process and its functioning has not been elucidated. Chapter Five in

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160 Peacham, Sir Henry, *The Gentlemans Exercise. Or, An exquisite practise, as well for drawing all manner of Beasts in their true Portraitures: as also the making of all kinds of colours...*, London, second edition, 1634, pp.10-12; Annabel Ricketts provided this reference.

161 NU PW1.537v

162 Ellis, Clement, *The Scripture Catechist: or, The Whole Religion of a Christian*, London, 1738, pp.xi-xii.

163 BL Add MS 70499, f.139.

164 'Extreames are Splenetick theye doe mutch harme,' NU PWV.26, f.3r; 'a Raylinge puretan pretcher,' NU PWV.25, f.143; 'A Holy Meditation on the Passion,' PWV.25, f.50.

165 Starkey, David, 'The age of the household,' in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Medcalf, S., London, 1981, p.255.

particular will apply the latest theoretical approaches to the seventeenth-century household to William Cavendish's, finding that it fits a pattern whereby the notional ideal of the household relationships in fact concealed stresses, "dichotomized as husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, and master and servant, or ... the more vexed and ambiguous ones of host and guest, mother and son, and mistress and servant."[166]

Part of the research for this thesis involved the compilation of a database tracking members of the household in time and space throughout William's lifetime. It revealed that members passed in and out, creating constant fluctuation. This is a kind of research that has become more common since the importance of the household has been recognised. Friedman applies it to Sir Francis Willoughby's Wollaton, for example, and Wilks shows that Strong's work on Henry, Prince of Wales, underestimates the importance of the members of Henry's household.[167] Chapter Two will show that some of the building personnel were either permanently or temporarily part of the household, something previously recognised as a phenomenon by Airs,[168] but that can be illustrated more fully by the completeness of the records surviving for the Cavendish household. The quarrels within the household recognised by Lena Cowan Orlin will be related to the building process in more detail in Chapter Five.

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166 Orlin, Lena Cowan, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*, Ithaca and London, 1994, p.3.

167 Friedman, (1989a); Strong, (1986); Wilks, (1987).

168 Airs, (1995), pp.65, 71.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MAKING OF THE BUILDINGS

2.1 Introduction

The buildings of William Cavendish, his father and his brother, overwhelmingly involved local people and local materials. This chapter sets out the building campaigns undertaken, the people involved in them, the means of payment, and how the buildings were constructed. Contrary to our expectations for a courtier of the status of William Cavendish, they accentuated their Midland and Northumbrian precedents and connections.

The mechanisms by which William's building projects were administered show that decisions about what to build were shared by several members of his household and that the patron had relatively little control. This point, which can be applied generally to the seventeenth-century building process, is not only demonstrated but also strengthened by the surviving Cavendish archive. The workmanship was carried out by a relatively small group of people connected to the household, and consisting of the same few families from the 1610s until the 1670s. Calculating the cost of building as a proportion of annual estate income, it becomes clear that, unlike most other patrons, William Cavendish managed to maintain the commitment of a regular proportion of his income every year to building, rather than bursts of high expenditure on short-term projects. Building was therefore part of the normal life of this household, and the usual dichotomy between patron and executants is not entirely useful in this case.

The study of the production, rather than the consumption, of great houses has traditionally been well-explored, and some of these buildings have been examined in these terms before; Girouard in particular has made extensive use of the Bolsover Little Castle building accounts. However, a summary will be presented of the more exact sequence of dating for the buildings proposed in the Gazetteer, expanding and refining previous interpretations. Chapter Five will suggest that this makes it possible to draw connections between the start of projects and the political situation at various times. The financing of the Cavendish work has not previously been considered, and here the conclusions to be reached differ markedly from the pattern recognised by Stone, for example, for the Cecils and other families, where a great burst of building resulted in ruin.[1] Airs has presented examples of more conservative projects paid for out of current revenue over a period of ten years or so.[2] But Bess of Hardwick provides almost the only comparable example of a patron

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1 Stone, (1965), p.554.

2 Airs, (1995), p.103.

whose building programme lasted nearly a lifetime, and it is not by chance that her grandson William exhibited the same interests.

However, the most significant conclusions reached in this chapter are about the complexity of the processes by which houses were designed and built, and the manner in which they absorbed the manpower and energies of the household and local families. This, in turn, it will be argued, can explain the local references that modified the new classical influences arriving in William's patronage, to create 'native classicism' or 'Artisan Mannerism,' the style which will be discussed further in the next chapter. The process of building, it will be suggested, went contrary to the practice developed in Renaissance Italy where it came to be expected that architects planned major projects by producing working drawings for every part of the building.[3] This submission of parts to the whole, an essential tenet of Italian classicism, actually involved more design work beforehand than was practical within the resources and timetable of the household and estate. Many people, it will be argued, had an interest in maintaining the momentum and frequency of William's projects, for their own prosperity and social status. Paradoxically, however, the build-up of this pressure forced the patron, for the sake of maintaining order within the household, to continue building.

2.2 Cavendish building projects: a new sequence

A survey of William Cavendish's buildings shows that from the time of his father's death in 1617, there was scarcely a year in his life without some project in progress. Even during William's exile of 1643-1660, work was probably being carried out in Antwerp, and his sons were repairing what was left of his damaged houses. A pattern emerges of one house as the focus of major building work, but with smaller repairs and alterations being carried out at other houses simultaneously. This brief survey summarises the information to be found in the second volume of this thesis, the Gazetteer, in order to illustrate the momentum of the building programme mentioned above. As it is argued here that building was an estate-wide and family-wide activity, the Gazetteer also includes the projects of Charles (I) that took place within William's adulthood, the building activities of his brother, and his son Henry's residences and completion of William's work at Nottingham and Welbeck. These projects involved some of the same executants, and William was doubtless aware of and consulted about them.

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3 Wilkinson, Catherine, 'The New Professionalism in the Renaissance,' Kostof, Spiro, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, New York, 1977, p.158.

Projects before 1617

Charles (I)'s earliest recorded building activities were at Kirkby-in-Ashfield in Nottinghamshire, although a design survives in the Smythson Collection for a house at his manor of Blackwell-in-the-Peak in Derbyshire. His mother, Bess of Hardwick, gave him £300 in 1597 towards a new house, and £100 in March 1599.[4] That year, Charles (I) was attacked by the Stanhope family while "at his new building, which is some quarter of a mile from his little house where he and his lady do lie."[5] The project at Kirkby was abandoned and its materials re-used in the construction of the Little Castle at Bolsover. Its remains survived in a field to the south of the town, and appear on early Ordnance Survey maps.[6]

Charles (I) acquired Welbeck Abbey outright from his brother-in-law Gilbert Talbot in 1607. The old abbey was to be remodelled into a conventional courtier-type house around the monastic cloister, according to a surviving plan by Robert Smythson, but only the tip of the west wing was completed.[7] The date for this work has not previously been established, but a letter to Katherine Cavendish dating from 1608 mentioning extensive building work probably refers to it. "All thinges at Welbeck are well god be thanked," she was informed by William Eagle, "my Recknynge are all readye I have put them yo^{r} La^{pp} nowe: / Wth the massones bylles."[8] The enclosed masons' bills probably refer to the conversion of the abbot's lodgings. The work was probably complete by 1612 when Bolsover Castle was embarked upon. An eighteenth-century drawing showing a round-headed window surviving from the earlier fabric indicates a heavy remodelling rather than the rebuilding assumed, for example, by Girouard.[9]

Charles (I) became the absolute owner on 19th August 1613.[10] By this time, he had already begun

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4 Chatsworth House Archives, Hardwick MS 7, ff.188a, 196b and MS 8, f.51b., quoted by Girouard, (1983), p.313, note 19. He does not make it clear whether Kirkby was specified as the site of the house.

5 Chamberlain, John, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol.12.1, Philadelphia, 1939, pp.76-77.

6 Mark Askey, pers. comm.

7 Illustration 14.3.

8 NA DD3P.14.19. The letter is misleadingly catalogued in the Nottinghamshire Archives, probably explaining why it has escaped notice previously.

9 Girouard, (1983), pp.182-3; see also Gazetteer p.123, 133.

10 NA DDP.50.70

to build the Little Castle at Bolsover, as the surviving building accounts show. He gained the property from his step-brother as part of a complicated web of loans and gifts. By Gilbert's death, Charles (I) had lent his step-brother £16,000, which, as discussed in Chapter Five, was never fully repaid. This loan explains Charles (I)'s acquisition of the site on such generous terms, and ultimately, its non-repayment by the Talbots lay behind his son's furnishing of the new Little Castle five years later.

Samuel Pegge quotes an almanac for the year 1613 containing a note on 30th March: "Foundations for the newe house at Bolsover begunne to be layde."[11] However, the partially-surviving building accounts show that preparation work had already begun in late 1612, immediately after William's return from Italy.[12] Goulding claims that the handwriting of the marginal notes of the Bolsover building accounts is the same as that found on John Smithson's Welbeck plans dated 1622 and 1623, and suggests that it was John Smithson's own: it is certainly extremely similar.[13] This, however, is not widely agreed upon and the references to "Mr Smithson" in the third person could seem odd but not impossible if he were himself the accountant. It is likely that there was a household officer responsible for the accounting in addition to a more specialised surveyor actually inspecting the work on site. Clayton and Marsh, for example, worked like this at Bolsover in the 1660s, as will be discussed below. Various drawings for the project do survive in Smithson's hand, but only the fireplaces are relevant to this early stage of the building.

By August 1613, the Little Castle's basement was nearly complete, for the masons were working on a "springer for one of the pillars" of the cellar and "arch stones for the arches of the stayre cases."[14] New foundations were laid, probably for the Terrace Range. The basement of the Terrace Range is so similar that some of the accounting could apply to either building. By late 1613, the vaults of the basements were completed as the two buildings rose together. Work was still done to repair "the old house," probably part of the medieval castle still being used for temporary accommodation, and a glazier was paid in March 1614 for glass "for the oulde house: and

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11 Pegge, (1785), p.17.

12 NA DD6P.1.25.3, 'A Booke of the Buyldinge Charges At Boulsover the yeare of oure Lorde God : 1613 : Begininge the : 2 : of November : 1612 :'; Knoop, D., and Jones, G.P., ed., 'The Bolsover Building Account, 1612-13,' *Arts Quatuor Coronatorum*, London, Vol.36, Part 1, 1936. Knoop and Jones modernised the spelling.

13 Goulding, R.W., *Bolsover Castle*, fifth edition, Oxford, 1928, p.11.

14 NA DD6P.1.25.3, Period 18, 21st August - 4th September, 1613.

mendinge of the reste."[15] As the keep must have been demolished since the Little Castle straddles its area, the old house was probably an earlier building at the northern end of the Terrace Range.

The progress of the Little Castle beyond basement level can only be guessed at, but if the lower storey was completed in 1613, 1614 would be devoted to the main entrance floor, 1615 to the first and 1616 to the roofing of the second. This is relatively but not unusually slow progress for the completion of a shell. The completion of Blickling Hall's shell, for example, is recorded in summary payments in the steward's book from February 1619 to April 1622.[16] The evidence from the seventeenth-century houses of Northamptonshire shows a "remarkably uniform picture of the time taken to build ... a complete medium-sized house." The walls of most were erected within two years before a more leisurely fitting-out took place, once the danger of frost damage to exposed wall-tops had passed.[17]

Projects from 1617 to 1620

Charles (I)'s death in 1617 led to the construction of a chapel at the parish church of St Mary's, Bolsover, battlemented and mottoed on the outside, and built, according to the inscription on Charles (I)'s tomb, by his widow. It bears the armorial devices of Cavendish and Ogle, and announces the family's presence in the same rumbustious manner as the Little Castle. The sunburst emerging from a cloud was not the personal *impresa* of Charles (I), as Graham Parry suggests, but the Ogle badge.[18] The chapel's date has been contentious. Pevsner inexplicably quotes 1624, but the heraldic painter Bassano in c.1710 clearly states that "At Entrance into ye Monum[t] roome, over y[e] Doore, is 1618."[19] This date was removed in later alterations. The monument's design is quite plausibly by John Smithson, being similar both to Bess of Hardwick's tomb in Derby cathedral and to the coloured marble of the Little Castle fireplaces. However, the quality of the carving has been thought to be sophisticated enough to have been done in London,

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15 ibid, unnumbered period, 26th February - 12th March, 1614.

16 Stanley-Millson, C., and Newman, J., 'The Building of a Jacobean Mansion,' *Architectural History*, Vol.29, 1986, p.1.

17 Heward, John, and Taylor, Robert, *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire*, Swindon, 1996, p.7

18 Parry, Graham, 'Cavendish Memorials,' *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol.9, No.2, 1994, p.276.

19 Pevsner, Nikolaus, and Williamson, Elizabeth, *The Buildings of England, Derbyshire*, Harmondsworth, 1978, p.92; College of Arms MS RR/19E/A, 'Derbyshire Church Notes,' c.1710, compiled by Richard/Francis Bassano, heraldic painter, p.39; see also Yeatman, J.P., 'Bassano's Church Notes. A forgotten fact of Derbyshire history,' *Journal of the Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Vol.16, 1894, pp.55-56.

possibly in the workshops of Southwark.[20] Ben Jonson delivered the verses "Sonnes seek not me amonge these polish'd stones..." and Mr Lukin the mathematician wrote the witty poem, "Posteritie of [Charles (I)] to Strangers."[21] The involvement of Mr Lukin, who will be discussed below, shows that John Smithson was not the only person with a sense of number and proportion working on the job. The castellated chapel - and the towers of the Little Castle's forecourt - are echoed in several other local church projects. William owned the manors of Screveton and Warsop in Nottinghamshire, and after his marriage to Elizabeth Bassett, became connected with her family's manor of Blore in Staffordshire. Both these parish churches had their towers rebuilt in the seventeenth century with the typical Cavendish battlements, and the finance and design were probably provided by the central family administration.[22] The slightly-later monument to Elizabeth's family at Blore could also have been provided by the same design team as Charles (I)'s monument, allowing for the changes in taste a decade would bring about.[23]

The decoration of the interior of the Little Castle can be linked to William's marriage in 1618 and a trip to London in 1618-19, as will be discussed in Chapter Five. This becomes clear from the heraldry in the Star Chamber, including his wife's devices, and William's own professed intention of visiting London. A previously-unknown note at Nottingham University states that "Bolsover furneshinge payntinge & carving will be better though off att London then heer."[24] Fitting out the interior continued until 1621, the date on one of the paintings in the Star Chamber.

Projects of the 1620s

By the early 1620s, then, the interiors were being completed in the Little Castle, and William's attention returned to Welbeck and John Smithson's new Riding House. The building still retains its inscription "GVILIELMVS VICECOMES MANSFEILDENSIS AEDIFICAVIT, IO. SMITHSON CVRATORE FABRICENSI, 1623," although raised above its original position.[25] The same date is given on the internal doorcase shown in Grimm's eighteenth-century drawing; this

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20 Parry, (1994), p.277.

21 BL Harleian 4955, 'The Newcastle Manuscript,' f.54.

22 See illustrations 1.4, 2.47, 16.10 and 16.12.

23 Illustrations 1.6 and 1.7; see Gazetteer, pp.10-12.

24 NU PW1.553, ff.1r-2r.

25 See Gazetteer, p.134.

did not survive later changes.[26] Other works at Welbeck included a stable, at roughly the same time, and the earlier creation of the water-garden shown in such detail on Senior's survey of the 1630s. A design for a water house survives by John Smithson, and these little houses are mentioned in repairs in the 1660s. The partial rebuilding of the hall range with Dutch gables, in a similar style to the Bolsover Riding House, is shown in an eighteenth-century drawing of Welbeck's west front.[27] Attributed by Girouard to Huntingdon Smithson, its date, like the Riding House Range at Bolsover, is debatable. It seems likely that the Bolsover Riding House Range was constructed in some form before the war, but its roof and some repairs were certainly made in the 1660s.[28]

Katherine Cavendish's will, dated 1624, made provision for her second son, Charles (II), to buy or build himself a house. The site chosen was the medieval castle of Slingsby, and John Smithson once again drew up designs. Katherine did not die until 1629, making it unlikely that the house was built "some time in the 1620s," as Girouard claims.[29] It was probably designed between 1629 and John Smithson's death in 1634, was completed by 1640, but left vacant during the Interregnum, when Charles (II) was abroad or lying low at Wellingore Manor. There has previously been disagreement about whether the now-ruinous house at Slingsby was left unfinished, or slighted during the Civil War.[30] However, the discovery of Barbara Stanley's petition reveals that the building was certainly completed or at least roofed by the time of the Civil War and, in addition, Browne's survey of 1656 shows a completed building.[31] There is little information about building work at Charles (II)'s Wellingore Manor, Lincolnshire, an Elizabethan house that has not been connected to the family by previous writers on the Cavendishes, but its remains and contemporary correspondence about repairs do survive and are discussed in the Gazetteer.[32]

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26 BL Add MS 15545, f.64.

27 Illustrations 2.14 and 14.18.

28 Addyman, Thomas, 'Report on the Riding House Range, Bolsover Castle,' English Heritage, 2001; see Gazetteer, pp.43-47.

29 NA DD.6P.1.19.18; Girouard, (1983), p.193.

30 The list description states the former, the RCHM ancient monument details state the latter.

31 NU PW1.250, 'Petition of Barbara Stanley of Slingsby'; BL Harleian MS 7180, Art.2.

32 NU PW1 455-6; see Gazetteer, pp.139-141.

Projects of the 1630s

William Cavendish made an annual trip to London in the spring to attend the court and the law-courts, where he usually had some business on hand, but his London houses are rarely discussed. It has been argued, improbably, that William was a resident of the parish of Blackfriars, but by 1630 he had settled at the nunnery of St Mary's, Clerkenwell.[33] Newcastle House, as it became known, consisted of the remodelled medieval nunnery with a new façade, incorporating the cloisters and the prioress's lodgings.[34] Its design refers back to his Midlands houses, with the pilasters that are a feature of Bolsover Terrace Range, the stable at Welbeck, and of the imaginary depiction of a re-built Ogle Castle. They also appear on the 'Artisan Mannerist' County Hall in Derby.[35]

Several dated stones at Bolsover show that building was once again underway in the 1630s, ranging in the Terrace building from the late 1620s to 1634, the year of the royal masque. The fountain at Bolsover must also date from between 1628 and 1643 from its heraldry. The royal visit probably provided an impetus towards building works, and the presence of the builders in the masque by Ben Jonson hinted that the site was recently, or even not completely, finished.[36]

Projects of the 1640s and 1650s

Margaret complained of the ruinous state of the houses on William's return in 1661, but there are some references to continuing maintenance during his exile. In 1656, Thomas Bamford recorded payments for "makinge up the gate at the rydinge house, & the smithie wyndowes" at Welbeck.[37] Meanwhile, the glazier had been busy at Bolsover, putting in "12 lights in ye Belconyes," for example.[38]

William's two eldest sons, Charles (III) and Henry, returned to England while their father was in Paris. Once his elder brother had died in 1659, Henry moved from his rented house at Thorpe

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33 Sheffield City Archives, WWM, Str.P.12/116, William to the Earl of Strafford, 24th June, 1630, from 'Clerkenwell.' This is earlier than the letter quoted by Trease, (1979), p.62.

34 See Gazetteer, pp.77-80.

35 Illustrations 2.13, 14.5 and 10.4; Pevsner and Williamson, (1978), figure 72.

36 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.199v.

37 NU PW1.5, Thomas Bamford to Charles Mansfield, 4th April, 1655.

38 NU PW1.152, 'Thomas Slaters bill for Glazeing at Boulsover castle, March ye 27th, 1656.'

Salvin (also discussed in the Gazetteer as a possible architectural influence on the family), into Welbeck and Bolsover, and became anxious to make various improvements. William, now in Antwerp, urged caution: "For the alteringe of the Chimneys dors & windowes I ... only Intreate you to lett Itt alone a whyle."[39] Meanwhile, William was carrying out alterations to the rented *Rubenshuis* in Antwerp, where he constructed a Riding House. The Gazetteer argues that this was a conversion of the painter's former studio.[40]

Projects of the 1660s

Margaret described Welbeck and Bolsover as "much out of repair, and this [latter] half pull'd down," although perhaps by speculators rather than the Parliamentarians, on William's return to the Midlands.[41] The damage done to Bolsover during the Civil War cannot be quantified exactly, but the Riding House in particular seems to have undergone significant rebuilding after the Civil War. The parliamentary order for the demolition of the "outworks abroad," turrets and walls at Bolsover cannot be relied upon as there is no specific record of the work actually being done.[42] There were many arguments against destroying a house completely, not least because it was the economic hub of a district, and a poverty-stricken local population would be a burden on an army.[43]

Margaret explicitly stated that William "repaired his Mannor-houses, *Welbeck*, and *Bolsover*, to which latter he made some additional building."[44] Welbeck must have survived reasonably intact. The additional building at Bolsover was the remodelling of the Terrace Range. In addition, the Riding House and Stable were completed. Dendrochronology shows that the timber of the Riding House roof dates from the 1660s, which provides a firmer date for the previously-undatable bill for carriage of timber from Welbeck to Bolsover "to build the Riding Howse" and "towards the Building of the Stable."[45] Tiles were also transported from Welbeck to Bolsover, probably from the Welbeck "Tyle Kilne" mentioned in 1652.[46]

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39 BL Add MS 70499, f.356.

40 See Gazetteer, pp.106-7.

41 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.91.

42 See Gazetteer, p.24.

43 Porter, Stephen, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars*, Stroud, 1994, pp.58-62.

44 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.93.

45 NA DD4P.70.1.f.1r

46 NA DD6P.1.18.22

Some small additions, described in one of William's letters to Andrew Clayton, were made at Welbeck.[47] The new "Ridinge house Chamber" was probably the viewing gallery visible in Grimm's sketch of the interior of the Welbeck Riding House.[48] In 1667, Margaret calculated that £12,000 had been "laid out barely for the repair of some Ruines ... there being many of them to repair yet."[49] It was also the year that Andrew Clayton's accounts begin, including much building activity. The freemasons and John Reade the bricklayer were engaged, for example, on "the terras walke" in April 1667.[50] However, the payments to Mr Marsh as "surveyour of the Bolsover buildings" continued throughout the 1667-8 period when the repairs at Welbeck were underway, and tenants at Bolsover were still receiving compensation for "Land Digd upp for y^{e} New Building at Bolsoure" in 1670 and 1671.[51]

Projects of the 1670s and 1680s

William purchased the medieval castle of Nottingham in 1662.[52] Preparations for building at Nottingham were well underway by 1674, after which time there is little evidence for further work at Bolsover and Welbeck. William had "a great number of men at work pulling down and clearing the Foundations of the old Tower that he may build, at least, part of a New Castle there," wrote Thoroton in 1676, "though he be above eighty years of age."[53] By William's death in 1676, he had "lived so long as to see this present fabric raised about a yard above the ground."[54] The surviving accounts from Henry's time show the provision of cedar panelling, marble fireplaces, tapestries and furniture. In October 1681, Henry's wife Frances' accounts recorded "the firste weeke my Lord lived at Nottingham Castle."[55] Henry began a further campaign of building at Welbeck in 1681 carried out by the contractor William Kitchin, again repairing the garden canals, and

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47 Strong, (1903), p.56.

48 Illustration 14.15.

49 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.107.

50 NA DD2P.24.73, April and May, 1667.

51 NA DDP6.4.4.1, ff.63,65, payments to Robert Ince.

52 NU NeD 3850, 'Duke of Buckingham his Aquittance...'

53 Thoroton, Robert, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire, extracted out of records, original evidences, Leiger Books, other Manuscripts, and Authentick Authorities,* London, 1677, p.490.

54 Deering, Charles, *An Historical Account of the Ancient and Present State of Nottingham*, Nottingham, 1751, p.186.

55 NA DDP6.7.2.237, October, 1681.

remodelling rooms. Frances noted in December, 1681 that "this weeke wee came from Nottingham Castle with all our fammyly to lived at Wellbeck after the new Building of the old dineing roome."[56] The work went on to include more joinery in "ye new wardrobe" and the provision of sash windows in "Welbecke new building."[57] Presumably these are the sashes to be seen in the south-west wing in Buck's 1726 drawing.[58]

Unbuilt projects

A final category remains: unrealised projects, including the grand scheme for the complete remodelling of Welbeck and the building specified in Gilbert Talbot's will of a "hospitall to be founded at Sheffeilde for perpetuall maintenaunce of twentie poore personnes" that was William's responsibility as executor.[59] In the 1620s the lawyers went so far as to set £400 aside for the "Chardges of building & furnishinge besides Tymber & stones to be allowed by the laboers."[60] Over £2000 had been stored up out of Gilbert's estate by 1636, although the hospital itself had not yet been built, "much contrarie to" the will of the Countess of Arundel, Gilbert's daughter.[61] William's failure to build the hospital was still held against him in 1676, when Gilbert's grandson complained that William "never trobled his head" with it.[62] There was also another foundation that might have expected to receive more patronage from William: St John's College in Cambridge, where he had studied. He did pay for a statue of his aunt, Mary Talbot. Chapter Two describes the College's fruitless requests for help in their building project. William was perhaps wary of an institution where his aunt, a previous patron, had been unable to pay spiralling building costs.[63] The Northumbrian castles of Bothal, and more particularly Ogle, as depicted in William's book on horsemanship, are even more striking. At Ogle, the imagined remodelling was never begun,

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56 NA DDP6.7.2.237, 24th December, 1681.

57 NA DDP6.7.2.238, January, 1682.

58 Illustration 14.13.

59 Copy of the last Will and Testament of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, in Hunter, Joseph, *History of Hallamshire*, ed. Gatty, second edition, London, 1875, p.101.

60 NU PW1.572, papers connected with Gilbert's will from the 1620s.

61 NU PW1.253

62 NU PW1.147, Henry Howard, Earl of Norwich, to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, 13th July, 1676.

63 Baker, Thomas, (matriculated 1674, d.1717), *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, published in Cambridge, 1869 but written before 1717.

although the moat was a feature of the existing castle.[64] Diepenbeke's engraving shows a wildly extravagant building with corner turrets and Jonesian windows. Bothal's depiction appears to have had even less connection to reality, but the medieval house remained revered as the ancient seat of the Ogles.[65]

2.3 The executants of the buildings

The commissioning and making of the buildings can be seen as a political activity in the broadest sense, influencing the lives of the participants and their personal and working relationships. An examination of William's building personnel shows that he was truly a magnate of the Midlands, using his connections and the service owed to him. If a different, more cosmopolitan workforce had been doing his building, he might have achieved buildings that would have been more impressive on the national political stage, but he had compelling reasons to involve his household and tenants in the building process. While Airs argues that is the case with all seventeenth-century builders - from reasons of economy they would use their estate workforce and supplies - the elevated circles in which William moved and his court aspirations make the extent of his local commitments particularly revealing.[66]

The extended household

An analysis of the names of those working on William's building projects shows a striking degree of insularity, and it will be demonstrated below, for example, that three generations of the local Hall, Kitchen, Johnson and Jackson families were involved. There are no 'outsider' figures comparable to John Balechouse, probably a Frenchman, who oversaw William's grandmother's project at Hardwick in the previous century.[67] Meanwhile, Blickling Hall was carried out by a consortium of London builders at the same time as Charles (I) was building.[68] William even wrote a poem on "the Dutch-men that are drayners att ditch" at Hatfield.[69] Some of the courtier houses of the period embraced classical features, yet Charles (I) sent his son to tour Italy only to reject classical models for his new house. However, the local style of building and complexion of the

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64 See Gazetteer, p.116.

65 Illustrations 10.4 and 3.6.

66 Airs, (1995), p.98.

67 Wells-Cole, (1997), p.285.

68 Stanley-Millson and Newman, (1986), pp.1-42.

69 NU PWV25.181, f.143v.

workforce cannot be put down to provincial ignorance. There were indeed several foreigners within William's household: "dutch Jane," presumably a servant brought back from Antwerp, the Frenchman John Mazine, Margaret's servant Ferrabosco, who was "black, and hath good black little eyes," and "my Lady's Moor," but none of them associated with building.[70]

Foreigners might be expected among the specialised craftsmen, such as Bernard Janssen, who was involved in the design of Audley End.[71] However, the Cavendish archive contains few traces of a wider 'trade' in craftsmen although in 1662 a contact in Bristol promised to send "a carpinter."[72] It is suspected that there was a water engineer working for William Cavendish, and for Charles (II) at Slingsby, and the best of them employed in England at this time such as Isaac and Solomon de Caus, for example, were from the continent.[73] Francesco Fanelli, the Florentine sculptor, remains a rather mysterious figure among William's employees. He certainly executed bronze models for William Cavendish, but his published books of fountain designs contain several 'Bolsoverian' features. Published in Paris in 1660, they show the lion's mask, cherubs and vermiculation familiar from the Bolsover fountain dating from some thirty years previously, suggesting that in this case an Italian was inspired by, rather than contributed to, the Derbyshire style.[74]

The workers on a building project could be considered part of the extended household for the duration of the project, and the project's more important members were certainly permanent household officers. In Bess of Hardwick's household, the carver Thomas Acres received

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70 NU PW1.670; Barley, M., 'John Mazine and Manor Farm, Carburton,' *The Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Vol.92, 1988, pp.51-58, (though there are many more surviving details about Mazine not included); Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Latham, R., and Matthews, W., London, 1974, Vol.8, p.243; Green, Mary, A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1657-8*, London, 1884, p.311, 19th February, 1658.

71 Drury, Paul, 'No other Palace in the Kingdom will compare with it: the evolution of Audley End, 1605-1745,' *Architectural History,* Vol.23, 1980, p.18.

72 NA DD.4P.63.40

73 See Wilks, (1987), pp.139-140, 144-146; a copy of de Caus, Isaac, *Water-Works*, 1659, was later sold from the Dukes of Newcastle's library, see Noel, Nath., *Bibliotheca Nobilissimi Principis* JOHANNIS *Ducis de* Novo-Castro, *&c.* Being a large Collection of BOOKS Contain'd in the Libraries of the most Noble *William* and *Henry Cavendish* and John Hollis, Late Dukes of *Newcastle*, sale held at Cheapside-Conduit, London, 17th March, 1719, p.44; see also Gazetteer, p.113.

74 Fanelli, Francesco, *Fontaines et Jets d'eau dessins d'apres les plus beaux lieux d'Italie* and *Dessins des grottes*, Paris, 1660, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 161.c.18; compare illustrations 2.39, 2.40 and 2.41 with 2.43, 2.19 and 2.42.

household livery.[75] Charles (I)'s life was saved from attackers at Kirkby in 1599 by "some of the Workmen coming toward them, though without any Weapons."[76] This was the loyalty to be expected from the household. As Starkey has pointed out, artists and designers were treated in the period with a frank utilitarianism: their work had the purpose of supporting their patron's magnificence, they were menials in his service and therefore members of the household.[77] The pressure of making decisions on site and the involvement of many people familiar with the needs of the household in fact limited the scope for architectural innovation.

At Bolsover, there were several families working on the Little Castle where father, mother and children were all involved. Inflation had almost tripled the cost of feeding an adult male for the day between 1550 and the 1630s, and families insulated themselves against this by sending all their members out to work. As Donald Woodward writes, the emphasis on family earnings is now a commonplace of early modern economic history.[78] At Bolsover, the best-recorded of all William's projects, extra family members slip in and out of building work as the need arose.

A significant and unassimilated group within the household were the visiting men from the Northumberland estates. Accounts from March, 1667 recorded payments to "two men that came out of Northumberland,"[79] and letters from the northern bailiffs frequently mention plans to come to Welbeck to present service. The men mentioned in 1667 were still at Welbeck in May, and it therefore seems likely that they were involved in that year's extensive building. A payment was made in mid-May "to winifred Rabmott the Innkeeper of Norton for the northumberland mens charges when they brought their meals."[80] Perhaps this inn served the same purpose as the Hardwick Inn did at Hardwick Hall, providing accommodation for a visiting workforce. Another group of Northumberland men arrived in June 1668 with extra carts, a valuable resource, as

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75 Chatsworth House Archives, Hardwick MS 8, household accounts, 13th December, 1597, transcription by David Durant, at Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections.

76 Chamberlain, (1939), pp.76-77.

77 Starkey, (1981), p.247.

78 Woodward, Donald, *Men at Work. Labourers and building craftsmen in the towns of Northern England, 1470-1750*, Cambridge, 1995, p.236.

79 NA DD.2P.24.73, possibly late March, 1667.

80 NA DD.2P.24.73, possibly second fortnight in May, 1667.

draught hire was a major expense.[81] These northerners were a particularly troublesome group, and were singled out by William one day in 1671 when "all the Northumberland men were called before their Graces in the Gallery."[82] "I percieve the Northumberland men are one of them guiltie to another" complained John Booth, tenant of Bothal Castle, "and so they nether dare displace nor displease one another least all should come out..."[83]

The estate

Building work ranged from the great projects to minor estate repairs using the same mechanisms. Tenants were expected, through their leases, to bear the need to build constantly in mind. New leases signed at Kirkby in 1610 included provision for growing trees, probably because timber was being stockpiled for Bolsover Castle. A total of 790 ash saplings were to be planted that year.[84] William himself benefited from the provision of timber for repairing lodges in his own lease of Pontefract Park.[85] Similarly, in settling lands upon his son in 1666, William allowed Henry to cut wood near Welbeck "to repair or build houses."[86]

But tenants did not always find their requests to carry out repairs at the landlord's expense were heeded. The inhabitants of Great Tosson Tower, Northumberland, begged "ten pound for the setting of a Roufe thereof" between 1665-1676.[87] At Mansfield Woodhouse, John Greenwood found that promised repairs never materialised.[88] This was the case even in the more important houses that had been occupied by William and his family in better times. The tenant wrote to Clayton "about the building of the stables & barnes and barn house at Wellingore" Manor, complaining about "the repares of the house which will be a very great charge," saying that he would be forced to leave the house.[89] The bill was finally submitted in 1670 for £15.[90] By

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81 NA DD.2P.24.73, possibly the fourth week in June, 1668.

82 NU PW1.315

83 NU PW1.25; see also Gazetteer, p.101.

84 NA DD2P.28.170- onward.

85 NA DD.4P.28.88, 13th July, 1640.

86 NA DDP.29.23

87 NU PW1.51

88 NU PW1.138

89 NU PW1.455

comparison, Blore Hall, a well-maintained house of a similar size, was repaired for just over £1 in 1671.[91] Regular accounting by a bailiff, presented annually, as at Blore, was far more efficient than the tenant's dealing directly with Clayton, as at Wellingore.

Bothal Castle was an occasional residence before the Civil War. The Gazetteer shows that John Booth, the tenant, complained in 1668 that he had "alreadie disbursed above £100 in the repair of 18 rooms there,"[92] but found that his tenancy had been promised to someone else. Such repairs were in a grey area where responsibility between landlord and tenant was not always clear. A particularly large group of letters survives from the bailiffs, many about the abatement or non-payment of rents after the Restoration when the finances were being hauled back into order. Tenants and landlord, like members of the household, never had a clear-cut financial relationship as considerations of rank and service always intervened. However, William's former tenants often continued to maintain his interests during his exile, even though they may have become connected to the Parliamentarian administration.[93]

Parks

Much of William's estate was emparked. In the same way that an impressive house made a visual and psychological impact on the neighbourhood, the intensively-managed environment of a park was a mark of status. The association of planting with property meant that wood theft was the most common crime in the countryside in the surviving records.[94] Tom Williamson links parkland and family stability: only a well-established family could plant trees that might not provide a profit for many decades. In this context, then, Royalist propaganda after the Restoration therefore exaggerated the extent of the damage to parks during the Commonwealth to create a perceived link between felling and republicanism, and also between tree-planting and loyalty to the restored monarchy.[95] William's park at Clipstone was "totally defaced and destroyed, both wood, pales and deer," according to Margaret. In accordance with this symbolic importance, she depicted this as

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90 NU PW1.456

91 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.77.

92 NU PW1.25

93 For example see Gazetteer, pp.100, 126-7.

94 Daniels, Stephen, 'The political iconography of woodland in later Georgian England,' in *The Iconography of Landscape*, ed. Cosgrove, D., and Daniels, S., Cambridge, 1988, p.44.

95 Williamson, (1995), p.127.

the worst act of destruction of William's absence. "I never perceived him sad or discontented for his own Losses and Misfortunes," Margaret wrote, "yet when he beheld the ruins of that park, I observed him troubled."[96] Clipstone was therefore was a priority for building and repair. The Gazetteer outlines the designs that survive for a new hunting stand, and the efforts that the keeper made to re-stock the deer and repair the park lodge.[97]

Managing a park correctly was a serious drain on resources. "Y^r Lop had better bee without y^e Improuvement of the Parke,"[98] Charles (III) was recommended when money was short. However, other products of forests included wood for ships, and food. There was a specialist falconer, William Shircliffe, in the household in 1661.[99] "5 bucks and roes" appear among household provisions from the 1660s,[100] and deer were also useful gifts. "Aquainte his Majestie with a fine roebuck," wrote William to a friend in August 1666, " and to knowe whether I shall sende him upp or no."[101] Even supposedly waste ground was exploited for construction. William was involved in a dispute in the 1660s over the Chesterfield "hades," an area exploited for coal, ironstone, slate, for burying plague victims, and for clods for bowling alleys.[102] The other cost associated with managing estates was a skill closely related to that of building: surveying. William employed William Senior and Huntingdon Smithson to make the huge survey, today at Welbeck, of his estates in the 1630s. Edmund Browne, surveyor of Nottingham Castle, Slingsby and Oldcotes, performed similar work in 1656.[103] The large vellum book into which his survey of Slingsby is pasted is probably one of the two books "for Mapps and Plates of Survey" made in London in 1656 for Charles (III), as "Mr Brown's consent" was needed for the quality of vellum chosen.[104] These books were very valuable. Andrew Clayton was recommended to ask a former servant for "the boundary booke, which ... containes many secretts of my Lord interest," because it was "very

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96 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.92.

97 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.3.

98 NU PW1.154

99 BL Add MS 70499, f.231; NU PW1.670, f.2.

100 NU PW1.671.1

101 Bickley, (1911), pp.122-3.

102 NA DD.4P.70.10

103 Illustration 12.6; see Gazetteer, p.111.

104 NU PW1.246; NU PW1.247.

requisite that he have no longer custodie of it."[105]

The organisation of the work in the 1610s

The men paid a daily wage at Bolsover rose from twenty in January 1613 to over fifty in February 1614, overseen by one "Smithson," probably John as his father Robert was then seventy-seven. As bailiff, his salary would have appeared in the household accounts, but the building accounts record his expenses of fourpence daily for "mealles."[106] It is not possible to trace every name, as various groups of "fellows" often appear in the accounts. However, there is a preponderance of local names, and many families appear again in William's later building projects. George Kellam and Henry Luken, high-ranking servants in the household, sometimes accompanied Smithson.[107] Like him, they both were probably able to act as surveyors in the sense of estate-surveying as well as performing calculations and giving building advice.

Mr Henry Luken (1586-1630), or Lukin, described as a "mathematician," was the composer of the verses on Charles (I)'s tomb as well as further verses on Katherine's death in 1629.[108] A payment was made at Bolsover in January 1613, "Mr Lukin beinge there twice." Nothing unusual happened that week except for the visit of "the brickeman that came ffrom Wollaton."[109] The accountant records that this brickman was given two shillings and sixpence "by master per me," rather than by the accountant on his own initiative, as is usually the case, so possibly Lukin, Charles (I) himself and a brickman held a meeting on site in that fortnight. Lukin was still employed on estate business in 1617.[110] Mathematics, estate surveying and architecture were all related activities, for Huntingdon Smithson and William Senior called themselves "Practitioner of the Mathematiqs." and "professor of ye mathematiques" respectively.[111] Following the general pattern of upper servants, Lukin spent a period living at Welbeck in the household, and was later rewarded with a tenancy of Sookholme Hall, a Cavendish property. Nothing remains of the Hall shown on the Senior survey, but in 1884 "the upper rooms went by the name of Lukin's Garrets and was said to

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105 NU PW1.432

106 NA DD6P.1.25.3

107 NA DDP.8.107

108 BL Harleian 4955, ff.54-55.

109 NA DD6P.1.25.3, Period 2, 24th December, 1612 - 23rd January, 1613.

110 For example, NA DDP.8.107.

111 Surveys of Mansfield and Bolsover, originals at Welbeck Abbey.

be haunted by the ghost of a man of that family who, according to tradition, committed suicide there." A brass tablet to the memory of Henry Lukin, of Sookholme Hall, survives in Warsop Church, revealing that he was born at Great Baddon, Essex.[112]

Smithson's other companion, Mr Kellam or Kellome, is more shadowy, but was also employed on general estate business. He received his "dieate at sertayne tymes" and "kellomes: charges" were mentioned in September, 1613, a busy period on site, as if he made several visits in a short period to solve some particular problem.[113] It seems likely that Mr Kellome was identical with the George Kellam who was involved in the establishment in Derbyshire of a works for manufacturing potash and saltpetre early in the seventeenth-century.[114]

John Smithson himself moved out of the household to Kirkby, his wife Margaret Newton's home, and received his riding charges from there to the work at Bolsover. In 1615, Charles (I) leased Smithson a "mansion house" with a barn, a stable, croft and fields.[115] Margaret's family's small manor house at Kirkby survived opposite the church into the twentieth century. Stone-built and traditionally gabled, its appearance in old photographs is solid but unimaginative in design. However, an early seventeenth-century Bolsoverian heavily-vermiculated gate-pier, plausibly of Smithson's design, survives in the churchyard.[116] Interestingly, Smithson's lease of 1615 was witnessed by John Johnstone and Thomas Hardie, themselves almost certainly also working at Bolsover. A labourer by the name of Hardye is mentioned only four times in the accounts in early 1613,[117] but John Johnson "of Kirkby, freemason" is better documented. He signed a lease on land at Kirkby in 1610.[118] His will, dated 3rd March 1631, shows that he married in 1620, and settled his farm in Kirkby on his wife.[119] Raphael Johnson, "freemason, of Kirby,"[120] is probably the

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112 King, Rev. R.J., *Warsop Parish Registers*, Mansfield, 1884, p.7.

113 NA DD6P.1.25.3, Period 18, 21st August - 4th September, 1613; Period 19, 4th - 18th September, 1613.

114 BL Add MS 4458, Vol.1, ff.48-49b.

115 NA DDP.15.50

116 Illustrations 16.7 and 16.8.

117 eg. NA DD6P.1.25.3, Period 2, 24th December 1612 - 23rd January, 1613; Period 4, 6th February - 20th February, 1612.

118 NA DD2P.28.166

119 Clay-Dove, Bill, *Kirkby-in-Ashfield, An Interesting Township*, Chorley, 1985, p.84.

120 NA DD2P.28.163

"John Raffell" of the Little Castle building accounts,[121] and the assorted figures of "Johnson," "Thomas Johnson" and "Johnson wiffe" in the Bolsover building accounts are likely to be members of the same family. The fabric of Charles (I)'s abandoned building at Kirkby was therefore accompanied to the Bolsover site by some of the same craftsmen who had worked it in the first place, in particular the Johnson family of masons. In December 1613, the accounts show payments for "workinge of 66: foote of wyndowe stufe, that came from kirkebye" and to the "kirkebye men for the carrige men for the carrige of … stone: from: kirkebye, to boulsover,"[122] and further payments followed in 1614. "Thomas Hardy, a labouringe man"[123] and "John Johnsons, laboringe man"[124] are also names which crop up in the 1660s accounts for building work at Welbeck and Bolsover. Later generations of the same families were still involved in building work on the Cavendish estates, just as John Smithson's son Huntingdon also became a surveyor.

It is also possible to detect a degree of continuity in the Hall family of carvers. In 1676, a Mr Hall provided marble chimney-pieces at Nottingham Castle for William's son.[125] In 1667, "Mr Hall the carver" was working for William at Welbeck.[126] And back in 1614, "halle: mason" was working the "windoe stuffe: that came from kirkebye."[127] Given there was a family of skilled carvers of the same name, perhaps this "Halle" was one of the decorative masons who worked on the multi-coloured marble chimney-pieces of the Little Castle.

The organisation of the work in the 1660s

Although Andrew Clayton's accounts from 1667-8 recorded the payments, money was actually disbursed by the surveyor Samuel Marsh. At Bolsover, the lengthy complaint by Marsh in 1667 against the builder Joseph Jackson shows that Jackson had taken on a large piece of work as a

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121 NA DD6P.1.25.3, Period 1, 2nd November - 24th December, 1612, and he is paid in every subsequent period.

122 NA DD6P.1.25.3, unnumbered period, 11th December - 25th December, 1613.

123 NA DD2P.24.73, 'Andrew Clayton's complaint,' 1667, possibly first fortnight in April, repeated several times.

124 ibid, possibly first fortnight in July.

125 NA DDP6.7.2.238

126 NA DD2P.24.73

127 NA DD6P.1.25.3, unnumbered period, 29th January - 12th February, 1614.

bargain, and had failed to fulfil expectations.[128] Joseph Jackson, sometimes known as "freemason," first appears at Bolsover in 1665 and frequently crops up at Welbeck and Nottingham Castle over the next two decades; he was back at Bolsover in 1683.[129] Jackson, in common with others serving the household over a long period, came from a family half in and half out of it. As a freemason taking on large bargains, he dealt with subcontractors, but a Jackeson or Jackson makes two appearances as a labourer in the Little Castle building accounts in 1614.[130] Then there were young Joseph Jackson, or Joseph Jackson junior, Peter Jackson and Charles Jackson, all masons at Nottingham Castle and Welbeck.[131] All these Jacksons were perhaps related to the famous Benjamin Jackson who became the master mason for the rebuilding of Thoresby and the Devonshires' rebuilding at Chatsworth in the 1690s, and later on, based from London, who again worked with Talman as the builder of Drayton House, Northamptonshire.[132] However, there was also a more important "Mr" Jackson involved in estate business. In 1636, the Countess of Arundel had him take an account of property in Chesterfield. This was possibly the Francis Jackson William employed in connection with his rents in 1636 and 1641.[133] By 1669, Mr Jackson was lending money to local landowners like the Curzons of Kedleston.[134] It is tempting to suggest that there were two families: one of stewards, and a socially inferior branch of builders and masons whose status rose over the seventeenth century, beginning as labourers on the Little Castle and ending as the main contractors for the Terrace Range.

The Kitchen family is another whose role changed from day-labouring on the building of the Little Castle to becoming significant contractors in the building of Nottingham Castle, their social status having been transformed by William's patronage. Thomas Kitchin, his sons and his wife Ellen were stalwarts of the Little Castle in a humble capacity: "tho kichen and his Sonnes" were paid the

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128 NU PW1.624c.

129 NA DD6P.7.2.238, 10th November, 1683.

130 NA DD6P.1.25.3, unnumbered period, 25th December, 1613 - 15th January, 1614; unnumbered period, 15th - 29th January, 1614.

131 NA DD6P.7.2.238, 9th April, 17th December, 1681; 6th and 13th May, 25th June, 1682.

132 Thompson, E., *A History of Chatsworth*, London and New York, 1949, p.34.; Heward, and Taylor, (1996), p.182.

133 NU PW1.253; NU PW1.578; BL Add MS 70499, f.246.

134 NU PW1.105

lower labourer's rate.[135] A Henry Kitchen was a tenant at Bolsover in 1624, and achieved a jump in social status by moving to Kirkby and becoming a yeoman in his lease of 1630.[136] An Elizabeth "Kitching" married into the Kirkby gentry family of the Newtons in 1655, just as John Smithson had done earlier, and it seems likely that she was Henry's daughter.[137] But the most important member of the family was William Kitchen, who as a servant to the Cavendishes acquired the honorific "Mr" and valuable building contracts. He was not only a builder, but also a permanent servant of Henry's by 1660,[138] although Henry later complained that "W: Kitchin" had "hath beene as greate a roge to mee as any."[139] Yet he was trusted to send an inventory of "the Goods in Worksop Manor" in 1670,[140] and embarked on a long career as a building contractor for work at Nottingham Castle and Welbeck, repairing the river and responsible for "the new Building of the old dineing room" at Welbeck.[141] He also paid the gardener's bills and made repairs at Bolsover Castle.[142] This blurring of the responsibilities, where a building contractor could also pay regular household maintenance bills and collect tithes for his employer, shows the different relationships binding household members to the family. Building was a source of affluence and a chance to rise in status for local families, and many interests, besides William's own, were therefore vested in the building process, causing the pressure to continue to accumulate within the household.

The other key figure in William's later building works was Samuel Marsh, the Lincolnshire mason and designer. Marsh's frame of reference, once again, was local rather than national: in the 1650s he was already in the area working for the Devonshires, being sent over to Chatsworth from Hardwick to view various new works there, including "oversight of the Balcony work."[143] However, he was not permanently a Cavendish employee, and worked notably at Belvoir Castle

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135 eg. NA DD6P.1.25.3, unnumbered period, 27th November - 11th December, 1613.

136 NA DDP.50.54; NA DD2P.28.191.

137 Kirkby in Ashfield parish registers, quoted in Clay-Dove, (1985), p.30.

138 NA DDP.8.134

139 NU PW1.73, 1st May, 1668.

140 NU PW1.168

141 NA DD.P6.7.2.237, 24th December, 1681.

142 NA DD6P.7.2.238, 29th October, 1681; 18th November, 1682.

143 Chatsworth House Archives, Unclassified 'Brief' Disbursement Book (1656-1660), quoted in the Manpower Services Commission's 'Survey of the Park and Garden at Hardwick,' 1986, p.35; see Gazetteer, p.92.

in addition to Nottingham Castle and Bolsover. His name is also often mentioned in connection with Thoresby Hall, for the windows shown in Colen Campbell's elevation share similar surrounds to those at Bolsover and Nottingham Castle.[144] By the 1660s William Pierrepont of Thoresby was Henry's father-in-law. The 1690 estate plan of Thorseby by Thomas Cleer shows an unmarked long building set at the edge of a perfectly circular court in the garden.[145] It is the size and shape of a Riding House, and the round court could have been a *manège* yard like the Great Court at Bolsover. Marsh was possibly involved with both of these unusual buildings. William's surviving buildings, then, are perhaps more typical than is realised of a Midlands circle of patronage.

Marsh is clearly a Midlands designer, and John Bold, for example, whose terms of reference are courtly, finds his work significantly less "sophisticated" than John Webb's at Belvoir Castle.[146] The design of the long terrace range at Belvoir prefigured Marsh's Baroque work at Bolsover and Nottingham Castle, and is known from an eighteenth-century painting and model, both of which are on display at Belvoir Castle.[147] Howard Colvin notes that Marsh was originally from Lincolnshire, and he is also so described by Charles Deering.[148] Marsh is described in Andrew Clayton's accounts from 1667 as "the surveyor of Bolsover buildings," and is paid lump sums through the general household accounts.[149] By 1679, however, he was a regular member of the household, being paid "Wages to Marsh about Nottingham Castle and about the stairs."[150] He was indisputably a designer as well as supervising the builders in a surveyor's role. William wrote to Andrew Clayton that he wanted "M[r.] Marshe to coume to Welbeck, - & make a draughte, for the makinge off a good stare..."[151] Indeed, Deering went so far as to describe Marsh as the "architect" of Nottingham Castle in 1751,[152] as did George Vertue in 1727,[153] but William's will shows that

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144 Campbell, Colen, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect*, London, 1717, Vol.1, Plate 91.

145 NU Ma.4P.19

146 Belvoir Castle archives, Misc. MS 67, quoted by Bold, John, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, p.78.

147 The painting is by John Griffier (d.1750), signed and dated 'JO. GRIFFIER 1744.' It was bought for £16: 5: 6 and referred to in the third Duke of Rutland's private account book No.367. The model was made by the Rev. Mounsey in 1799 before Wyatt remodelled the house completely.

148 Colvin, (1995), p.640; Deering, (1751), p.186.

149 NA DD.2P.24.73, possibly late March, 1667; possibly first week in April, 1668.

150 NA DD.P6.7.2.237, 9th August, 1679.

151 Strong, (1903), p.56.

152 Deering, (1751), p.186.

he considered himself to be at least partly responsible for the design. Perhaps the provincial Marsh was a suitable choice, as was Smithson in an earlier period, for a household with its own views on architecture, unwilling to be dominated by someone more opinionated from court.

Members of the Household as Project Managers

All these relationships indicate that teamwork was an important part of a building project. If responsibility for the building was in the hands of household officers, some details must have been decided through their knowledge of how the spaces would be used. Their influence was therefore an important part in the design process that is often overlooked in this period as the autonomous architect begins to become a familiar figure. Other building projects make it clear that individuals could alter the course of construction. At Hardwick Hall John Balechouse ordered the heightening of the towers.[154] At Blickling the carpenter Robert Lyminge brought about several changes during the course of construction.[155] Andrew Clayton, as we have seen, had an important role in passing William's instructions about building work onto the relevant craftsmen. He reported back to William on progress, claiming expenses for "goeinge several tymes to Bolsover" for example.[156] Mr Benoist performed the same role as intermediary between surveyor and William in 1672 for repairs at Newcastle House, Clerkenwell. He sent copies of the bills of the mason, bricklayer and carpenter to William, having already had them examined and rectified by an unnamed "Surveyor."[157] An otherwise-unknown "Mr Phelps," in addition to John Rolleston, kept accounts concerning building work in 1662.[158] Once Henry had inherited, his steward Thomas Farr took charge of the payments for the completion of Nottingham Castle. Frances passed lump sums to Farr to be disbursed to the craftsmen and to Marsh as surveyor. In this way the same sums appear twice, once in her accounts and once in his.[159]

The designers of the buildings

This chapter has shown that the conventional categories of 'patron' and 'architect' are not very

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153 Vertue, George, *Note Book II*, The Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.33.

154 Wells-Cole, (1997), p.286.

155 Stanley-Millson and Newman, (1986), pp.1-42.

156 NU PW1.669, n.d., c.1665; NA DD.2P.24.73, possibly late March, 1667.

157 NU PW1.16, 9th July, 1672.

158 NU PW1.488

159 An example appears on 10th September, 1681, NA DD.P6.7.2.237; NA DD.P6.7.2.238.

useful in attributing responsibility for the design of the buildings. In the seventeenth century aristocrats could and did take an active interest in the design of their own houses, and the word 'architect' (representing a distinct professional in the patron's employ), itself is problematic. William's family illustrates the beginning of a trend for aristocrats to act as designers that is not fully recognised. Charles (I) used an amanuensis for plan-making, for the letter accompanying one plan sent to Gilbert Talbot mentions something "mistaken by the drawer in [Charles (I)'s] absence."[160] Meanwhile, Gilbert Talbot, in whose household William Cavendish grew up, took what Howarth calls a "socially inappropriate interest in building," while his daughter Alatheia wrote to her husband of a planned lodge: "I hope you will let me be the architect."[161] William's brother, Charles (II), was also described by Margaret as an "excellent and Divine ... Architect."[162]

William's involvement in designing buildings has been considered exceptional in the past because of a lack of awareness that others in his circle were acting similarly. But I would argue that he did indeed seek an unusual extent of involvement in his buildings, despite his description of himself as a less good "architectur" than his father, both because of this family tradition and as a means of exerting 'political' control over his household. His will has often been read as conclusive evidence that he designed Nottingham Castle. It was to be "finished according to the forme and modell thereof by [William] layd and designed."[163] John Rolleston claimed that William's pleasures were "horses of manage; his study and art of the true use of the sword; his magnificent buildings. These are his chiefest delights, wherein his Grace spared no cost nor charge."[164] This is not the same as expending effort and talent; yet by convention a nobleman was not supposed to do anything seriously. William himself was scornful of this attitude. "They think it a Disgrace for a Gentleman to do any thing Well,"[165] he joked, so Rolleston may not have given a true picture when he implied that William merely bankrolled his buildings. In addition, Richard Andrews linked William's very title, Earl of Newcastle, to his building activity.[166] However, William and

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160 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, London, 1964, pp.129-1.

161 Howarth, (1985), p.65.

162 Cavendish, Margaret, (1671), '*An Epistle that was writ before the death of the Noble Sir* Charles Cavendish, *my most Noble Brother-in-law.*'

163 Public Record Office Prob.11, quire 22.

164 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), John Rolleston's 'Epistle to her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle.'

165 Cavendish, William, (1667), p.7.

166 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.82, 'When Bolser Castle I doe name, / Mee thinkes Newcastle is the same: / Bolser a

his father cannot have designed their houses single-handedly: they simply did not devote their lives to acquiring the necessary skills. The picture that will emerge from a further investigation of the building process from the financial angle makes it clear that the buildings were collaborative efforts, a process over which William sought but failed to achieve control.

2.4 Financing the work

A comparison of expenditure on building with other activities shows the relative importance attached to architecture. William's annual expenditure on building, both documented and extrapolated, is given in Appendix One, and increased from roughly £1200 a year before 1643 to roughly £2000 after the Restoration: similar to the annual amount he spent on his eldest son, or on his court career. The difference between William's expenditure and that of other aristocrats is that he continued to build year after year, instead of for only a limited period.

There were, of course, other significant demands on his resources. The cost of the household's food at Welbeck in the 1660s includes the gigantic figure of £2119 for a quarter,[167] including 4840 eggs, 20 dozen larks, 173 sheep and malt for 11 brewings. Food was the greatest household expense by far: the annual salaries for sixty servants in 1661 came to less than £300.[168] These figures are reflected in the sums given to Andrew Clayton for disbursement on running costs.[169] Given annual household costs of £8000 for food and wages, £2000 to William's son, and the regular annual £2000 for building in the 1660s, there was not much left over out of an estimated income of £14,147 for William's own "occasions."[170] Even allowing for inflation, this was a more profligate style of living than William Cecil's, whose household costs of £5,600 annually in the 1630s could only be supported by his lucrative court appointments.[171] William had to make sales of land for significant one-off expenses. In 1665 lands at Sutton were sold at a poor rate, probably "towards ye buying of ye House at London" which had been sold during the Interregnum.[172]

Castle is, and newe; / which shewes Newcastle is your dewe'; see Gazetteer, p.22.

167 NU PW1.671.1

168 NU PW1.670

169 See NA DD.4P.54.61, 'A perticular of Moneys Recd by Mr Andrew Clayton out of ye Evydence as appeares under his hand:'

170 NU PW1.593

171 Stone, (1973), p.120.

172 NU PW1.463; NU PW1.600.

A great part of William's own expenditure can be explained by his views on the necessity of living in state. Even the cost of being made a duke was not insignificant, and included payments to "ye Cooke of ye Privy kitchin" and "ye kings barber."[173] William himself joked that "a Countrie Lorde" with court ambitions "shoulde throwe a waye his rente, / And all his Lande, In full Careere to spende," with nothing to show for it but a title.[174] Stone estimates that but the cost of William Cecil's attendance at court in the 1620s "can hardly have been less that £1,500 a year, and may well have been as high as £2,500."[175] The cost of food for the household puts into context the price of William's banquet served to the king at Welbeck in 1633, "a standinge banquet after dinner amountinge to the value of seven hundred pounds."[176] The list of fowl served at Bolsover in 1634 begins to explain such a high total.[177] One observer noted, of William, that in 1641 that "it had been better for him by 40,000*l.* that he had never come to court; for it is believed he has run himself in debt so much since he came thither."[178] This shows that building a great house and a court career were activities that could be combined by those who held lucrative offices, but were a severe drain on the resources of William Cavendish.

William spent a certain amount on his children, but his arrangements for them reveal his priorities. In 1640, he made a trust which, on his death, and after the payment of debts, allowed £30,000 to his three daughters, and yearly rents to the value of £4500 to be settled on his two sons.[179] Charles (III) was given land on his marriage in 1651, and for Henry's marriage William gave a £5000 portion.[180] Jane and Frances too had portions of £2000, but these were raised by their uncle Charles (II) by leasing out land for 500 years.[181] Charles (II)'s involvement points to the fact that

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173 PW1.329, 'ffees paid & Gratutities in ye passing of his Graces Patent for Earle of Ogle & Duke of Newcastle.'

174 PWV.25, f.17.

175 Stone, (1973), p.121.

176 Bod. MS Rawlinson D.49, f.1, 'The Jesse of the progresse to Scotland with other observations in the journey.'

177 Warwickshire Record Office, CR 136.B.2453.

178 Hamilton, W.D. ed., *CSPD, 1641-3*, London, 1877, Vol.1, p.62, Thomas Wiseman to Sir John Pennington, 29th July, 1641.

179 NA DDP.29.5

180 NA DDP.8.131

181 NA DD4P.41.18; NA DD6P.1.1.6.54.

William did not closely concern himself with his children's marriages, which mainly took place during the Interregnum. But as Margaret wrote, he paid £10,000 for Frances's portion before his exile by taking the money up at interest.[182] So even in prosperity William did not feel the need to provide large sums for marriage portions: he simply borrowed. He also relied on his step-son-in-law Sir John Harpur, who paid debts for William worth over £1000 according to legal papers from 1653.[183]

William's sons, in fact, had to support their father during the Interregnum. Margaret says that they raised £2400 a year, "which sprinkled something amongst [William's] Creditors" in Antwerp, and it was Charles (II)'s estate that repurchased Welbeck and Bolsover.[184] William did receive £600 a quarter from his sons, often paid late.[185] According to Margaret, though, he still lived "freely and nobly" and the shopkeepers of Antwerp gave him the credit to live in "much Splendor and Grandure."[186] This shows the relative unimportance of solvency: so much could be done on credit that inspiring confidence in eventual payment by one's grandeur was more important. This behaviour is typical of the patterns of expenditure noted by Stone. He defended himself against charges of economic determinism by arguing that his work proved that "the maximisation of profits was far from being in the forefront of the minds of many of the leading members" of the aristocracy.[187]

William's attitude towards debt

Despite this lifelong extravagant expenditure, there is evidence to suggest that William, like other aristocrats, found his level of debt burdensome. After his royal entertainment of 1633, he wrote to Strafford of "this weight of debt that lies upon me ... a strict diet in the country ... may recover me of the prodigal disease."[188] "I am dayley & Insenittye torture with my Creditors" he wrote to Henry in 1659.[189] A lawsuit was threatened in 1663 over an old debt from Antwerp, and the

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182 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.95.

183 NA DD4P.54.47, f.7.

184 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.83.

185 BL Add MS 70499, f.357.

186 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.75.

187 Stone, (1973), p.xvi.

188 Knowler, (1739), pp.101-2.

189 BL Add MS 70499, f.353.

creditor stressed the dishonour of not repaying a loan that kept William's family from starving.[190] Yet William, when young, had learned the lesson that there was no need to act quickly in financial matters. The Earls of Pembroke and Arundel were exasperated with his dilatoriness when haste went contrary to his interests. They wrote to him as Gilbert Talbot's executor in 1620, entreating him to "take the paynes to come up [him]selfe."[191] William's delay was in fact a shrewd tactic: he was in a strong position because of the death of Gilbert's other executor. So, at least, contemporary observers perceived it: according to one account, William was made Viscount Mansfield "for the accommodating for your disputes between the heyrs of the late Earl of Shrewsbury."[192]

William had himself been saddled with the consequences of the late Gilbert Talbot's failure to pay certain debts. One Gilbert Linacre complained to William that Gilbert Talbot had "made default of paiement" for land bought from him.[193] Linacre could not go to law for their money "not knowing how nor daring by reason of Earles greatnes."[194] Even William was inconvenienced in financial transactions by this concept of 'greatness.' He claimed that Gilbert's sons-in-law claimed a set of rich hangings in dispute under Gilbert's will by "no waye ... except by greatnes."[195]

William's public image of enormous wealth not matched by reality was not unusual, and his own son Henry also recounted being forced into debt. In his "briefe Account how I came be bee eight thousand pounds in Debt" of c.1663, he mentions expenditure of £1000 "in living better at that time than my Revenue allowed."[196] His other expenses included "My cloathes for myself & servants ... £2000."[197] This expenditure on appearance made building seem not a luxury but just another part of maintaining status. There are also several factors indicating the acceptance of a high level of debt for the whole seventeenth-century population. A change in mortgages in the

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190 NA DD4P.63.40

191 BL Add MS 70499, f.104.

192 Longueville, (1910), p.12.

193 NU PW1.560

194 NU PW1.561; NU PW1.562, June, 1620.

195 NU PW1.553

196 BL Add MS 70500, f.14.

197 BL Add MS 70499, f.13.

mid-seventeenth century, the 'equity of redemption,' allowed borrowers only to repay the interest over a long period, rather than having to repay the capital and risk forfeiture of their land if they failed to do so. As Mary Finch points out, this meant "the proportion of debt which an estate could safely bear to the revenue which it yielded had been considerably increased."[198] Lower down the social scale Woodward argues that even successful building craftsmen sustained a "remarkably high level of debts compared with the value of their moveable possessions." Credit was so ubiquitous that hardly anyone paid on the nail.[199] However, there is a striking absence of evidence that William failed to pay his building contractors on time. Presumably this was often the case, but while petitions for wages, old debts and charity survive in large numbers, perhaps the builders were a higher priority for payment.

Building costs

William spent in the region of £53,000 on building throughout the course of his life, on major works at three main houses. To put this into context, the cost of the ninth Earl of Northumberland's new house at Petworth, planned in 1615, was costed in his "Booke of Computations" at £16,242.[200] Given that the Earl's income at the time was about £11,000 a year, this was a manageable sum. The total cost of Blickling in Norfolk, not a peer's house, was much lower; a rough calculation from the partial surviving building accounts suggests a total of £7,362 spread over 1619-1625. The greatest expenditure came to between £2,500 and £2,000 annually in the first two years as the shell was being put up.[201]

The purpose of compiling the table of annual expenditure on building (Appendix One) was to compare William's building costs, where known, with the four surviving snap-shot valuations of his estate from before 1634, from 1641, 1642 and 1667.[202] Each valuation is unreliable in its own way. The first, in William's own handwriting, is undated, but must date from between 1618 and the death of John Smithson "the elder bailiff" in 1634. Those from 1641 and 1642 are both

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198 Finch, Mary E., *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640*, Oxford, 1956, p.169.

199 Woodward, (1995), p.241.

200 Batho, Gordon, 'Notes and Documents on Petworth House, 1574-1632,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 1958, Vol.96, p.112.

201 Newman, John, *Blickling Hall*, National Trust Guidebook, 1987, p.26.

202 NU PW1.331, undated valuation, pre-1634 from internal evidence, William's own handwriting; Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.97-8; NU PW1.600, 'Breefe note of what I have hard my Fathers stewards say he receves from his Northumberland lands ye rest of ye summs fixed here to ye Names are upon my owne knowledge if they are not more,' 18th January, 1667, Henry's own handwriting.

retrospective. Margaret's stems from a more thorough documentary basis that Henry's. She claims that her figures are derived from how the estate "was partly surveyed in the year 1641," and partly from the rate at which the Parliamentary commissioners surveyed it, whereas Henry's figures are fixed "upon [his] owne knowledge."[203] However, Margaret's valuation occurs within the context of a passage which categorises William's losses in the Civil War, and therefore would be perhaps more susceptible to exaggeration. Either way, an average of the three pre-Civil War valuations is an income of £15,404 per year.

Given Margaret's estimate of building expenditure of £1348 annually, building activities before the Civil War absorbed 8.75% of rental income. Margaret's estimate of £31,000 being spent between 1618 and 1641 is reasonable in the light of the surviving evidence of actual expenditure shown in Appendix One. This provides a notable contrast with the Restoration figures, which show an expenditure of 14.5% of rental income on building. Doubtless there were many repairs to be made, but this figure is startling because despite William's old age, there is a significant *increase* in the proportion of income being spent on building. Henry, his son, was given an allowance of £2000 a year and William's will specifies that the same amount was to be spent on Nottingham Castle. The Castle, then, had the same value to William as his heir. Spending £2000 a year from 1674-1684 made a total of £10,000 for Nottingham Castle, a not unreasonable sum. The will of Henry's daughter Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Newcastle, who died in 1715, included the provision of £10,000 to be spent over a period of seven years, plus materials already on site for the building of a "good large house" at Welbeck by her heirs.[204] This was despite a general deflation in the value of the estate. By the turn of the century, "The Whole Cavendysh Estate [was] computed at £10,000 a year."[205]

In general, great houses were built by setting aside part of an estate's income each year, rather than selling land or stockpiling profits to amass the money to build a house quickly. Roger Pratt suggests that a pattern of four years was normal: gentlemen should calculate the "superfluity of their income" and spend it for three years on the building - buying materials, building, and finishing - and for a fourth year on furnishing.[206] But the unusual and perhaps unique thing about

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203 NU PW1.600

204 NA DD4P.39.53

205 NA DD3P.12.4

206 Pratt, Roger, *Sir Roger Pratt on Architecture*, ed. Gunther, R.T., Oxford, 1928, p.54.

William's building pattern was its continuation with huge expenditure in nearly all of the years that he was resident in this country. In its scale it could only be matched by the Cecil houses of Burghley, Theobalds and Hatfield, or by Bess of Hardwick's compulsive building at Chatsworth, Hardwick and Oldcotes. But for these patrons the yearly figures are simply not available in the same way. A concentration in the secondary sources on individual houses as opposed to patterns of patronage means that comparisons are hard to find.

2.5 Making payment

William's consistently parlous financial situation cannot be blamed on building alone. An examination of the method of making payments shows that he had little control over the process. "My Lord naturally loves not business," wrote Margaret, but his grandmother Bess signed each page of her household accounts, having sometimes corrected her accountant's mistakes.[207] The totals in the 1612-14 building accounts for Bolsover Castle have been checked, but not signed. The upper servants administered the household finances, but their convoluted nature and William's own impatience meant that his solvency was in their hands, especially when he was away from home. Accounts sent to him at Richmond survive, broken down as "garden bills since michells," "buildings and Repayrs," etc.[208] The expenditure is not fully itemised, leaving William in a poor position to question it. He had to trust his accountant, James Whitehead, who was, however, dependable enough to bury the family silver in the brewhouse at Welbeck when the Parliamentarians were expected in 1643.[209]

An application, dated 1667, survives for the job of caring for "His Grace's evidence chamber."[210] The workings of the Evidence House at Welbeck in the 1660s can be understood through the surviving court documents from disputes - especially that with Clayton - arising out of their operation. Every great house had its Evidence House, where deeds and papers were stored, and the keeping of the archives was a valued skill, although papers sometimes went missing. "We have sought for the other lease in your study but cannot find it," reads a note on a draft lease for Normanton Grange, dated 1669,[211] and the lawyers charged a shilling "for searching old Sr Charles

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207 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.134; a typical page is reproduced in Worsley, Lucy, (1998), p.7.

208 BL Add MS 70499, f.237.

209 NA DDP.8.131; NU PW1.367.

210 NA DD2P.27.61; see also Gazetteer, p.132.

211 NA DD2P.28.117b

Cavendysshes will" in the Interregnum.[212]

In the 1660s, John Proctor received the money entering the Evidence House. Andrew Clayton paid out sums and secretary John Rolleston kept some accounts. But roles changed according to circumstances, and there was no clear point where responsibility and accountability rested. Andrew Clayton provided a brief job description dated 1st February 1672. He had:

> to number and fall
> out and receive any moneys as were
> paid in by any of his Graces Bayliffe
> Receivors or other officers and to receive
> parts of itt to London for his lordpps
> and to seale upp any money
> as was not soo received to London
> into one or more Baggs or Baggs
> and to carry the said Baggs with the
> said moneys soo sealed upp into his
> Lordshipps treasury at Welbecke aforesaid
> called the Evidence House and to deliver
> the same to John Proctor whoo keps
> the said money and the key of the
> same Evidence house for his Graces use...[213]

During the summers of 1667 and 1668, Francis Topp, whose job was "to take care of and defreaye the weekey and other bills to his Graces house keepinge and his buildings," had gone down to London.[214] William had given Clayton a deed allowing him to make payments instead, and he was "left behinde att Welbecke to looke after the said Imployments and wages of returninge money to London and to pay of the said Bills and charges of buildings and to any other fitting payments for his Grace and his Lady for the board wages of his servants and others who had then dyett in his Grace ffamily..."[215] Clayton claimed that the money he had disbursed had been greater than the

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212 NA DD.4P.54.47

213 NA DD2P.24.73

214 NA DD2P.24.73, f.4.

215 NA DD.2P.24.73, f.6.

amount coming in, leaving him out of pocket. Further, his receipts had been stolen from his chamber at Welbeck.[216] The accounts attached to his petition are intended to show that he did in fact make many payments for building, diet and wages.[217]

Clayton visited Bolsover as part of his work as an accountant, but the letters of Samuel Marsh show that he actually performed the important role of monitoring the workmen and deciding what needed to be done. These letters show the patron being kept at arm's length, as does William's letter giving instructions to Clayton to "gett Mr. Marshe to … make a draughte, … & this draught to give Itt to Reade & hee to Instructe him in Itt..."[218] This letter shows a highly informed but non-executive role for William, and presumably Reade could name his terms. Still, in comparison with other surviving letters from patrons, the extent to which William is interested and involved is unusual. Sir Roger Townshend and Nathaniel Bacon took a similar interest, but in new work rather than such minor repairs.[219]

Involvement of family members

As we have seen, Frances Cavendish passed sums to the steward Thomas Farr for the building of Nottingham Castle. Members of the family were obviously trustworthy stewards, and the problems with Clayton, significantly, took place during William and Margaret's absence from home. Women were quite used to performing this role in the seventeenth century. William's mother was clearly involved in estate business, marking one survey of Cotham as unsatisfactory, for example.[220] She was also responsible for her husband's tomb, and controlled an inheritance worth £2395 annually from lands in Northumberland.[221]

Margaret later developed a reputation among the servants for interfering in estate matters. During the conspiracy to have William put her aside, Andrew Clayton claimed that she was trying to have woods sold off against the Cavendish interest to increase her personal wealth.[222] Whether or not

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216 NA DD.2P.24.73, f.24.

217 NA DD.2P.24.73, f.99.

218 Strong, (1903), p.56.

219 Airs, (1978), pp.63, 65.

220 NU PW1.401

221 NU PW1.331

222 NU PW1.315

Margaret was grasping, she did list one of her skills as "the Keeping of Sheep, and Ordering of a Grange, indifferently well."[223] She would have been more effective than Elizabeth Hatton at Kirby Hall, who was told in the 1660s by her husband that she should "order y^e^ affairs of y^e^ house and take y^e^ accoumpts" but agreed only because she feared to displease him.[224] Perhaps the absence of evidence for Margaret's, and William's first wife Elizabeth's, involvement in actually making payments is more surprising. Elizabeth's will, for example, shows a lack of confidence in her financial position: she lists her bequests and begs William to treat her daughter Cate generously. "I desir you to doe for me in lowe I know this will not stand good but itt moust be your Good nes."[225] This note of pleading hints at William's domestic tyranny, where children were not a top priority.

Wages were always a matter for negotiation, and the Bolsover accounts show costs rising from week to week. For the higher servants, an annual sum could be promised but not necessarily received. Richard Stanley lived in Charles (I)'s Slingsby Castle for three years, securing the building, and never received the promised £100.[226] Wages were supplemented by discretionary gifts: Mr Proctor in 1661 was lucky enough to receive his annual salary of £5 and an extra £10 "given by my Lady."[227] This casual gift, worth twice what Proctor earned in a year, shows the difficulty of budgeting for wages alone. Certain sums are "given to the workmen by my master" in 1612-14 accounts and Frances Cavendish's account book for 1678 includes money "In Gifftes for Nottingham building."[228] Of course, charity was recorded in the household accounts too. A poor woman of Langwith was allowed a shilling a fortnight by Margaret in 1667-8.[229] It is noticeable that the charitable giving seems to be the province of William's wives: his first wife Elizabeth's will, for example, listed gifts to "to the pore of Bosour."[230] This fits into the pattern noticed by Amy Louise Erickson that she terms 'personalism': women left the bequests to

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223 Cavendish, Margaret, *CCXI Sociable Letters*, London, 1664, 'To His Excellency the Lord Marquess of Newcastle.'

224 BL Add MS 29571, f.92.

225 NA DD.P6.1.19.26, 22nd November, 1642.

226 NU PW1.250

227 NU PW1.670

228 NA DD.P6.7.2.237

229 NA DD2P.24.73

230 NA DD.P6.1.19.26

deserving individuals that their husbands were disinclined to make.[231] All this adds to the impression of laxity that characterises the household finances. At least spending money on architecture achieved a solid result, unlike the money frittered away on more casual forms of patronage.

2.6 Techniques and materials

Drawings and models

Drawings were an obvious stage in the building process, but of all William's projects drawings survive only for the earlier stages of Bolsover Castle, the Riding House and Stable at Welbeck, and the stand at Clipstone. The Bolsover drawings are interesting for the evolution of the design rather than the finished product; the Little Castle basement drawing shows Smithson's device of displaying various options on flaps. The Terrace Range was not built as drawn, as archaeological investigation failed to locate the chapel.[232] The main function of the surviving drawings seems to have been to collect ideas, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The use of models was developing in the 1620s: Sir Henry Wotton recommended making one, Sir Roger Townshend had one made for Raynham Hall, and Inigo Jones produced models for the Queen's House and the Banqueting House.[233] Charles (I) mentioned being invited to see a model by Lord Lumley as early as 1607, but the word could also have meant a paper plan.[234] In the later seventeenth century, the use of three-dimensional models was commonplace in the Midlands. Henry paid a joiner in 1683 for "a moddle for a new building at welbecke."[235] The wooden model known as "Mr Marsh's Model" surviving at Nottingham Castle has been thought to be the model mentioned in William's will.[236] However, the Gazetteer shows that the most recent view is that it dates from the nineteenth century.[237]

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231 Erickson, Amy Louise, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, London, 1993, p.228; see Gazetteer, p.12 for Elizabeth Bassett's timidity in financial matters.

232 Illustrations 2.17 and 2.18.

233 Wotton, (1624), p.64; Airs, (1978), pp.64-5.

234 HMC *Salisbury MSS,* London, 1964, Vol.19, pp.129-1.

235 NA DD6P.7.2.238

236 Swarbrick, John, 'Architectural Models in Relation to the Preservation of Ancient Buildings,' *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol.32, No.16, 27th June, 1925, p.520; NA DD.6P.1.19.30.

237 See Gazetteer p.92.

Materials

One of the most noticeable characteristics of William's building projects is that not one of them was on a greenfield site. In each case, the fabric of an existing building was dismantled, re-used or adapted. Welbeck Abbey was an adapted monastic building and Bolsover was built from the ruins of a medieval castle, as was Nottingham. Newcastle House, Clerkenwell was a converted nunnery. Perhaps this was a conscious decision to adopt the rhetoric of continuity that association with a historic castle or abbey could give, but there was also a more prosaic element of using resources sensibly. The ruins of Charles (I)'s incomplete house began at Kirkby were re-used at Bolsover. The measurements of the "window stuff" from Kirkby in the accounts add up to the length of masonry used in the windows of the Little Castle's hall with their distinctive moulding.[238] Parts of Bolsover itself later suffered reuse, for in the 1650s, a speculator bought it "with an intention to pull it down, and make money of the Materials."[239] But for the prompt action of William's brother, Bolsover would have had the same fate as Holdenby in Northamptonshire. The house was sold to a Parliamentary soldier and dismantled, and some of its fabric used to build houses in Northampton.[240]

Derbyshire was well-supplied with stone, wood, lead, glass, coloured alabaster and other materials, but occasionally the use of the local materials can be argued to have some significance beyond convenience. Obviously their use reduced cost. In a calculation of the cost of the new house at Petworth, 1615, charges for timber and stone are excluded. They are assumed to come from the estate, except for timber explicitly to be provided by the joiner, and for special stone for paving and slating, for example.[241] The location of the three main quarries is known for the building of Bolsover Castle. The earliest phase used Shuttlewood and Bolsover Moor, both shown in William Senior's survey, and the 1660s repairs a quarry at Glapwell, none of which were more than three miles distant. There was also the elusive "town" quarry, which may have been the same as Bolsover Moor quarry as it was so close to the settlement.

At Bolsover, lime was made at the limekiln by a group of women. The kiln where the limestone was burned and lime pits where the lime was slaked for a period of weeks would be located at a

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238 This was noticed and pointed out to me by Mark Askey.

239 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.74; see also Gazetteer p.9 for the re-use of materials at Blore Hall.

240 Heward and Taylor, (1996), p.236.

241 Batho, (1958), p.112.

site convenient for the building project, although the actual calcium carbonate for burning may have been brought some distance. Lime-making also required charcoal, another product from Shuttlewood Common. In 1624, William sold the roots and tops of trees felled to Sir Peter Freschville, who owned the charcoal-making right.[242]

Owning supplies such as fuel was a great cost-saver. In the pre-1634 period, William expected to make £2,000 a year from ironworks and other industries, having the advantage, as he wrote, that his "woddes" were "not payde for."[243] In addition, he provided himself with coal. In leasing coal pits in Barley, he retained the option to buy any excess coal.[244] Coal was even mined in the near vicinity of the house at Bolsover; the bailiff's accounts for 1670 include a compensatory payment "for Spoile of Ground in Cassall by ye Colpitts,"[245] presumably to a tenant who found his farming activities disrupted by opencast. Coal was also one of the ingredients, crushed, in the paint used to complete the "sable" areas of the scheme sketched out for the Pillar Parlour at Bolsover Castle by John Smithson.

The Cavendish archive can also throw some light upon the operation of the lead mining industry in Derbyshire in the seventeenth century. William, as Gilbert's executor, took charge of his mines at Wirksworth.[246] Private trafficking in lead was a perquisite of the upper servants. In 1662 Topp and Clayton made an agreement to ask William for the rights to lead mines and coal mines in his manors and to share the profit.[247] When William wrote to Andrew Clayton that he must "bye the Leade for Bolsover, as soone as ... the prise faules,"[248] he presumably did not realise that his servants in fact intended to buy the cheapest lead for their own use. Clayton promised William to buy the lead for the gallery at Bolsover "as soone as ye price falls to Ten pound per foot,"[249] but at the same time, he and Topp were shipping lead to London from Hull for profit. Topp asked

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242 NA DDP.50.54

243 NU PW1.331

244 NA DDP.43.34

245 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.63.

246 NU PW1.570

247 NA DD6P.1.16.65

248 Strong, (1903), p.57.

249 NU PW1.669

Clayton, who could "buy it as Cheape as any man," to "imploy three hundred pounds sterling and send it In two or three vessell coming hither."[250] Before the Civil War, the Cavendishes had access to their own lead. Charles (I) chose to rent his "smelting fordg or lead milne" to the mayor of Chesterfield in 1611, while retaining the stream for his own use, for the working of his furnace in Barley.[251]

There was a tile kiln and a brick house in the park at Welbeck in 1652.[252] A total of 75,000 tiles - enough to tile the whole of the Riding House Range - was taken from there to Bolsover in the 1660s.[253] As the Gazetteer shows, brick was a much more important feature of the building at Welbeck, where it was used to construct the terrace walls in the gardens. William Eagle reported to Katherine Cavendish in 1608 on the journeys one Edmunde had made two or three times to Norfolk "for the brickmen." [254] Brick was also used in the relieving arches of the Little Castle walls, and a brickman from Wollaton came to the site in the early stages to advise. In the later stages, the second floor was hurriedly completed rather crudely in brick for some unknown reason. A "Bryckiln" was specially constructed at Charles (I)'s project at Kirkby a quarter of a mile away from the building site.[255] There was a brickmaker named William Woodcocke operating in the Welbeck area in 1662.[256] Brick arches were constructed at Nottingham Castle, where one collapsed in 1681, "ye lime not well sett," crushing George Jackson, who languished for two hours before dying.[257] These bricks were purchased ready-made, some from a Mr Wright.[258]

Touch

The Marble Closet at Bolsover Castle features the newly-fashionable use of black and white marble pioneered by the Cecils at Theobalds. Baron Waldstein commented on a sombre "black

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250 NU PW1.503

251 NA DDP.43.11

252 NA DD6P.1.18.22

253 NA DD.4P.70.1, f.1v.

254 NA DD3P.14.19

255 Chamberlain, (1939), pp.76-77.

256 NU PW1.488

257 NA DDP.65.69, 15th October, 1681.

258 NA DD.P6.7.2.238, for example, 22nd October, 1681.

and white marble" fireplace there in 1600, and a similar black and white marble floor at Arundel. House appears in Mytens' portrait of Alatheia, Countess of Arundel.[259]

The use of the word marble, appearing on Smithson's drawing for the Marble Closet, for example, was not restricted to the metamorphic rock not usually found in England. During the planning for a new house at Petworth in 1615, staircases were to be built of "marble out of Michaell Parke."[260] The Marble Closet at Bolsover does, however, seem to be made out of true Italian marble, which must have been imported at vast expense. However, other 'marble' elements of the Castle such as the jewels on the fireplaces or the statue of Venus, as specified in the Gazetteer, are the local equivalent. This was certainly the case in the Ashford Black marble or "touchstone" used in the Little Castle and for the *pissatori* of the fountain at Bolsover Castle. Examination of the surviving fragments of the little boys revealed a geological match with this famous local material.[261] The trend for black-and-white marble was prefigured locally in the white alabaster and black touchstone of Derbyshire, and Gilbert Talbot provided black touchstone from his estates for projects as distant as Hatfield in February 1609.[262] The touchstone of the Little Castle fireplaces was not just an inferior alternative to marble, for Margaret wrote one poem commenting positively on the "*Chimnies* with *Touch-Stone* of *Affection* made, / Where *Beauty*, the *Fuell* of *Love* is laid./ The *Harth* is innocent *Marble* white...[263] The hearth is not marble, but merely "marble white," possibly the more humble and homely Derbyshire alabaster, and Ben Jonson's condemnation of marble pillars in *To Penshurst* comes to mind. Lady Anne Clifford, whose taste for ancient castles is similar to the Cavendish family's, also found that the fashionable "marble pillars" of her husbands' houses Knole and Wilton were often to her "but the gay Arbours of Anguish."[264] The

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259 Waldstein, *The Diary of Baron Waldstein,* ed. Groos, G.W., London, 1981, p.83; the portrait at Arundel Castle of Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, is illustrated in Howarth, (1985), Colour Plate 3, following p.72.

260 Batho, (1958), p.117.

261 Dr David Jefferson, 'Report on the geological investigation of the Venus Fountain, Bolsover Castle,' for English Heritage, 1999.

262 4th February, 1609. William Hammond to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Broad Street, London, about a cargo of black touchstones from the Earl's quarry conveyed by sea to London for delivery to Hatfield. Transcription by David Durant at Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts.

263 Cavendish, Margaret, *Poems, and Fancies*, London, 1653, 'Natures House,' p.133.

264 'Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show, / Of touch, or marble; not canst boast a row / Of polished pillars, or a roof of gold,' Jonson, Ben, 'To Penshurst,' in Fowler, Alastair, *The Country House Poem*, Edinburgh, 1994, pp.53-6; Clifford, (1990), p.94.

use of expensive foreign paint ingredients, such as mussel gold in the Elysium Closet, shows that William was able to afford and locate exotic materials. However, the pragmatic use of blue verditer rather than the more expensive azurite in the Star Chamber ceiling shows a willingness to compromise.[265]

This use of touchstone instead of marble, or of Derbyshire coal-dust as a colouring, may have been due to something more than convenience. Although local families, who were naturally familiar with local products, did the work, the materials also had positive qualities, such as local touchstone symbolising "*Affection.*" In another poem, Margaret describes the family "*crest in the Wainscot gilt"* at Bolsover as William's gilding the neck of his father's castle.[266] In the royal entertainments of 1633 and 1634, Cedric Brown points out that the local, family references, or 'courtesies of place,' were seen as an extra layer of significance that could be added to hospitality.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the characters and processes contributing to William's architectural patronage. The main conclusion emerging is that, whatever his intentions may have been, he possessed limited control over his finances and his personnel. Yet the survey at the beginning of the chapter showed that his projects constantly grew in scale and ambition, and the proportion of his income that he spent on building rose, rather than fell, over his lifetime. The chapter has suggested that this was a result of the combination of two factors. Firstly, the pressure to continue to build from the household, and indeed the whole estate, as much as the patron, for building was a means of social advancement and prosperity for its members. Although the workings of the household and treasury show that William probably had little or no control over the materials used in his projects, his officers chose appropriately local materials for houses intended for hospitality. They also chose local styles, as the next chapter will show.

Secondly, building obviously contributed to William's personal role as a member of the Cavendish family, and despite the limitations of his agency he took an unusual interest in it. Even his choice of title reflected this.[267] Solvency was therefore less important to him than a reputation for magnificence, within which references to history and locality were vitally important. Efficiency and cost-effectiveness had low priority in a situation where process was as important as product.

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265 Helen Hughes, pers. comm.

266 Cavendish, Margaret, *Poems, and Fancies*, London, 1653, pp.89-90.

267 See Gazetteer, p.22.

CHAPTER THREE: A FUSION OF STYLES

> It is True, that if there was nothing Commendable but what is Useful, strictly Examined; we must have nothing but Hollow Trees for our Houses, Figg-leaf-Breeches for our Clothes, Acorns for our Meat, and Water for our Drink; for certainly, most things else are but Superfluities and Curiosities.[1]

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the sources for the two main stylistic tendencies to be found in the Cavendish buildings. The means by which styles could be transmitted are discussed, followed by a consideration of the influence of the English past on William Cavendish as a patron: his inheritance of his mother's properties in Northumbria, his concepts of Englishness, Protestantism, and local identity. Secondly, the opportunities for his personal experience of classical architecture will be explored. After having investigated these two main areas of stylistic influence and their fusion, the chapter will identify what *cannot* be explained by the use of models of either local or distant origin. This special ingredient, unique to the Cavendish family, shows the contribution to the design of the houses which was made by the family and household itself, and this in turn will be examined more closely in Chapter Four.

In recent art-historical debate, discussions of style in relation to a particular patron are often based on the methodology of 'self-fashioning,' and this chapter will suggest that it is a concept that still can be useful, albeit within certain limits, when discussing architecture. Using Stephen Greenblatt's definition, it could be argued that William's construction of his self-image had inevitably to refer to an authority situated outside the self.[2] And as Maurice Howard points out, "in terms of the visual arts the Court was unquestionably the dominant institution, or 'authority' throughout the sixteenth century."[3] The balance that self-fashioners had to strike was between the safety of court fashions, and a more individualistic style that involved the danger of charges of extravagance or unconventionality. Unfortunately, this model of analysis can mean that patrons are usually discussed only with reference to the court as a source of authority, neglecting other areas. This

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1 Cavendish, William, (1667), p.14.

2 Greenblatt, (1980), p.9.

3 Howard, Maurice, 'Self-Fashioning and the Classical Moment,' in *Renaissance Bodies*, ed. Gent, Lucy, and Llewellyn, Nigel, London, 1990, p.199.

chapter will conclude with a discussion of the extent to which William created an image for himself that was fashionable in court terms. But it will begin with an alternative source of authority to which he had to defer in his self-image: his sense of history, his locality, and above all, his family. His power was embodied in every-day life by the physical presence of the local population, whose actions he was able to influence: his friends, clients, tenants, and most immediately his household.

The nature of the references to the past in the architecture of the Cavendish household is an under-explored area. There is considerable current interest in the concept of medieval or gothic revivalism, with many historians arguing that the trend is more important than the concept of the 'rococo joke' as it has conventionally been seen by Summerson, for example.[4] But there has been a general failure to establish *which* strand of the past was being identified by different patrons and what it might have meant to them. Chris Brookes, uniquely, has begun to assign a political significance to aspects of the seventeenth-century gothic revival, but an alternative view of 'the past' is presented in this chapter: as a signifier for a possible religious, local, or - most importantly - dynastic meanings.[5] This throws much more light on the motivation for the style than pure nostalgia.

3.1.1 Acquiring cultural capital

How was William Cavendish educated as a patron? There is no evidence for an explicitly architectural component in his education, but various early influences can be seen in his houses later on. William was educated informally until the age of fourteen at home and on visits to the household of his uncle Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. He was there, for example, when Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry visited Worksop Manor in 1604.[6] Margaret's description of a nameless boy's education, thought to be based on William's life, described how "his Mothers Chambermayd taught him to read."[7]

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4 For example, McCarthy, Michael, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival*, New Haven and London, 1987; Summerson, John, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, ninth edition, London and New Haven, 1993, pp.368-9; Worsley, Giles, 'What's in a "K"?' *Country Life*, Vol.188, 1994, pp.74-77; it was the subject of The Georgian Group's annual symposium in 2000.

5 Brookes, Chris, *The Gothic Revival*, Phaidon, 1999, pp.59, 82.

6 BL Add MS 70499, f.84.

7 Cavendish, Margaret, *Natures pictures drawn by Fancies pencil to the life*, London, 1656, p.273.

The next stage in William's education was St John's College, Cambridge. This was almost an extension of his apprenticeship with his uncle, for the College owed much to the patronage of William's aunt Mary Talbot and to Gilbert himself. The records of William's time in Cambridge are sketchy. Margaret's portrait of the nameless boy continues that "he was sent to the University, there continuing from the years of 14. to the years of 18." but then left, "considering with himself, that he was buryed to the world and the delights therein."[8] These ages, applied to William, meant he would have arrived at St John's in 1608 and left in 1612, the year in which he departed on his tour of Europe. It is often written that William received an M.A. from the University of Cambridge in 1608, but this in fact results from confusion with his cousin, another William Cavendish, future second Earl of Devonshire.[9] The William Cavendish awarded an Honorary M.A. on 3rd July 1608 was "*baronis filius et heres,*"[10] unlike the son of Sir Charles (I) Cavendish. It was also the Devonshire William Cavendish who received an M.A. from Oxford in the same year.[11] Although no traces of William's being at St John's between 1608 and 1612 survive beyond Margaret's reference, a letter written in 1641 proves that he certainly had been a member at one time. William wrote to the College recommending one Richard Pye for a fellowship, but he was rejected because he had not studied at St John's.[12] The Fellows advised William to remember that "when you honoured [the College] with your admission [you] taught her to set a greater price vpon her Children..."[13]

The Fellows obviously still had hopes in the 1660s that William, or more probably Margaret, would favour them in the manner of Mary Talbot, their "second Foundress."[14] Copies of letters from St John's to William and to Margaret survive, undated but probably from c.1670, thanking them both

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8 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.141; Cavendish, Margaret, (1656), p.273.

9 For example, Venn, J.A., *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1922, Part I, Vol.1, pp.310-11.

10 Cambridge University Library, UA Supplicats 1605-8, No.145.

11 University of Oxford Archives, Register, 1606-1615, NEP.Supra.K, f.27r, 8th July, 1608.

12 St John's College Archives, D94.113.

13 St John's College Archives, C7.16, 'The College Letter Book,' p.399, 'A Ltr to the Earle of Newcastle in answer of his.'

14 *Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle*, London, 1674, p.39.

for gifts.[15] William's was a copy of his horsemanship book, as is known from a book listing bequests to the college, and Margaret's gift was twelve books, probably of her own authorship. In the 1660s the College was building its third court, which shares many of the quirky English classical features of Marsh's Nottingham Castle or Capheaton Hall in Northumberland. The Fellows needed benefaction because, as they wrote to Margaret, they were "so unhappily engaged in building y^{t} we can neither leave of not goe on wthout y^{e} help & assistance of others..."[16] There is no evidence that William and Margaret contributed towards the building, but they did pay for a portrait of Mary Talbot, now in the college Combination Room, and the statue in a niche in the Middle Court. The Fellows thanked Margaret, writing that "our Colledge was not hitherto a finisht Building" until they received "the Picture of the late Right Honourable *Mary* Countess of *Shrewsbury*, your most noble Aunt." In addition, they "ought to have ... set up ere now the Statue of the most Noble Countess of *Shrewsbury*."[17] The sculptor for the statue was Thomas Burman, and the College accounts record a payment for "ye Countess of Shrewsbury's Statue, (encled in ye Gate of ye middle Court) ... & carriage from London" and for "Masons work about ye Niches."[18] Thomas Baker confirmed that William paid for the work: "Her statue was given," he wrote, "by the late duke of Newcastle out of respect to the society as well as with regard to his name and family."[19] As an earlier pair of statues at the College, Charles I and Henrietta Maria, were by Francesco Fanelli, it is tempting to wonder whether William, one of Fanelli's patrons, donated them too.[20]

Books

William Cavendish was not fond of books. "For a mere Schollar," he wrote to Prince Charles, "there is nothing so simple for this world."[21] Introducing his *Advice* to Charles II, William boasted that "there is no oratory in it, or any thing stollen out of Bookes, for I seldom or Ever reade any,"[22]

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15 St John's College Archives, C7.17, 'The College Letter Book,' p.8, letter to William; p.10, letter to Margaret.

16 ibid, p.10.

17 *Letters and poems in honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle*, London, 1674, pp.39-40.

18 St John's College Archives, SB4.8, 'The Rental,' 1666-82, f.120v.

19 Baker, (1869), p.191.

20 Walpole, (1762), Vol.2, p.139.

21 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.111v.

22 Bod. MS Clarendon 109,'The Earl of Newcastle's Advice to Charles II,' p.xiii.

and Margaret describes how he completed his education on a practical note. He "had a great inclination to the Art of Horsemanship and Weapons, in which later his Father *Sir Charles* ... was his onely Tutor, and kept him also several Masters in the Art of Horsemanship, and sent him to the *Mewse* to *Mons. Antoine.*"[23]

Yet there is some evidence to suggest that William Cavendish did indeed possess books about architecture. There was a room called the "library" at Welbeck in 1636, and his cosmopolitan collection of music books is well known.[24] However, the only purchase of books recorded in the surviving accounts came in 1664, "to Mr Benoist for bookes for hir Exce."[25] In 1672, Mr Benoist also sent a box directed "to my Lady Dutchesse ... with the Bookes," and the Dutch quills.[26] Charles (II), like Margaret, was a notable collector of books. According to John Aubrey, he spent his money "on bookes and on learned men. He had collected in Italie, France, &c, with no small chardge, as many Manuscript Mathematicall bookes as filled a Hoggeshead, which he intended to have printed." However, he died before he could do so, and by mistake the collection was sold "to the past-board makers for Wast-paper."[27]

Several seventeenth-century books about architecture that could have belonged to William have been traced in the Welbeck Abbey library at later dates, and have been examined as possible sources for the Cavendish buildings.[28] Justus Sadeler's series of engravings, as discussed in the

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23 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.142.

24 'A note of Seuerall Instruments and Setts of bookes Remaining in diuers roomes of the house, taken the 9th of November. 1636,' f.2r, document at Welbeck Woodhouse, quoted by Hulse, Lynn, 'The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol,' forthcoming in *Chelys*, 2001; Hulse, (1994).

25 NU PW1.592/2

26 NU PW1.16

27 Aubrey, John, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson, Dick, Bungay, Suffolk, 1972, pp.216-17.

28 The sale from the library of the Dukes of Newcastle in 1719 included Serlio, *Livre des Temples*, 1547; Vitruvius, *de Architectura cum comment,* 1567; Muet, Pierre le, *Architecture*, Paris, 1648; Laurus, Jacobus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Rome, 1612; Bosio, *Roma Sotteranea, con multe figure,* 1632; Santos, Fran. de los, *Description del Escorial*, Madrid, 1667; Dan, Pierre, *Tresor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontaine-Bleau*, Paris, 1642; see Noel, (1719), pp.22, 27, 55, 57. See Puttick and Simpson, Messrs., *Catalogue of Books from the Library of a Noble Duke,* 10th-11th August, 1885, for sale of books by Palladio and Serlio, lots 525 and 550. See also Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd., *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books from the Titchfield Library at Welbeck Abbey Sold by Order of His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G.,* London, 17th March, 1954, for the sale of books by Scamozzi and Wotton, lots 28 and 176. See also Nicholson, John, *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London*, London, 1893, p.69, Anon., *Vues, Plans, etc., du Château de Versailles*, Paris, 1672,

Bolsover Castle Gazetteer, provided a close link between continental classicism and the sculpture produced for the fountain, and Hendrik Goltzius' series, 'The United Virtues,' is one example among the many printed sources probably used for the Little Castle.[29]

As well as works on figurative ideas and iconography, the household members responsible for designing the various building projects certainly had access to architectural pattern books, some of which can be determined by the detail of the buildings themselves. John Smithson's use of Serlio, for example, or the influence of Rubens' *Palazzi de Genova* on Nottingham Castle have often been discussed. Francesco Fanelli's book on fountains, for example, in its turn contains Bolsoverian features, and as he worked as sculptor for William Cavendish this is possibly because he had visited the Derbyshire house.[30] John Smithson's own will, which requested William and Charles (II) to supervise its execution, included the bequest of his "Library and Books."[31]

The Elements of Architecture

Sir Henry Wotton, William's guide through Europe, was later the author of an architectural treatise and it is hardly credible that William never read it. *The Elements of Architecture, collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best Authors and Examples*, published in London in 1624, is later known to have been at Welbeck.[32] Mainly concerned with practical details, it has nevertheless had extravagant claims made for it as the source of the stark astylar classicism of the 1640s and 50s.[33] The writer's possible influence on the design of the Little Castle is hard to untangle. Wotton recommends bestowing the offices in a basement beneath a raised *piano nobile*, yet pragmatically predicts that the practice may not suit the England climate; the dampness of the offices in the Little

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Anon., *Vues des Maisons Royales et des Villes conquises par Louis XIV*, n.d.; p.312, Palladio, *I quattri libri dell'architectura*, Venice, 1581, idem, *L'Architettura*, Venice, 1642; p.376, Scamozzi, Vincenzo, *Idea dell'Architecttura Universale*, Venice, 1695; p.439, Vitruvius, Pollio, *Les dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve*, Paris, 1684. Lynn Hulse drew my attention to these catalogues.

29 Sadeler, Justus, *Caesars XII. Caeserum qui prima Rom. imperarunt Effigies; cum Ausonii in eosdem tetratichis*, Venice, 1608; Nicolson, (1893), p.71; see Gazetteer, pp.40, 35.

30 See p.48 and illustrations 2.39, 2.40 and 2.41.

31 Public Record Office PCC Seager, 110, 5th November, 1634, quoted by Girouard, (1983), p.317, note 42.

32 A copy, possibly owned by William, was sold from the Welbeck Abbey library in 1954, see Christie, Manson and Woods, (1954), lot 176.

33 Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), p.67.

Castle and at Slingsby Castle must always have made them unpleasant.[34] Wotton's exposition on the roles of the designer and the surveyor usefully backs up the status of the emerging 'gentleman' architect like Charles (I). His son considered him a "good arketectur,"[35] presumably with Smithson, in Wotton's terms, as his active executive "superintendent." The superintendent is "distinguished from the Architect, whose glory doth more consist, in the Designment and Idea of the whole Worke, and his truest ambition should be to make the Forme ... triumph over the Matter."[36]

Yet Wotton had strong negative views on the vaults so much beloved by the Cavendishes. "For their very Vncomelinesse," he wrote, pointed arches "ought to bee exiled from judicious eyes ... amongst other Reliques of that barbarous Age."[37] This shows little sympathy towards Bolsover. Similarly, his most famous pronouncement, that the "fundamentall Maxime, that the Images of all things are latent in Numbers) doth determine the comeliest Proportion, betweene breadths and heights, Reducing Symmetrie to Symphonie,"[38] is at first sight completely uninfluential at Bolsover. But if vaulted units themselves are considered to form a modular system of construction, squares being added together on the plan to make a larger square, there may be intentional harmonies in the Little Castle which are not readily detected as they do not fall into the Palladian mould. Palladio was an author whom Wotton generally rejects in favour of Vitruvius, whose unillustrated text can be interpreted with more flexibility than Palladio's with its prescriptive diagrams.[39]

Correspondence

Letters obviously passed between aristocrats around the country and indeed abroad, conveying paper plans; the slavish following of a plan, for example, explains how the 1630s house at St Nicholas's Abbey in Barbados came to contain the fireplaces that are unnecessary in the climate.[40]

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34 Wotton, (1624), p.9.

35 BL Add MS 70499, f.356.

36 Wotton, (1624), pp.11-12.

37 ibid, p.51.

38 ibid, p.53.

39 Editions such as Vitruvius Pollionius, Marcus, *De Architectura, Libri Decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari...*, Venice, 1567, for example, contain some diagrams but these formed part of the modern commentary rather than the ancient text, and they are obviously less integral to the work than those in Palladio, Andrea, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architecttura*, Venice, 1570.

40 Fraser, H., and Hughes, R., *Historic Houses of Barbados*, Barbados, 1982, p.16.

Charles (I) certainly shared his ideas, writing to Mary Talbot on 3rd May, 1607, with an ideal plan. "I pray you take good view of this plat," he requested,[41] and Robert Cecil thanked Gilbert Talbot in 1608 for forwarding him a plan of Hardwick.[42]

An English patron's personal experience of Italian originals was in fact a relatively insignificant part of the process by which new ideas arrived back in England. In this period, books and pictures were crossing the channel. There were also many indirect links between England and Italy. Designers such as Constantino de'Servi, for example, who had worked for the Medici, was brought from Florence in 1611. He was to make "fountains, summerhouse, galleries and other things," for Prince Henry at his palace in Richmond, which was later William's home as Prince Charles' governor.[43] Conversely, a client of the Shrewsburys', Thomas Coke, had written back from Florence in 1609 to say that he had been to the Medici villa of Pratolino. Oddly enough, he did not find it unfamiliar, but instead commented on its similarities to Worksop Manor Lodge, Nottinghamshire.[44] The nearby Cavendish water gardens at Welbeck also bear a strange resemblance to the water staircase at Pratolino.[45] So the question of whether or not William himself saw the Palazzo del Tè, for example, is not of overriding importance.

There was certainly some dissension from the view that making a trip abroad was instructive and fulfilling. In 1631, when William's sons were abroad, he received a letter from the Earl of Exeter decrying the benefits of travel. Exeter himself had no intention of learning to dance, or tying his boots with ribbons, and he believed that William would "find as much contentm[t] in your owne stable and race, as they can bringe you out of ffrance."[46] Horses, therefore, provided more satisfaction than foreigners, and local experience could be as important as foreign travel. This

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41 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, pp.129-1.

42 Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot Papers MS L, ff.149, 151, quoted in Batho, G. R., *A Calendar of the Talbot Papers in the College of Arms*, Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol.4, 1968. (The papers have been moved to Lambeth Palace.)

43 Harris, John, Orgel, Stephen, and Strong, Roy, *The King's Arcadia. Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, p.43; Eiche, Sabine, 'Prince Henry's Richmond: the project by Costantino de'Servi,' *Apollo*, November, 1998, pp.10-14.

44 Thomas Coke to the Countess of Shrewsbury, Florence, 30th October, 1609, quoted by Howarth, (1985), p.18.

45 See Gazetteer p.138 and illustration 14.6; Mignani, Daniela, *The Medicean Villas by Giusto Utens*, Florence, 1995, pp.79, 81.

46 BL Add MS 70499, f.133.

section has shown that as well as his experience of the architecture of his family's ancestral homes, the opportunities and mechanisms were available for William Cavendish to gain knowledge of more cosmopolitan styles, even if he rejected them. The next sections will seek to define these two influences in his patronage.

3.2 Sources of the medieval style in the Cavendish houses

> I doe love these auncient ruynes:
> We never tread upon them but we set
> Our foote upon some reverend History...[47]

3.2.1 The Northumbrian Inheritance

Katherine Ogle is an underestimated figure in the genesis of the Little Castle at Bolsover. The Gazetteer shows that Bothal Castle, near Morpeth, and the other towers owned by the family such as Cockle Park and Great Tosson, throw up a surprising number of similarities between her Northumbrian inheritance and her husband's new house. Katherine's father's barony was revived for her and later passed to William, and the importance of this ancient title can be understood in the context of the view that only the third generation after a family's gaining an honour could claim to be a "Gentleman of Blood."[48] Even Gilbert Talbot was taunted with his "bastardlie descent" by his enemies.[49] The Ogle "Northumberlande landes," worth a colossal annual £2395, were accounted for separately in estate surveys.[50] The Northumberland men formed a separate group in the household.[51] Katherine Ogle had grown up at Bothal, which consisted, like the Little Castle at Bolsover, of a strong tower or gatehouse set into a strong curtain wall.

Bothal's position and planning - vaults on the ground floor, a tiny room in each corner tower - are all reminiscent of Bolsover, and even its garden was enclosed, like Bolsover's within a curtain

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47 Webster, John, 'The Duchess of Malfi,' *Three Plays,* ed. Gunby, D.C., London, 1972, p.282.

48 Markham, Francis, *The Booke of Honour*, London, 1625, p.48.

49 Stone, (1965), p.25.

50 eg. NU PW1.331.

51 See p.68.

wall.[52] William frequently visited Bothal, even when he was wanted elsewhere. "I hearde this day ... that yu were gone to Bottle Castell,"[53] wrote Arundel in annoyance in September 1620. But it was not merely a place for retirement, as William maintained a powerful influence in the county. In 1642 William "took this day an opportunity to see his children at Bottell Castle," but also "to be near the danger to prevent the rising of the county."[54]

Additionally, Ogle Castle and Cockle Park Tower were both medieval fortified houses with fearsome machicolations, and Cockle Park in particular is a stack of rooms like a pele tower.[55] The fortified look was adopted at Bolsover and Slingsby, obviously, but also in the additions to Welbeck. These can be seen on the west front in the eighteenth century drawing by Grimm,[56] and castellations also appeared on smaller buildings such as the hunting stand constructed in Clipstone Park in the later seventeenth century. Thirty-six roods of stone were allowed for the "Battlement wall on either side."[57] Even Nottingham Castle, with its similarities to the *palazzi* of the Campidoglio, could have originally been intended to have battlements instead of a balustrade along its roofline.[58] These local and historical references were the result of using a local workforce to build houses that had to be appreciated in local circles. Robert, Earl of Leicester, too pursued a policy of "antiquarianism and dynasticism" which was not, Simon Adams claims, "an attempt to create a power-base for influence at court," but a bid for purely local success.[59]

The Cavendish influence in Northumberland still existed in the 1660s when William's son Henry was active in the county regiment. At that time, there may be an example of stylistic influence from the Midlands to Northumbria, for Henry was in correspondence with and had visited Sir John

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52 See Gazetteer, pp.49-55 and illustrations 3.1, 3.9 and 3.4.

53 BL Add MS 70499, f.106.

54 HMC, *Portland,* Appendix, Part I, London, 1891, Vol.1, p.69.

55 See Gazetteer, pp.98-102, 61-62, and illustrations 10.2 and 5.1.

56 BL Add MS 15545, No.67.

57 NA DD4P.70.43, see Gazetteer, p.59.

58 See illustration 9.2, a speculative view of the building before completion.

59 Adams, Simon, ' 'Because I am of that countrye & mynde to plant myself there': Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the West Midlands,' *Midland History*, Vol.10, 1995, p.51.

Swinburn during the building of the 'Artisan Mannerist' Capheaton Hall near Ogle, which has some similarities with Nottingham Castle.[60]

This Northumbrian inheritance was particularly important to William because of the relative newness of his paternal family's greatness. His sense of outrage, for example, at the excesses of Fairfax's troops in the Civil War was not limited to their physical violence. In an emotive declaration, he accused them of destroying families' history. "The Badges and Monuments of ancient Gentry in Windows, and Pedigrees have been by them defaced," he wrote, and "Old Evidences, and Records of private Families, the Pledges of Possessions, the boundaries of mens Properties have been by them burned..."[61] This threat to property and family history was a call to arms for those - like Fairfax himself - who wanted the order of society preserved.

Life in the Country

What possible positive meanings could be extracted from a traditional landowning life in the Midlands? The country life itself was treasured, an attitude stemming from the rediscovery of Pliny and Virgil in the sixteenth century and the refreshment of rural life is a recurring theme in Cavendish correspondence. After his marriage, claimed Margaret, William lived "in the Country, and pleased Himself and his neighbours with Hospitality..."[62] When he resigned as the Prince's governor, he retired once more, "and settled himself ... to his great satisfaction," and with a Virgilian flourish, "rested under his own Vine, and managed his own Estate..."[63] The *topos* of country pleasures was repeated in the 1660s. The Citation for his Garter claimed that William "now pleaseth himself in his old age in a private lyfe, in his Country, honored and esteemed by all men."[64] William's chaplain, Clement Ellis, further justified this forced choice of residence, and "the sweet *privacy* and *retirement* his *MAJESTY* is pleased to grant Your *LORDSHIP* here in the *Country,* where You live free from the *Noise* and *Cumbrance* of *Court* and *Citty*."[65] This emphasis on

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60 Northumberland Record Office, ZAN M15 / A 23bi, 64-66; Pevsner, Nikolaus, et al., *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, Harmondsworth, 1992, pp.211-12, the writers note the architectural similarities but were unaware of the connection between the families; see illustrations 16.3, 16.4.

61 Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections,* London, Part Three, 1691, Vol.2, p.137.

62 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.4.

63 ibid, p.10.

64 Bod. Ashmole MS 1110, f.171.

65 Ellis, (1661), Dedicatory Epistle.

quietness and restraint also comes over in Margaret's description of William's daily life. Although innovative for English writings, her biography is clearly based on Suetonius's lives of the Caesars in which their self-restraint in food and drink is praised. It is unlikely that William Cavendish actually ate "but one meal a day, at which he drinks but two good glasses of small-beer ... His supper consists of an egg and a draught of small-beer."[66] But this lifestyle has classical roots, and Margaret wanted to show him living the simple life of a philosophical Roman senator in his country estate.[67]

The citation for the Garter mentioned William's retirement "in his Country," and the usage meant in the county where he was a familiar figure. The next chapter will show that hospitality was an important part of his local persona, conflicting with the classical ideal of solitude. Richard Flecknoe described how visitors to his house "did not see / A man, but God of hospitality," and described William in local terms as an oak of Sherwood Forest: "th'*nimphs & swains* of Sherwood with their lays / Dancing about it, chanting of it's praise; / And crowning it with flowers and laurel..."[68] In 1633 William "sent for all the Gentry of the Country to come and wait on their Majesties,"[69] and certainly William's country residences had to be of a style appropriate to dispensing generous hospitality. Flecknoe uses what Brown elsewhere calls 'courtesies of place:' place-specific references - the forest, the oaks, the houses of "*Welbeck* and *Bolswol*" - which heighten the individuality of the poem's subject and give him the ancestral local connections considered proper attributes for a gentleman.[70]

There are many of these local meanings in William's entertainments for royalty. Father Fitzale, herald of Derby and Nottingham, appeared at Welbeck in 1633, as a reminder of William's Lord Lieutenancy of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, "pasted over with Records of the two Shires, and certaine fragments of the Forrest, as a Coat of Antiquitie."[71] His companion peppers his speeches

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66 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.151.

67 Compare, for example, Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Graves, R., Harmondsworth, 1957, p.93.

68 Flecknoe, Richard, *Heroick Portraits*, London, 1660, 'The Portrait of William Marquis of Newcastle.'

69 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.140.

70 Brown, (1994), p.147; Flecknoe, (1660), 'The Portrait of William Marquis of Newcastle.'

71 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.195r.

with the phrase "as wee say in the Forrest."[72] These ideas were transferred to interior decoration at Bolsover, where the fragments of music by Thomas Ravenscroft decorating the Heaven room ceiling are from a song about Robin Hood. A connection to place is made as well as to rural pleasures.[73] In addition, there was some local antagonism towards William's court career. The hostile puritan Lucy Hutchinson nevertheless described how William had "through his greate estate and liberall hospitality and constant residence in his country" become the greatest nobleman in the North.[74] In contrast, it was "a foolish ambition of glorious slavery" that "carried him to Court..."[75]

After having considered William's continental tour in the next section, it will become clear that foreign influences were significantly absent, or at least subverted, in the building of Bolsover Castle. Charles (I), writing to Gilbert Talbot, insisted of his ideal plan "that there cannot be a sweeter house, keeping a form and the state of English building," as if considering but rejecting foreign models.[76] He also speaks with scorn of a model Lord Lumley had showed him, of a house with a draughty hall, and notes that the "place to eat in ... is fit for an Italian gentleman ... their diet being but salads and frogs."[77]

What features of William's houses could be ascribed to this urge to live a country life and to make himself popular with his neighbours? Certainly his Great Hall was still in use in the later seventeenth century, as a surviving menu from Welbeck indicates, and as will be discussed in Chapter Four, at a time when many aristocrats had long departed to the private parlour.[78] The Gazetteer also illuminates the nostalgic planning of Newcastle House and Nottingham Castle.[79] Being in the country, then, seems to have contained two competing strands. There was the classical idea of *otium* and self-fulfilment through retirement, in contrast to the medieval idea that "constant residence" and hospitality were desirable. Bolsover's Little Castle could almost have been built

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72 ibid.

73 Hulse, (1994), p.231.

74 Hutchinson, (1973), p.61.

75 ibid.

76 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, p.129.

77 ibid, pp.129-130.

78 NU PW1.672

79 See illustrations 8.1 and 9.1.

to illustrate the former trend for retirement, yet against this went the frantic building of the Terrace Range on a scale designed for the whole household.

3.2.2 'Ye wonders of ye peak'

"To ye wonders of ye peake / I am come to Add, and speake," begins one of William's poems in the literary collection known as the 'Newcastle Manuscript.'[80] One of the wonders of the Peak District was the unnamed Derbyshire noblewoman, probably the Countess of Rutland, to whom William wrote several amorous poems before the Civil War.[81] She too was praised by reference to the locality, and the Midlands and Peak District were an important part of William's self-image. He did not associate himself exclusively with one county: Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were both important, and he was born at Handsworth in South Yorkshire. He exploited this in accepting an invitation to march to York in 1642, writing to the gentlemen of Yorkshire that he would come "for the esteem and affection I bear in general to the country, being my native country."[82]

His father and grandmother, of course, came from a Derbyshire family. Bess of Hardwick was still remembered as a significant figure in the Cavendish household in the 1670s. William's second wife was said to delight in ruining people, and one household member had "heard her Grace say the old Countess of Shrosbury practised the same, and she was a Duchess and consequently a greater person than a Countes, and would outdo her in that kinde."[83] William, as a duke, perhaps tried to outdo his builder grandmother in another direction. Despite the family quarrel between Charles (I) and Bess, William and his brother certainly did visit Hardwick Hall as children. They received a legacy from their grandmother, and her accounts also record gifts given to "lettel Wyll and Charles Cavendyshe" and their nurse in 1601.[84] Chatsworth was another of William's grandmother's

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80 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.53.

81 The reference to "Bakewell tanners" rhyming with "thou art too full of Manners" suggests the identity, Trease, (1979), p.57.

82 William Cavendish to the gentlemen of Yorkshire, from Newcastle, 30th September, 1642, quoted in *A Declaration made the Earl of Newcastle, with notes on the Civil War in Yorkshire*, Reid, S., ed., London, 1987, p.2.

83 PW1.315, 'A true Narrative and Confession of that horrid Consperacie, against her Grace Margarett Duchees of Newcastle acted at Welbeck.'

84 Chatsworth House Archives, Hardwick MS 8, Household accounts 15th April 1598 - August 1601, transcription by David Durant at Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts.

houses at which he was a frequent visitor, as his letters to and from Christian, Countess of Devonshire show. There was an element of competition between Bess's children, the brothers Charles (I) and William, later first Earl of Devonshire. The quarrel during Bess's lifetime resulting from Charles (I)'s close connection with her estranged husband persisted after her death in a poem written by William's daughter Jane, written after 1643. Her father, whom she names William the Conqueror, had been made a marquis and therefore of a higher rank than the house of Devonshire:

> Thus your great howse, is now become the lower
> And I doe hope the world shall euer see
> The howse of Charles, before your Willms bee...[85]

The family of Charles (I) certainly took precedence by rank over his brother's by the 1640s, and the physical "howse of Charles" was built to reflect this intention. The Cavendishes also sought to outdo other neighbours in building prowess. Charles (I) would have been provoked to build at Bolsover by the sight of two towering houses across the valley. Sutton Hall, the home of Sir Francis Leake, was described as either his "newe" or "nowe" dwelling house 1595, and consisted of high state rooms and large windows.[86] It was this building, according to folklore, that had goaded Bess of Hardwick to build her last great house, Oldcotes, on the neighbouring hill. Hearing about Leake's project, she decided to build a house "as splendid for owls as his was for men," hence the name Owlcotes/Oldcotes.[87] There was some lasting animosity between the Cavendishes and the Leakes, for in 1663, Henry wrote to his father complaining of having a later Francis Leake as his lieutenant in the regiment. "We shall never agree in a Troop," he wrote, "for it would be more then if I was to live wth him in a House all my Life time..."[88]

There is also an element of local emulation or rivalry in garden design. The connections between the lawns at Bolsover Castle, for example, and the arrangement at Arundel House sketched by John Smithson are well-known, but a northern example provides an equally striking parallel for both

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85 Bod. Rawlinson Poet 16, p.35, 'On my Hon:[ble] Grandmother, Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury.'

86 Sheffield City Archives, Bagshawe Collection, Vol.1, no.2365, indenture, 1595, quoted by Sheppard, Richard, 'Sutton Scarsdale Hall,' unpublished report for English Heritage, 1997, Vol.1, p.7.

87 Burke, Sir Bernard, *A Visitation of the Seats and Arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland*, second series, Vol.1, London, 1855, p.167.

88 BL Add MS 70500, f.11.

layout and the character of the statuary at Bolsover. Sir Arthur Ingram's lodge, gardens and statues at Sheriff Hutton of the 1630s, neighbouring Cavendish holdings in Yorkshire, closely mirror Bolsover.[89] In particular, the terracotta statue of a Roman Soldier at Sheriff Hutton is the closest known parallel for the white marble Caesars that decorated the fountain at Bolsover, and is far more likely an exemplar than Arundel's antique marbles.[90]

But perhaps some of the strongest local influences on the new houses which William and his family built were the existing houses on the sites. Welbeck Abbey and Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, were conversions of religious houses, Bolsover was a rebuild, but in a similar style to the original. Slingsby was on a medieval site, and Ogle and Bothal were treasured and elements of their designs were emulated: Ogle's square moat at Slingsby, the keep at Bothal in the Little Castle at Bolsover. And despite William's difficulty in raising the necessary £4,000 for the site, Margaret says that he could not resist buying the ruins of Nottingham Castle, partly for its family associations.[91]

3.2.3 Religion

It is important to question the role of religious belief in the design of William's buildings because it is possible that strong views could be a generator of a style. Although this is not a common phenomenon, Trinitarian buildings such as Longford Castle or Rushton Triangular Lodge show that Catholicism could be quite overtly expressed through architecture. However, a more relevant and more subtle influence on many builders consisted of the physical remains of Catholicism in the form of the many ex-nunneries and monasteries across the country now converted into houses. It now seems almost certain that Charles (I) was a Catholic, but his son, by contrast, seems to have been against religious extremes of any kind and considered himself a straightforward Protestant.[92]

A tentative connection can be made between Charles (I)'s Catholicism and architectural nostalgia. In 1611, Sir John Holles made a search of Rufford Abbey looking for priests, and appeared to make a connection between religion and the provision of 'secret' places. He entered the abbey, "wher after a long, & curious search in vaults, sel=lars, chamber & garrets [he] found only sum crucifixes,

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89 Illustrations 16.13 and 16.15; Gilbert, Christopher, 'Newly-discovered carving by Thomas Ventris of York,' *The Connoisseur*, Vol.162, 1966, pp.257-9.

90 Illustration 16.14.

91 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.91.

92 See pp.51-3.

& ould papisticall books, dyvers trapp-doors, to conceal, & issue forth suche pernitious vermin, as [he] sought for."[93] He thought that the evidence - "all stuff y^{t} was eiy of waight, or supersition" - had already been taken away to Charles (I) Cavendish's house. Mary Talbot, he discovered, had sent for her brother "Sr Charls Candish, who ye next morning came thiyr wth his Lady."[94] Welbeck Abbey was a similar maze of vaults, cellars, chamber and garrets, and Charles (I)'s own attested taste was for "fair vaults" and the complicated planning of Bolsover's Little Castle, with its four staircases, could have been designed "to conceal, & issue forth" someone who did not want to be found.

In fact, Charles (I)'s ideal house, described by letter, shares many of the features of a converted monastery.[95] It contained all the main features of the Earl of Suffolk's later remodelling of the monastery at Audley End, for example. It must have had, with its two suites of lodgings for king and queen, a central courtyard or quadrangle. The principal lodgings were at first floor level, like the abbot's lodgings at Welbeck. Both king and queen used a common gallery, presumably on the fourth side of the quadrangle like Audley End. The kitchen was a separate building, like Audley End, and the gallery and "garden side" were both beautified with vaults, or loggias, as they were at Audley End or Burghley House. The design for rebuilding Welbeck itself also shared many of these features, but the plans of Audley End, Welbeck, Newcastle House and many others were basically determined by the remains, and the cloistered court, of medieval monastic houses. Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, retained the cloisters themselves. Although the scheme for Robert Smythson's remodelling of Welbeck included the protruding wing to the south-west in eighteenth-century views, it was not a new build. From its position, it must have formerly been the abbot's lodgings, and one view actually shows a round-headed window among the later square windows, hinting at the survival of old material.[96] This feature has been inaccurately regularised in the more familiar published version, an eighteenth-century copy made by Samuel Grimm.[97] This fondness for the fabric of monasticism went as far as the reproduction of some of the monastic features, such

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93 BL Add MS 32464, 'Sir John Holles Lord Haughton Letter-Book 1598-1617,' ff.46v-48r.

94 ibid, f.48r.

95 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, pp.129-30; see also Gazetteer, p.129.

96 See Gazetteer p.133 and illustration 14.16, a coloured drawing of the south front and garden including the south-west wing before eighteenth-century remodelling exists at Welbeck and was exhibited in the 'Treasures of Welbeck' exhibition, 1998, (Derek Adlam pointed out the round-headed window to me).

97 BL Add MS 15545, f.66, 'after an old drawing of Wellbeck Notts,' illustration 14.17.

as the surviving vaulted undercroft, at Welbeck. It was extended into the adjacent area to the north, which contains typical Smithson vaulting, and reproduced in spirit if not exactly in form in the Great Hall at Bolsover and the basement of Slingsby Castle. Rufford Abbey too has a monastic vaulted undercroft, but the appearance of the feature in a *piano nobile* room such as the Little Castle's Hall shows a definite predilection for the form. This reuse of medieval ideas and fabric was a positive part of the house's appeal at Welbeck for Flecknoe, who described it as:

> ... a place of much renown, betwixt
> Your best of ancient, and of modern mixed...
> All great a solid, as in ancient time
> Before modern buildings were our crimes.[98]

William's patronage contains a notable absence of churches and chapels, apart from the casual reuse of existing facilities. The intended chapel at Bolsover was never built, and an eighteenth-century account suggests that an undistinctive chamber at the north end of the Terrace Range was used.[99] The location of the chapel at Slingsby and Nottingham Castles is unknown, and the existing chapel at Bothal and the former frater at Welbeck were re-used. The inventory of musical instruments lists an organ in the latter in 1636.[100] In fact, the construction of the Cavendish chapel at Bolsover and gallery at St James' church, Clerkenwell are the only documented works with a religious connection.[101]

3.2.4 Chivalry

These historical and local influences, though, may have come to nothing without the revived Jacobean interest in chivalry and the atmosphere of the Middle Ages cultivated at court. In fact, this was survival as much as revival, for Maurice Keen notes that the later history of chivalry "has to be written in terms of change, not of decline."[102] It could be argued that if the genuine medieval

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98 Flecknoe, Richard, 'On Welbeck,' *A Farrago of Several Pieces*, London, 1666, pp.10-12; see also Aston, Margaret, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past,' *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.36, 1973, pp.231-255.

99 Pegge, (1785), p.19, 'Over these was the chapel, with a door to the terrace.'

100 Hulse, Lynn, 'The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol,' forthcoming in *Chelys*, 2001, appendix 1.

101 See p.59 and Gazetteer p.79.

102 Keen, Maurice, *Chivalry*, New Haven and London, 1984, p.249.

remains of Bothal, Welbeck and Bolsover had not survived, Charles (I) would have found it necessary to create them. This view of the houses as part of the chivalric revival at the court, for example, of Prince Henry, has been explored thoroughly by Girouard and Strong. It was refined, however, by Wilks, who described Henry's circle as "Janus-like," embracing continental developments while still drawing on a deliberately archaic court culture.[103] For the Cavendishes, as the preceding section has shown, it is the strength of their local connections and archaic inspirations which has been underestimated, and the power of the short-lived court fashion overestimated. William acted in a nostalgically-inspired, chivalric manner on occasion partly because of his seminal experiences at Prince Henry's court, but mainly to live up to his father.

In 1610, William took part in the ritual based on the cleansing, vigil and creation of a medieval knight. He was one of Prince Henry's companions for the well-recorded creation of the Knights of the Bath. Arriving at Durham House in the Strand, the candidates were given supper and a bath. The next morning, dressed as hermits in grey, they visited the chapel. After that, dressed in red, they rode out on horseback. With two esquires each, "the best or chiefest first, they rode faire and softly towards the Court, the trumpets sounding, and the Heralds all the way riding before them."[104] After being knighted by James I, they had to face his champion, the "Master-cooke, who stood there with his white apron and sleeves, and a chopping-knife (guilded about the edge) in his hand, and challenged their spurres..."[105] This courtly challenge, on leaving the hall, was echoed in the king's entertainment at Welbeck in 1633, when Charles I, departing, was challenged by the comic characters Accidence, schoolmaster of Mansfield, and the herald Father Fitzale.

Once he had won his spurs, William frequently took part in the court's jousting and tilting. On 9th November, 1616, fourteen noblemen "graced this daye's magnificence with Running at the Ring," a form of tilting, and the last-named was William Cavendish.[106] In 1618, he was included in a list of "names of those Lords and others that have not runne at Tilt" on the King's Day as expected.[107] And Archbishop Laud wrote in his diary on Good Friday, 1624, that William, "running at tilt to

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103 Girouard, (1983), pp.206-232; Strong, (1986), pp.134-5; Wilks, (1987), p.A2.

104 Nichols, (1828), Vol.2, pp.338-9.

105 ibid, Vol.2, p.340.

106 ibid, Vol.3, p.215.

107 ibid, Vol.3, p.473.

practise, with the shock of the meeting, his horse, weaker or resty, tumbled over and over, and brake his own neck in the place..."[108] However, it has not been previously suspected that William may have constructed a tilt-yard for his own use. The Gazetteer argues that a plan located at Balliol College among papers referring to property disputes in the parish of St James, Clerkenwell, where William converted the nunnery into a mansion, may have been connected with his building work. It shows a stable set in a *manège* yard with two rows of railings that may have been for tilting.[109] William's passion for the Ascension Day tilts lasted long after they had passed out of fashion. In the late 1650s, he still recommended tilting to Charles II as "ye most Glorious Sight thatt can be seen, & ye moste manlyeste" and longed, nostalgically, to see the practice reinstated.[110] As Richard McCoy concludes, the ceremonies of chivalry were "as much a celebration of the aristocracy's enduring martial aspirations and exalted social status" as they were a tribute to the monarch.[111] William's political *Advice* to Charles II is likewise concerned with maintaining the orders of society and the status of the aristocratic caste. He was also fond of various other chivalric and aristocratic pursuits such as falconry.[112] He was an expert swordsman, and as early as 1604, Gilbert Talbot's household accounts record the purchase of "foiles for mr Wm: Cavendish."[113] Ben Jonson wrote a poem dedicated to his skill, and, significantly, stresses that it was an old family trait rather than a passing court fashion: "All this, my Lord, is valour, this is yours, / And was your father's, all your ancestor's!"[114] William's own writings on the subject survive in a tract called *The Truth off the Sorde*[115] and his hyper-chivalrous attitude was not merely theoretical. In 1639, he "sent a Challenge" to the Earl of Holland over a supposed slight to the colours of the Prince of Wales.[116] Again, in 1643, he challenged Fairfax to single combat, demonstrating that chivalry was still a

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108 ibid, Vol.4, p.969.

109 Balliol College Archives, MS B.21.24; see Gazetteer, p.79.

110 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.71; see also Cavendish, William, (1667), p.13, 'What more Glorious or Manly, than, at great Marriages of Princes, to Run at the Ring, or Tilt, or Course at the Field?'

111 McCoy, Richard C., *The Rites of Knighthood, The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry*, Berkeley and London, 1989, p.18; see also Young, Alan, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, London, 1987.

112 NU PW1.670; BL Add MS 70499, f.231.

113 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 702, f.47, expenses of Thomas Coke, 1604.

114 BL Harleian MS 4955, p.39, 'They talk of Fencing and the use of arms / The art of urging and avoiding harms...' lines 19-22.

115 BL Harleian MS 4206.

116 Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, London, Part 2, 1680, Vol.2, p.946.

"common currency within the political élite."[117] Indeed, William is depicted "in armour of an old-fashioned type" on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, although tomb sculptures no longer commonly showed the deceased in armour at all.[118]

However, the tilt and the joust were not purely English phenomena. In Italy in 1612, Wotton's party had been invited to "a tilting match (*correre al Fachino*) in the Piazza Castello."[119] Ben Jonson also fused old English chivalry with classical myth in a poem on William's horsemanship, demonstrating how the two tendencies could sit side by side in the Cavendish cosmology:

> Methought I read the ancient art of Thrace,
> And saw a Centaur past those tales of Greece,
> So seemed your horse and you both of a piece!
> You showed like Perseus on Pegasus,
> Or Castor mounted on his Cyllarus,
> Or what we hear our home-born legends tell,
> Of bold Sir Bevis and his Arundel...[120]

The importance of the 1611 chivalric masque 'Prince Henry's Barriers,' and in particular the design by Inigo Jones for Oberon's Palace, has often been discussed in relation to the design of the Little Castle. But with the accession of Charles I, the chivalric revival's nature had changed. The masque, with its emphasis on the amusement of the king rather than the prowess of his courtiers, replaced the tournament as the favourite court entertainment.[121] Gerrit von Honthorst's (1590-1656) painting of Charles I and Henrietta Maria with Buckingham in masque costume is typical of the change.[122] The subject still has chivalric overtones, but the royal couple are participants in,

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117 ibid, Part 3, 1691, Vol.2, p.138; Adamson, J.S.A., 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England,' in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Sharpe, Kevin and Lake, Peter, Basingstoke, 1993, p.182.

118 Esdaile, Katharine A., *English Church Monuments, 1510-1840,* London, 1946, p.101.

119 Venetian Archives, dispatches of Gussoni, 17th June, 1612, quoted in Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, p.388.

120 BL Harleian MS 4955, p.40.

121 Adamson, (1993), pp.161-3.

122 The painting is in the Royal Collection and is illustrated in Hearn, Karen, ed., *Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630*, London, 1995, Figure 56, p.202.

rather than spectators of, a charade. Their costumes and the artificially dramatic lighting all create the effect of a masque. Bolsover Castle's architectural insistence on the chivalric mode even as the Banqueting House, intended for these masques, was being built in London, could demonstrate a failure to, or a conscious decision not to, keep abreast with the latest fashions, except through token gestures in the form of new windows. John Smithson's classicising openings sit a little uncomfortably in the mock-medieval Little Castle. As Raylor points out, William's recommendation of reviving the Ascension Day tilts in the 1650s was part of an attempt to reinstate the outmoded concept of chivalry. With both Charles I and Charles II, he was forced to repeat himself so many times in so many different modes "because it was a lesson neither monarch had any interest in learning."[123]

However, although this view is widely held, William did not remain in the chivalric mode for the remaining fifty years of his career as an architectural patron. There is certainly a strand of more Jonesian classicism at Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, at Slingsby and in the design for Ogle Castle, although still bizarre and individualistic. Nottingham Castle, too, is another, more successful attempt to create an up-to-date classical *palazzo*, although with similarities to the Bolsover Terrace Range of the 1630s. This could be comparable to the fusion of old and new in William's political views that has been pointed out by writers such as Conal Condren. In his critique of Slaughter's edition of William's *Advice* to Charles II, which claims that the work is important because it "depicts a resurgent attachment to tradition," Condren points out that "in some form public deference to tradition was so widespread that Cavendish's respect for it has little significance. Indeed, the reverse is nearer the truth ... a number of his recommendations are explicitly innovatory."[124] This wariness of seizing the easily-accessible and easily-labelled aspects of William's writings should be continued into his architectural patronage. While it is simple to identify the old and the new, it is the relationship between the two and their fusion that explains the distinctive world vision that this architecture reflects. Having identified the 'medieval' components of the 'Cavendish style,' it is time to investigate of the new winds of classicism which were blowing into the Midlands in the seventeenth century.

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123 Raylor, Tim, and Bryce, Jackson, 'A Manuscript Poem on the Royal Progress of 1634,' *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol.9, No.2, Autumn, 1994, p.176.

124 Slaughter, (1984), p.xii; Condren, (1993), p.183.

3.3 Sources of the classical style in the Cavendish houses

3.3.1 Italy and France

A Youth you travailed by Sea and Land
The foraine Languages to understand,
Then did you practice foils, to tilt and dance,
For Horsemanship, you went beyond all ffrance,
When you began to tread a younge mans path.[125]

So the poet Dr Andrewes sums up William's early life. A trip abroad was the usual conclusion of a young man's education in the Cavendish family. Charles (I) travelled "into foreign Countries" with Gilbert Talbot.[126] A reference to their being in Italy survives in a letter asking for payment of a bill in Venice for Gilbert Talbot and "mr Candyshe," presumably Charles (I); a plan to go to Paris is also mentioned.[127] Bills referred to in an account dated 1574 show further expenditure in Rome and possibly Bordeaux.[128] They may, therefore, have seen the villas of Palladio, and the ancient remains of Rome.

William's cousin the Earl of Devonshire's sons also made tours. The eldest, another William, took Thomas Hobbes with him as his tutor or governor.[129] His mother Christian wrote in 1635 to William that she had "hard from will in maiselle"[130] and then that he was "weell advanct in his jorny towards Italy."[131] Her second son, another Charles, ventured beyond the usual tour of Europe. He "travelled into France, Italie, &c;" explained Aubrey, "but he would goe to Babylon, and then his Governour would not adventure to goe any further with him..."[132] Sight-seeing was only part of the experience of travelling. Endymion Porter's son made a tour to Madrid, and his tutor reported

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125 BM Harleian MS 4955, f.82v, verses by Dr Andrewes.

126 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.3.

127 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 697, f.71, Edward Osborne to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1st November, 1571.

128 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 709, f.9, an account of money paid on behalf of the Earl of Shrewsbury by one of his servants, 26th February, 1574.

129 BL Add MS 70499, f.184.

130 BL Add MS 70499, f.187.

131 BL Add MS 70499, f.188.

132 Aubrey, (1972), p.218.

in a letter which has ended up in the Cavendish archive that "his Maytie hath given him leave to ryde his horses." Young Porter "hath allsoe a fencing and dancing mr ... I presume you will thinke his tyme and monies well spente."[133] In due course, William sent his own children and his grandson Harry abroad.[134] Katherine Boyd in 1674 hoped that France agreed with Harry, for "his improvements there is what is likely to give him advantage in his [marital] pretentions to any younge person."[135]

But William Cavendish's own trip to France and Italy in 1612 has the greatest potential stylistic significance for his various houses. There is an accident of timing that makes it possible that he was more fully involved in his father's Little Castle than is usually realised. It would not have been unusual for a secondary house to have been built 'for' him: Theobalds was built for William Cecil's son Robert, Oldcotes was built for Bess's favourite son, and later William's brother was left £3000 to build himself a house.[136] William departed for Italy early in 1612, and returned in July; by December preparations were well underway at Bolsover. It seems more than an accident that Charles (I) sent his eighteen-year-old son on a tour of France and Italy just before beginning to build a house, and the fact that he travelled in the company of architectural writer Sir Henry Wotton is even more suggestive. The formal purpose of Wotton's trip was to discuss a possible marriage between Prince Henry and a daughter of the Duke of Savoy, though it would have been expected, as Dr Andrewes suggests, that William would have also learned to fence, tilt, dance and ride.

The trip was also significant for William's horsemanship and swordsmanship because he was accompanying "ten ambling horses sumptuously caparisoned" and "a iueled sworde" being sent to the Duke of Savoy.[137] Given that Wotton himself was an architectural expert, it would seem most unlikely that William would not have paid close attention to the buildings he saw; this was now a recognised part of a gentleman's education. James Cleland, for example, wrote that same year of the "principles of *Architecture*: which I thinke necessarie also for a Gentleman to be knowne ... to

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133 BL Add MS 70499, f.220.

134 BL Add MS 70499, f.133.

135 NU PW1.35

136 NA DD.6P.1.19.18

137 BL Stowe MS 172, f.224v, Sir Henry Wotton to an unnamed lord, Amiens, 28th March, 1612.

tel what is ... the *Tuscane, Dorik, Ionik, Corinthian*, and *composed order*, like a *Surveyer.*"[138] The question of exactly which buildings William may have studied is more difficult to answer, but an examination of the trip reveals some tantalising hints of picture purchases in Milan, visits to Venice, and masques at the court of Savoy. Even in later life, William firmly associated masques with Italy, recommending to Charles II that he "prepare a maske for twelve tide, - Etalians makes ye seanes best..."[139]

The party departed on 18th March, 1612, crossed to Boulougne and reached Lyons in three weeks.[140] Most of Wotton's letters from the trip are lost, but details are given in the dispatches of Gussoni, the Venetian ambassador.[141] One of Wotton's surviving letters described his party: "S^{r} Robert Riche ... M^{r} Frauncis Haward, son to my L. William, and S^{r} William Candishe sonn and heyre to S^{r} Charles his father, and by his mother heire to the Baronie of Ogle: a young gentleman very nobly breadd, and of singular expectation."[142] Chamberlain usefully adds the fact that William's brother Charles (II) went too,[143] and Wotton picks out the Northumbrian connection in describing the family.

Sir Robert Rich was an interesting companion, later becoming second Earl of Warwick, and in 1632 marrying William's cousin Anne, daughter of William, first Earl of Devonshire.[144] Mysteriously, the drawing for the Marble Closet at Bolsover is endorsed (in a later hand) with "my Ld Richs vault at Bolsover,"[145] and may record some family tradition that Robert Rich contributed in some way to the design of the fittings of the Little Castle. Rich had already travelled abroad, having studied

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138 Cleland, James, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man*, n.d., reissued in 1611 and 1612, ed. Molyneux, Max, New York, 1948, pp.91-2.

139 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.70.

140 Birch, (1848), Vol.1, p.163.

141 Smith, Logan Pearsall, *The Life and Letters of Henry Wotton*, Oxford, 1907, provides a useful summary.

142 BL Stowe MS 172, f.224v, Henry Wotton to an unnamed lord, Amiens, 28th March, 1612.

143 Chamberlain, (1939), Vol.12.1, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, London, 11th March, 1612.

144 William remained in touch, see NU PW1 213-216, undated (post 1632) letters from Anne Rich to William; BL Add MS 70499, f.216, 25th December, 1636, Hobbes to William.

145 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/I(2).

horsemanship at the celebrated Academy of de Pluvinel in Paris in 1610.[146] William's kinsman Thomas Wentworth, servant and cousin to Edward, eighth Earl of Shrewsbury, and later William's mentor and correspondent as the first Earl of Strafford, also studied at de Pluvinel's Academy near the Louvre in 1611-12.[147] At some point William certainly became familiar with Monsieur Benjamin, de Pluvinel's manager, for Hobbes wrote to him in 1635 that he had "told Mr Benjamin ... of the faults your Lordship found in the horse."[148] So even if William did not find the leisure to remain in Paris learning horsemanship on this trip, he was in a *milieu* in which it was the norm. The physical layout of the Louvre at this period, where the stables lay parallel to the long gallery and lessons took place beneath its windows, is comparable with Bolsover. A plate in de Pluvinel's book shows the state rooms similarly overlooking activities in the *manège* yard.[149]

Wotton paused only at Troyes to rest "a day and a half uppon a litle indisposition [which] William Candish had contracted, first by the extre[me of cold] and wind, and then of heates, being loath to leave [behind] so sweet an ornament of my iorney, and a gentleman himself of so excellent nature and institution."[150] The next halt after Lyons was Chambéry. There, the Marquis di Lanz paid the visitors unusual courtesies, reminiscent of the riding-out to meet James I in 1603 on his journey through Sherwood Forest. Wotton described how the Marquis "met us some three or fowre miles out of the Towne, wth about threescore [horse] amongst his trayne some gentlemen of good t[itle] ... And the next day after dinner he conducted me in a Coach (two leagues on my way) to Mormillian; the same horse that mett us attending him out of the Towne."[151] At Mormillian, they were entertained by the Marquis with "a very delicat banquet and musique in a g[reat] furnished roome ... After this, I was brought dowen to my lodging in the Towne by the Marquis..."[152] A delicate banquet, a furnished Great Chamber, music: all these ingredients hint at the 1634 entertainment at Bolsover, several hundred miles north of the Alps, and some twelve years later.

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146 Stoye, John, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667*, London, 1989, p.32.

147 ibid, p.36.

148 BL Add MS 70499, f.184.

149 Illustration 8.11.

150 Bod. Ashmole MS, 1729, f.220v, Wotton to the Earl of Salisbury, Luniburge, probably 9th May, 1612 (damaged).

151 ibid.

152 ibid, f.221r.

By 11th May, Dudley Carleton reported that "Wotton is arrived at Turin ... His coming over the mountains hath already filled Italy with discourses of y^e^ marriages of our Princes."[153] At each town in Savoy the party found a welcoming committee. Gussoni reported that on 13th May "the Cardinal and the Princes are to go as far as Mirafiore to meet him; if that be true Wotton will be treated almost as though he were the King himself."[154] Sarpi confirmed that Wotton was to be treated with unusual ceremony and the rare compliment of being met outside the city: "*Il duca é andato sino a Rivoli per trattenersi liberamente con lui un giorno, e intendere il sodo di quello che porta.*"[155]

Wotton requested less formality on reaching Turin. "He is entertained by the Duke at jousts, tourneys, dances, the chase, but all without any pomp of liveries and quite ordinary," reported one observer. "Neither his Highness nor the Princes treated him in any way out of the ordinary; indeed I am told in walking down the gallery the Duke took the right hand side of the Ambassador."[156] This was studied informality, the careful manipulation of the rules that constituted the art of *cortesia*. Gussoni gives a more detailed description of an entertainment towards the end of the stay in Turin. On 10th June, "The Duke ... invited Wotton to dine at that delicious palace, Mirafiore, two miles out of Turin. He was entertained with sweet music. He stayed till evening, and then returned to Turin ... he is entertained at the chase and the dance..."[157] A day-long visit to a palace outside town, an entertainment of dancing and hunting, and a return to the main base in the evening provide a model for the 1634 entertainment at Welbeck and Bolsover, showing that its models were not only the expected entertainments for Elizabeth I and James I, but also William's continental experiences.

We lose the trail when the party leave Turin, and William's further travels in northern Italy are slightly mysterious. Raylor makes a striking case for William's knowledge of, and possible visit to, the *Sala dei Cavalli* at the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua, which becomes even stronger when the

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153 HMC, *10th Report, Appendix 1, on the Manuscripts of G. Wingfield Digby, Esq., of Sherborne*, London, 1885, p.582, Dudley Carleton to John Digby, 11th May, 1612.

154 Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, 13th May, 1612, p.348.

155 'The Duke went up to Rivoli to be in his company for one day and to understand the truth [about the visit].' *Lettere di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, ed. Polidori, F-L., Firenze, 1863, Vol.2, p.310, Venezia, 22nd May, 1612.

156 Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, 27th May, 1612, p.363.

157 ibid, 17th June, 1612, pp.378-9.

appearance of the Hall at Welbeck is taken into account.[158] While the equine and equestrian features of the Mantuan ducal palaces may have proved an attraction, there is no mention of either palace in the reports of the trip or in Wotton's architectural treatise. Raylor argues that the iconography of Hercules in the Palazzo del Tè is the source of the similar scheme in the Little Castle at Bolsover. However, comparable schemes at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli or the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, which Wotton does mention, are just two examples showing that a parallel with Hercules was a widespread and popular device for fifteenth-century patrons.[159]

Gussoni, on 10th June, 1612, insisted that Wotton's route home was to be via Germany "to please the gentlemen of his suite who have come out solely to see the world."[160] However, an intriguing suggestion survives of a detour. Soon Wotton was in Milan, buying "the curiosities of that place," and according to Logan Pearsall Smith, five gentlemen of his suite went on to visit Venice. Logan Pearsall Smith quotes Sarpi and Carleton, but there is no mention of shopping or Venice in the 1863 *Lettere di Fra Paolo Sarpi*.[161] His second reference, "Carleton, S.P.Ven, June 19," must be a mistake for the letter simply does not exist. However, the explicit reference to Venice and the confidence with which Pearsall Smith can usually be relied on make it seem likely that somewhere he found a reference to Venice, but slipped up with the footnote. This is the point at which William Cavendish, if included in the smaller party, would have seen something of the architecture of north-east Italy. However, by 14th July Wotton was at Cologne travelling homeward.[162] William had some new possessions: on leaving Savoy, he was presented by the Duke with "a *Spanish* Horse, a Saddle very richly embroidered, and with a rich Jewel of Diamonds."[163] Wotton returned with a cargo of precious objects: the curiosities bought in Milan, and portraits, two of the Duke of Savoy and one each of his two eldest daughters.[164]

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158 Raylor, (1999), p.412; see Gazetteer, p.130.

159 Wotton, (1624) p.19..

160 Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, 10th June, 1612, p.374.

161 Sarpi, (1863), Vol.2, pp.310, 314.

162 Smith, (1907), quoting Fabrizio Mei, from Cologne, 14th July, 1612, to the government of Lucca.

163 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.4.

164 Bod. Ashmole MS 1514, f.46, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the collection of Charles I.' Pictures of the Duke of Savoy and of his daughters in the 'kings privie gallorie' at Whitehall are annotated 'Brought By S[r] Henrie Wotton from Savoy & given to Kinge James.'

Although this trip to Italy was significant, William's experience of classicism could also have been obtained at the English court. Chapter One showed that the emperors by Titian that hung in the ducal palace at Mantua were purchased by Charles I, for example, and formed part of the decoration of the gallery at St James'.[165] A few months in Italy, even at a formative stage in William's life, must soon have been overlaid by the classical experiences available nearer home, and William's life in London is more fruitful as a source of ideas. We have explicit evidence that he was searching for ideas for the completion and decoration of the Little Castle on a trip to London in 1619, and that his designer John Smithson was on hand to record ideas.

3.3.2 London

Not least important for William's idea of classicism were the court entertainments he attended. Rosalys Coope and Tim Raylor have both previously noted the connection between the iconographic decoration of the Little Castle and Ben Jonson's masque *Pleasure Reconcil'd to Virtue*, but the timing of the masque could be of previously-undetected importance for the Little Castle's decorative scheme.[166] The masque was first performed, but poorly received, in January 1618. One spectator wrote that it was "so dull that people say [Ben Jonson] should return to his old trade of brickmaking."[167] This is relevant to Jonson's later masque at Bolsover Castle, for as Brown points out, Jonson had passed the pinnacle of his success and was not a fashionable choice of author of a piece calculated to please the court.[168] Jonson, though, was a long-standing client, and as such, a member of the loose network of William's extended household. William was therefore obliged, by the limits on his agency as a patron, to use Jonson, and to allow him to express sentiments that could be interpreted as anti-court. However, the dance of the builders and the song of the senses could equally well be interpreted as a flattering celebration of the masque's location at Bolsover.

In Jonson's 1618 masque, Hercules has to make a choice between the siren Pleasure or the stern mistress Virtue. The theme was that pleasure and virtue were not, after all, mutually exclusive.

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165 Millar, Oliver, *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*, The Walpole Society, Glasgow, Vol.37, 1958-60, pp.226-7; see also p.49.

166 Lindley, (1995), pp.117-125. Rosalys Coope kindly lent me her notes from her research into the Little Castle wall paintings for the former English Heritage interpretation boards; Raylor, (2000). See also Peterson, Richard S., 'The Iconography of Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*,' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol.5, 1975, pp.123-54.

167 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1611-1618*, London, 1858, p.512, Brent to Carleton, 10th January, 1618.

168 Brown, (1994), p.149.

David Lindley sets the masque within the political context of the *Book of Sports* issued that year. This was a controversial anti-puritan step allowing games to be played on Sundays after the service. Essentially, the book defined an "acceptable and limited Pleasure as a holiday under the control of Virtue."[169] For the patron of Bolsover Castle, who was to furnish a "virtuous" and a "pleasurable" closet off the main bedchamber in the Little Castle, several lines and scenes strike a chord for the decoration of the Little Castle. Mercury tells a sleeping Hercules that "Pleasure, for his delight, / Is reconciled to Virtue." Visitors arriving at the Little Castle pass beneath the statue of Hercules in the pose of Atlas, and the masque continues in Fair Beauty's garden ... Pleasure the servant, Virtue looking on.[170]

William could therefore rest in his proposed Elysian Closet, or enter his garden at Bolsover, which was in fact presided over by a marble "Fair Beauty," without fear of growing soft. Through Jonson himself, or through the pre-1640 manuscript of the masque that survives in the collection of his cousins the Devonshires, William almost certainly knew of the masque's content. Jonson's biographers have pointed out that he made a journey to Scotland in 1618, and it has been speculated that he stopped at Welbeck on his way north.[171] In the more general sense, William echoed the *Book of Sports* when he used to say "that there is no better Policy for a Prince to please his People, that to have many Holy-dayes for their ease, and order several Sports and Pastimes for their Recreation..."[172]

One of the most important documentary indications that William Cavendish was actively considering the furnishing and decoration of the Little Castle in the year of the masque, 1618, is a reference in notes about his legal business in connection with the Earl of Shrewsbury's will. It reads "A note off all my busineses att london in Ester Terme next 1618 ... Then for Bolsover furneshinge payntinge & carving will be better though off att London then heer."[173] As the year began in March, "Ester Terme next" was probably in 1619. William mentions his wife and

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169 Lindley, (1995), p.248.

170 ibid, pp.121-122.

171 Riggs, David, *Ben Jonson, A Life*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1989, p.254; Trease, (1979), p.45.

172 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.173.

173 NU PW1.553, ff.1r-2r.

"Daughter Cate" in the notes, and did not marry Elizabeth Basset, and thereby acquire his step-daughter Catherine, until October 1618. Also, John Smithson was in the south from late 1618 and into 1619, appearing at Theobalds in November 1618. The balance of evidence suggests that both William and John Smithson were in the south possibly from late 1618, and certainly in the early months of 1619.

The obvious reason behind this new interest in completing the Little Castle was William's marriage. While it cannot be precisely dated - and possibly never will be if it took place in a private house - it probably happened in October 1618. William's motivation was financial, and he faced some competition for the hand of his wealthy future wife. Elizabeth Bassett of Blore, Staffordshire, (1599-1643) was the heiress of Sir William Bassett (d.1601).[174] In about 1613, she had married Henry Howard (d.1616), third son of the powerful Thomas Howard (1561-1626), builder of Audley End, who had been created first Earl of Suffolk by James I in 1603. Elizabeth's mother-in-law was Catherine Knevet, later Countess of Suffolk (c.1564-1633), and William had financial dealings with his wife's ex-in-laws. He negotiated for the return of part of Elizabeth's jointure, and an extract shows his methods of reasoning with himself and also the aggressive line he could take with those he considered to be his creditors. "Then to agree with my Lo: off Suffolke aboute my wives Joynture," he wrote, "for 300*l.* a yere a 2000*l.* for my Daughter Cate & a 2000*l.* for averages off rente. & off this will nott bee agreed unto which I only take because I love nott Lawe, why then I will have as much more."[175] Sir Edward Richardson in 1621 advised William to accept an offer from Suffolk rather than to "plundge yor self into a world of Sutes..."[176]

Effigies of Elizabeth's children and first husband form part of the huge extravaganza in Blore church erected by Elizabeth and her mother for William Bassett in about 1630.[177] Catherine, born in 1616, became William's stepdaughter Cate. In another important local alliance, she married Sir John Harpur of Swarkestone, the remains of whose manor house survive. This family connection has been used to explain similarities, through common workmen, between buildings such as Swarkestone Stand and Bolsover Castle.[178] Henry Howard himself was buried at Blore on 11th

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174 See Gazetteer, p.7.

175 NU PW1.552, f.1v.

176 NU PW1.220.

177 See Gazetteer, pp.10-12.

178 Woodhouse, Adrian, pers. comm.; see Gazetteer, p.10.

October 1616.[179] His widow would bring her future husband an income of £2400 per year plus six or seven thousand pounds in money.[180] The date of her marriage to William comes in a letter from John Chamberlain, who wrote on 24th October 1618 that "Sir William hath married Henry Howards widow, a great heyre, that was much sought and pursued for Christofer Villiers."[181] Christopher Villiers was the younger brother of George, future Duke of Buckingham, so William had a powerful rival. As this quotation is not a definitive record of a marriage date, it is worth investigating another of William's rivals for Elizabeth. The younger Walter Raleigh was the son of the explorer, and documents relating to him suggest that William cannot have married Elizabeth until June 1618. The young Raleigh was killed by the Spanish in Guiana on New Year's Day, and his father returned to England with the news of his son's death, in June of that year. A record survives that William, speaking of his wife with respect to her old betrothal to the young Walter Raleigh, insisted that "he never would have wedded her, if young Walter Ralegh had been alive..."[182] While hardly definitive, it is another piece of evidence pointing to William's marriage in the autumn of 1618, certainly not before June.

It is certain that the interior decoration of the Little Castle had been begun before October 1618. Firstly, the hall fireplace is dated 1616. The fireplace in the second floor north-west chamber bears the arms of Charles (II) and Katherine Ogle, not William. Even the fireplace in the Star Chamber, with the Talbot arms impaling Cavendish, could be expected to date from before 1616 when Gilbert Talbot, who had married Mary Cavendish, died. But the Pillar Parlour fireplace can be dated after 1620 when a Viscount's coronets were added. It seems clear that the fireplaces were constructed in a leisurely way over a period of several years, and that the painting and furnishings were similarly slow to mature.

New Architecture in London, 1618-1619

It is worth examining the 1618-19 trip to London as a source of ideas for Bolsover Castle. Vertue, visiting Welbeck and Bolsover in 1727, was told that Smithson "was sent into Italy to make the Model of a Castle which is built at Bolsover. Darby shire. for Wm Duke of Newcastle. (1618 see

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179 Parish Register, Blore, Staffordshire, information kindly provided by David Swinscoe.

180 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.94, 98.

181 Chamberlain, (1939), p.174, Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 24th October, 1618.

182 Sanderson, Sir William, *A Compleat History of the life and raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave, etc.*, London, 1658, quoting a periodical called *The Observator*.

Kips Views) a neat & most Curious Structure. scituatd on a high. Mountain ... built and finisht 1622. by a date on the painting..."[183] This information was incorporated by Horace Walpole into his own account of 1762, and it has been argued that this trip "into Italy" was a garbled exaggeration of a real trip to London, attested to by Smithson's dated drawings of 1618-19.[184] Vertue's mention of the date 1618 is curious: it was not the date that the Castle was begun, nor yet the date of Kip's view, but it was the date of a trip to London. However, as we have seen, there was in fact a genuine trip to Italy which took place in 1612, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Smithson accompanied William Cavendish. If not, Vertue's informants, the Earl and Countess of Oxford or their household, must have recalled the general idea of a trip in search of ideas. It could quite plausibly be a reference to the 1618-9 trip to London.

What ideas did Smithson find for the decoration of the Little Castle? First, presumably on his route south, comes "the Platte of the Seelinge of the greate chamber at Thyballes taken the 8th November, 1618: by Jo: S."[185] This was one of Elizabethan England's most fabulous rooms, built for William Cecil, Lord Burghley, between 1564 and 1585.[186] Its dimensions were copied in the High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, and it also contained the decorative trees featured at Hardwick in both the New and Old Halls. Charles (I) had visited it, probably in 1587, and described it in an undated letter to his mother.[187] Another account mentions its "six trees having natural bark so artfully joined, with bird's nests and leaves as well as fruit [that] when the steward ... opened the window birds flew into the hall, perched themselves upon the trees and began to sing."[188]

However, the "Seelinge" or wainscot that Smithson drew was probably a later alteration carried out by Robert Cecil between 1603-7. The Cavendishes were closely acquainted with Robert's subsequent building activities at Hatfield through Gilbert Talbot, who forwarded him plans by

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183 Vertue, George, *Notebooks II,* Walpole Society Vol.20, 1932, p.32.

184 Walpole, (1762), Vol.2, p.59; Girouard, (1983), pp.247-251.

185 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/13.

186 Summerson, John, 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585,' *Archaeologia*, Vol.157, 1959, pp.127-138.

187 HMC, *3rd Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Devonshire,* London, 1872, Appendix, p.42.

188 Rye, William Brenchley, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First,* London, 1865, p.44.

Charles (I), for example, and supplied black touchstones for the building work.[189] The wainscot was described by Parliamentary surveyors as "Coullered of liver couller and richlie gilded with gold, with Antick pictures over y^{e} same, seeled with a plaster frett."[190] "Liver couller" is compatible with the walnut graining that John Smithson's sketch specifies. Theobalds was in royal hands by 1618, having been exchanged for the old palace of Hatfield by James I.[191] With all these connections, it is not surprising that John Smithson was told to sketch the alterations at Theobalds.

Smithson's London drawings include a sketch of a window in the gallery and a gateway at Arundel House. The "newe" gate itself bears the date of 1618.[192] The drawing of "My Lady cookes house in Houlborn" is dated 1619, so is "The Fronte of Bathe House: Su^{r} foulke gryvelles in houlborne."[193] The undated sketch of the fashionable device of the pergola or iron-railed balcony over a doorway at "Coronall Sisells House in the strande"[194] is particularly interesting because the drawing shows the same green colouring as the iron railings added to the facade of the Little Castle at Bolsover. Intriguingly, a similar railing with knobs appears at the end of Arundel's sculpture gallery, in which he chose to be painted by Mytens.[195] This would appear to be an even more relevant source for Bolsover, although the version of the portrait at Welbeck has an alternative garden backdrop.[196] Arundel House was a combination of old fabric and inserted classical features, but the painting blends fact with fiction, for surveys of the river front make it clear that Mytens' arch was actually a mullioned and transomed window.[197] Arundel's sculpture gallery was really on

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189 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, London, 1964, pp.129-1; William Hammand to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 4th February, 1609, from an index of letters of Earls of Shrewsbury made by David Durant, Nottingham University, Department of Special Collections.

190 Parliamentary Survey of Theobalds, f.6, quoted by Summerson, (1959), p.123.

191 Stone, Lawrence, 'The Building of Hatfield House,' *Archaeological Journal*, Vol.112, 1955, pp.100-128.

192 Illustration 2.20.

193 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/6(1).

194 ibid, III/6(3); Jones' original design drawing for the feature is reproduced in Harris, John, 'Inigo Jones and the Courtier Style,' *Architectural Review*, Vol.154, No.917, July 1973, p.19.

195 Illustrated in, for example, Plumb, J.H., and Weldon, H., *Royal Heritage*, London, 1977, p.98.

196 It hangs in the Gothic Hall at Welbeck today, see Goulding, (1936), p.208.

197 'Four views of the south end of the gallery by three different hands are all agreed in showing two mullion and transom windows and not the open arch,' Howarth, (1985), pp.210-212. Wenceslaus Hollar's views are illustrated on pp.12-13; views of the gallery by Cornelius Bol, c.1640 and Jacob Esselens, c.1620 are on p.103. See also Schofield, John, *Medieval London Houses*, New Haven and London, 1994, pp.210-212.

the ground floor, according to Howarth, and if the arch was a fabrication, so too were Mytens' heavy Renaissance cornice and pilasters.[198] The effect that Mytens produced, though, was of an iron railing seen through an open window, and it was this idealised painted balcony that was reproduced by Smithson at Bolsover. However, Inigo Jones, who was capable of producing a palazzo interior along the lines of Mytens' image, was indeed working for Arundel about the house and garden, and Smithson also drew the rising shell of his Banqueting House. Bolsover's rejection of Jonesian classicism was therefore through choice, not ignorance.

The garden at Arundel House, with its "Italyan" window and arch also drawn by Smithson, is also significant for Bolsover. Its starkly planned geometric grass plats were adopted in the fountain garden, albeit within the irregular circuit of the walls. The arch was reproduced in the pre-war design of the Little Castle forecourt.[199] The association between gallery and garden was new, and clearly demonstrated in paintings of Arundel House which show statues disposed around the garden, although in a far more profuse and continental manner than the Bolsover fountain statues. The walled garden, as is well known, was entered through the gate sketched by Smithson and designed by Inigo Jones which appears to have made its way to the Little Castle's main façade. The houses that Smithson sketched in the Strand and Holborn, are all, significantly, on the route from Aldermanbury, location of William's townhouse as the Gazetteer will argue, to Arundel House.[200] William still had business at Arundel House, as trustee of Arundel's father-in-law, and a good deal of evidence survives for their personal interaction.[201]

We will never know the names of the craftsmen whom William may have invited to Derbyshire to decorate Bolsover Castle. But some of the artists whom he commissioned in the years before the Civil War are known, and there was nothing provincial or nostalgic about their style. A portrait of Elizabeth Bassett has been attributed to William Larkin (1580s-1619) and placed, by Strong and others, in a group of portraits to commemorate a wedding in 1614.[202] The series of seven full-length female portraits was from the home of Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, son of the Earl of

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198 Howarth, (1985), p.58.

199 See Gazetteer, p.30.

200 See Gazetteer, p.72.

201 eg. BL Add MS 70499, f.95; NU PW1.220.

202 Illustration 16.2.

Suffolk, and Elizabeth Bassett's brother-in-law. It is suggested they commemorated Thomas Howard's marriage in 1614 as five of the seven ladies are his relations or relations-by-marriage.[203] However, Elizabeth appears in mourning. It seems equally likely that this was a marriage portrait made in 1618 or 19, where she would be wearing black for Henry Howard, and intended to match another Larkin portrait of her husband William.[204] Larkin was known to the Cavendishes, as it was Arbella Stuart who recommended him as a freeman of the Painter-Stainers' Company in 1606.[205] He died in Blackfriars in 1619.[206]

Slightly later, William also patronised the court sculptor Francesco Fanelli. Fanelli's suave mannerist style makes it all the more striking that the carvings that survive, for example, as part of the external decoration at Bolsover, were so different to the court model. They must have been deliberately different, and intended for a local rather than a courtly audience, as William was far from ignorant of up-to-date royal fashions. Fanelli received a pension of £60 from Charles in 1636, the first record of his being in England,[207] and several of his pieces remain at Welbeck Abbey. The inventory of 1717 includes "seven copper ffigures and five ditto of horses," and nine items, all small bronze groups including horses, were seen by Vertue at Welbeck,[208] probably having been commissioned by William in the 1630s. A bust of Charles, the only piece dated (1640) and signed, survives with some other pieces at Welbeck today. It is tempting to think that Charles' letter to his governor William, thanking him for a New Year's Gift of "y^{e} brass statues" refers to figures like the horses at Welbeck.[209]

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203 Strong, Roy, *The English Icon*, London and New York, 1969; Jacob, J., and Simon, J., *The Suffolk Collection, Catalogue of Paintings*, Greater London Council, 1974; Strong, Roy, *William Larkin, Icons of Splendour*, Milan, c.1995, pp.94-5.

204 The portrait is illustrated in the National Portrait Gallery Heinz Archive and in Strong, (1994), pp.76-77.

205 Hearn, (1995), p.196.

206 ibid, p.196.

207 Bruce, J., ed., *CSPD, 1635,* London, 1865, p.63, 8th May, 1635.

208 NA DD.4P.39.55, f.12; Vertue, George, *Note Book IV*, The Walpole Society, Vol.24, 1935-6, p.110, see also Pope-Hennessy, John, 'Some Bronze Statuettes by Francesco Fanelli,' *Burlington Magazine*, Vol.95, 1953, pp.157-162.

209 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.97. For the royal family's interest in bronzes, see Avery, Charles, and Watson, Katherine, 'Medici and Stuart: A Grand Ducal Gift of 'Giovanni Bologna' Bronzes for Henry Prince of Wales (1612),' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.115, August, 1973, pp.493-509. See also p.50.

3.4 A Fusion of Styles: the debate on 'Artisan Mannerism'

At this point is it important to evaluate how the styles William encountered both at home and abroad re-emerge in his finished buildings, remembering, of course, his limited agency to influence design decisions. This fusion of the two components of the Cavendish style has commonly been termed 'Artisan Mannerism.' The name suggests an inferior, misunderstood version of Italian mannerist classicism. The term emerged as a means of describing a non-courtly form of classicism in Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830.* "This style," he wrote in 1953, "has never been given a name. Artisan Mannerism may perhaps serve ... In feeling, it is broad and coarse and has none of the naïf intensity or exciting contrasts of the preceding style, nor the fine taste and exquisite balance of Jones."[210] John Harris, similarly, describes Jones as a "protean, unique man," surrounded by "subordinates who did not understand what [he] was about," with the result that many courtiers ended up with substandard, "subordinate" architecture.[211]

These concepts therefore deny a positive meaning to much contemporary work, seeing it instead as a pastiche of Jonesian, or foreign, designs. During a discussion on the Smythson Collection at the RIBA in 1908, one participant claimed that "Mr Gotch was very generous and kind when he called it fancy, but it was ignorant drawing and designing, and nothing else."[212] James Lees-Milne, too, referred to the "provincial surveyors or builders [who, using pattern-books] merely followed what they believed to be the fashions of the moment ... Fortunately, they could not easily go very wrong."[213]

However, the antidote to this judgmental approach is to avoid qualitative art criticism to embrace art history instead. Rather than to privilege 'native' meanings in a reaction to the previous concentration on the classical, it is necessary to try to define the relationship between the influences within the Cavendish style. This chapter has proved that its sources were multifarious, including books and craftsmen as well as London and Italian models. Peacock discusses a similar fusion in Jones' stage architecture, which he describes as "not a theatrical Babel of typological and stylistic

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210 Summerson, (1953), p.97.

211 Harris, (1973), pp.17, 24; the historiography is outlined in Gent, (1995), p.1.

212 Record of discussion following J. Alfred Gotch's paper on 'The Development of House Design in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James,' *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects,* 21st November, 1908, p.68.

213 Lees-Milne, James, *The Age of Inigo Jones*, London, 1953, p.222.

confusions but ... [the]"Great British" style."[214] Leading on from this, it is proposed to look at the style in terms of its differences, not similarities, with other buildings. Three features of Bolsover Castle will be used to try to define the nature of Cavendish classicism: the iconography of the Little Castle, the Marble Closet doorway, and the famous 'cannon' on the west façade of the Terrace Range.

3.4.1 The meaning of the Little Castle

The search for sophisticated classicism can be taken too far in looking at the extended symbolism which makes up the decorative scheme of the Little Castle. Girouard sees it as an extended conceit along the lines of a piece of masque scenery. Raylor continues the game by finding the latest, strikingly ingenious hidden meanings. But to be instructed by Alpers' work on Dutch interior paintings, the meanings that art historians construct out of the Little Castle would only have worked if they had been clichés of contemporary culture for the educated.[215] Hercules is a key figure.

A patron with self-indulgent habits could usefully draw a parallel between himself and Hercules. Hercules, who committed the sin of killing his wife and child, was able to redeem himself by the power of his *virtù*. So William, and Cardinal Ippolitio d'Este, and Federigo II Gonzaga, and the many other patrons who used the imagery, were able to claim that their own *virtù* transcended their misdemeanours.[216] Chapter One has outlined the type of accusation that William had to rebut. His sins included "fornicating with the *Nine Muses*," being "amorous in poetry and music," and being overly-fond of "witty society (to be modest in the expression of it)."[217] The motif was so common in this context that it would almost have been more surprising if William had not depicted himself as Hercules. The hero appears over the doorway of the Little Castle, on the garden front and performing his labours on the Hall walls. The stone figure of Hercules guarding the entrance to the Little Castle is a seventeenth-century interpretation of the stone piper and archer who guard the gatehouse of Bothal Castle in the Northumbrian tradition. Significantly, the Bolsover carving has

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214 Peacock, (1982), p.204.

215 Alpers, (1983), p.229.

216 Coffin, D.R., *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton, 1960, pp.78-85; dal Maso, Leonard B., *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, Florence, 1978, pp.60-62; Partridge, L.W., 'The sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola,' *Art Bulletin*, Vol.53, 1971, pp.467-486 and Vol.54, 1972, pp.50-62; Recupero, Jacopo, *The Farnese Palace at Caprarola*, Florence, 1990, pp.26-8. Hercules also often appears in an English context, see Wells-Cole, (1997), pp.40, 89, 178-9, 201, 217, 223.

217 See pp. 27-8, 46.

the tense posture of the figures at Bothal, poised to strike at intruders, rather than the writhing movement of the probable source.[218] A continental source has been modified with the influence of the medieval Northumbrian style of the Ogle barony. Having reached the bedchamber in the Little Castle, the visitor treading the processional route through the house then makes Hercules' own choice between Pleasure and Virtue in the Elysium or Heaven Closets.[219]

Finally, Hercules can be seen relaxing in female company in the painted frieze of the Elysium Closet. This closet also has a more significant position than Heaven, as it looks down directly onto the goddess of Love on the fountain below, which in its turn can be read iconographically as an assault of lust upon beauty.[220] These two facts suggest an unusual or personalised interpretation of the Hercules story at Bolsover: rather than merely presenting Hercules' choice between Pleasure and Virtue, the scheme at Bolsover clearly privileges Pleasure and goes beyond the equal weighting that the two elements are usually given in iconographic schemes. This unexpected angle may be related to the social situation from which this need for self-justification by the means of the Hercules parallel arose. There was a functional, as well as an intellectual need for William Cavendish to have himself depicted as Hercules: he needed to justify his choice of Pleasure in life's journey. It is this need to explain his own behaviour in an attempt to impose order that is explored in Chapter Five.

In a similar vein, the Marble Closet features three images taken from *The United Virtues* by Hendrik Goltzius.[221] Two pairs of Virtues in a peaceful landscape setting decorate each lunette. But the original series has eight Virtues. Raylor's ingenious suggestion is that two of the Virtues are deliberately left out, and that when Charles I and Henrietta Maria visited in 1634, they, standing on the balcony with the pastoral landscape of Derbyshire behind them, completed the sequence.[222] In fact, there is a much simpler explanation for this choice of source material. The Virtues, quite separate from their cultural significance, are decorative naked women involved in sexual dalliance.

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218 Albani, Francesco, 'An Allegory of Hercules Carrying the Globe assisted by Mercury and Apollo,' Chatsworth House, information from the research of Anne Brookes for English Heritage; compare illustration 2.26 with 16.1, see also illustration 3.3 and Gazetteer, p.31.

219 Hercules also appears at Welbeck, see Gazetteer, p.136.

220 See Gazetteer, p.39.

221 Strauss, Walter L., ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch, Netherlandish Artists, Hendrik Goltzius*, New York, 1982, p.107.

222 Raylor, (1999), p.423.

For once we receive a glimpse of something not only non-classical, but personal to William. Using the guise of classical images, he countered his critics and justified bawdiness by associating it with learned references to the antique. Lewdness is, of course, also encountered elsewhere in the seventeenth-century visual culture, but it appears here in an extreme form as William was particularly vulnerable to criticism on this point compared with other patrons. Possibly the Heaven room, too, was a disrespectful comment on the sanctimoniousness of religion.[223] This quality of shock comes over in Thomas Povey's reaction: William's palace was "the most extraordinary in Europe" in its curiosity and excellence.[224] The words "extraordinary" and "curiosity" are telling, for they imply that far from attempting to be classical, the "palace" at Bolsover was intended to be unique.

3.4.2 The Marble Closet doorway

The first-floor opening into the Marble Closet has its stylistic roots in the trip to London. As a motif, there is an obvious assumption that it was copied from the gateway at Arundel House designed by Inigo Jones. Jones' design for the gateway survives, as does Smithson's survey of the completed structure, dated 1618.[225] Although in this case Smithson's drawing is clearly labelled, it is salutary to note that another possible source of the motif was the gateway design by Wendel Dietterlin used for a structure at Wentworth Woodhouse, the only surviving feature of Strafford's work there.[226] It becomes clear that Yorkshire could equally have provided the continental source, although the bear-pit at Wentworth Woodhouse has been described as representing "the influence, if not the actual hand, of John or Huntingdon Smythson."[227] Just because Bolsover is the more familiar house today, it must not be forgotten that the influence could have spread in the other direction.

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223 See p.52.

224 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1667-8,* London, 1893, p.602, Thomas Povey to Williamson, Chatsworth, 25th September, 1668.

225 The former is illustrated in Harris, John, and Higgott, Gordon, *Inigo Jones Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989, p.127; RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/7(1).

226 Wells-Cole, (1997), p.29; Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: The West Riding*, Harmondsworth, 1974, p.540.

227 Wells-Cole, (1997), p.16.

Smithson's drawing actually has more of the intense character of Dietterlin's rather than the measured classicism of Jones' design. But he has also subverted Jones's design by sketching the literal components of the design without the scaling necessary to appreciate that Jones was subtly combining the demands of classical precept and proportion "with the visual requirement that parts of the building ... should appear correctly proportioned to the eye."[228] It may be deduced that Smithson's gateway, taken out of context by being made into a window, was being used in the 'heraldic' sense discussed by Vaughan Hart.[229] Wotton himself described the "ranke or degree" of the Doric Order, as "a peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*: For He is best knowne by his place, when he is in company..."[230] The motif was perhaps as a badge or symbol displaying William's admiration for and indebtedness to his friends, fixed to the front of an essentially-medieval building, as the Little Castle was in spirit, like a coat of arms. But did it signify the patronage of Strafford in Yorkshire or Arundel in London? Given his animosity against Arundel because of the Earl of Shrewsbury's will, and the closeness of his relationship with Strafford, the latter would seem more likely.

3.4.3 The Cavendish 'cannon'

The Terrace Range's western façade is a greatly puzzling feature of Bolsover Castle. Pegge described its cylindrical decorations as 'cannon.' He took their presence, wrongly, to be a reminder of conflict, and dated the range to after the Civil War.[231] Something of this interpretation survives, and the features are still pointed out as reminders of medieval sieges.[232]

But the alternative explanation of the features is that they are pilasters, intended to make the Terrace Range into an Italianate *palazzo*. The ultimate model would be Michelangelo's Capitoline palaces in Rome, which were known in England through engravings. Their giant pilasters had reached Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire by the 1570s, possibly through the route of Philibert de l'Orme's published design for S.Maur in France.[233] But possibly there was an even more direct connection as

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228 Higgott, Gordon, "'Varying with reason': Inigo Jones's Theory of Architectural Design," *Architectural History*, Vol.35, 1992, p.52.

229 Hart, (1994), p.67.

230 Wotton, (1624), pp.35-6.

231 Pegge, (1785), p.23.

232 Bostwick, David, 'Bolsover Castle,' brief guide, English Heritage, 1998.

233 de l'Orme, Philibert, *Architecture de Philibert de l'Orme*, Rouen, 1658, p.252v.

the courtyard at Kirby shares the same trick of perspective to increase its apparent length as the Campidoglio. A similar deception is achieved by the Little Castle's main entrance staircase, as it was at Slingsby Castle.[234]

The tops of the 'cannon,' then, could be an interpretation of ionic pilasters taken from a pattern-book or other two-dimensional source. Laurus's *Antiquae Urbis Splendour*, for example, known to have been in the collection of the Dukes of Newcastle in 1719, contains plates from which one can imagine the Ionic capital being interpreted as a three-dimensional twist, as at Bolsover.[235] The squatness or stubbiness of the pilasters was not unusual in English classicism. Wotton wrote, for example, that "*Pylasters* must not bee too tall and slender, least they resemble *Pillars* ... Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them, as a Rusticke *Superficies*, for they ayme more at *State & Strength* then *Elegancie*."[236] The Bolsover pilasters therefore obey Wotton's rules, conveying state and strength rather than elegance.

The idea that the cannons are pilasters is reinforced on examining the seventeenth-century drawings of the west front of Bolsover Castle, where they appear elongated, and much more like conventional pilasters. They also appear on the façade of Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, and Diepenbeke's engravings also show them at Welbeck, and in the design for Ogle Castle in Northumberland, where they are even longer.[237] The articulation of a façade in this manner was a Cavendish trademark, and the rebuilding of Nottingham Castle in the 1660s can therefore be seen as simply another attempt at the Italian *palazzo* built at Bolsover in the 1630s, sharing the same pilasters. These pilasters would apparently have been a purely classical gesture, except for the fact that the only surviving examples, at Bolsover, are misleading in being so unlike their classical counterparts. This, then, shows that a classical feature was 'fed into' the design process but modulated by the household into something so different that it is almost unrecognisable to us as classical. Those involved in the process incorporated a reference to the chivalric past, or 'courtesy of place,' through the pilasters' similarity to medieval cannon, thereby creating a unique blend of old and new. Contrary to what William might have intended, this expressed the household's Midland identity even as it gestured towards

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234 See RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (11-14); illustration 12.5.

235 Laurus, (1612), p.37; see Noel, (1719), p.27.

236 Wotton, (1624), p.45.

237 Illustrations 8.3 and 8.4, 14.12 and 10.4.

court fashion, although it is also important to remember that 'courtesies of place' flattered the visiting courtier as well as the resident host and household.

3.5 Conclusion

The style of William Cavendish's houses, therefore, can be explored in two directions which are traditionally seen as opposites: the Northumbrian and chivalric, and the foreign and classical. Yet, in the debate about Inigo Jones, Peacock argues that classical and neo-Gothic influences in Jones's stage architecture form a coherent and "legible architectural statement."[238] This view was updated by Anderson's reading of Jones' stylistic sources, interpreting nostalgia as a tendency that he simply repressed in order to differentiate himself from his rivals.[239] The fusion of styles, the new paradigm seen in William's houses, may therefore represent the conclusion of an unconscious struggle between international and local, between patron and household, or even between court ambitions and traditional local obligations within William himself. The idea of competing meanings within the artefact is relevant to the previous chapter, where the competition to control the building process was outlined, and to the final chapter, where the daily struggles for power within the household will be examined.

However, in considering style and in particular the concept of tension expressed through a style, it is as well to remember a cautionary tale about the Palazzo del Té. Pevsner gave a celebrated interpretation of the building as Giulio Romano's mannerist masterpiece, a deliberate and disconcerting attempt to subvert classical principles, for example, with its asymmetrical windows. "This is not just haphazardly insensitive," he wrote. "It obviously is the expression of a new will, a deliberate attack on the Renaissance ideal."[240] The Palazzo shares much in common with Bolsover; Vasari described it as a frivolous, playful building, "*a guisa di un gran palazzo*," to provide rooms for Federico's mistress.[241] In fact, subsequent minute archaeological survey has shown that there was an earlier building with asymmetrical windows, and that the designer was actually doing his best to disguise the imbalance. In adapting the older house, Giulio Romano "attempted to eliminate

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238 Peacock, (1982), p.204.

239 Anderson, (1995), p.259.

240 Pevsner, Nikolaus, 'The Architecture of Mannerism,' in Spencer, H., ed., *Readings in Art History*, Vol.2, 1969, p.119.

241 '...in the guise of a great palace,' quoted by Belluzzi, Amedeo, and Forster, Kurt W., 'Palazzo Te,' in *Giulio Romano*, ed. Gombrich et al., Milan, 1989, p.317.

irregularities as much as possible and was by no means eager to create what have been called Mannerist tricks."[242] Similarly, the famous slipped triglyphs and the slightly raised keystones of the blank windows, according to Howard Burns, are not a reference to dissolution and fragmentation, but a witty reference "to the haste with which the building had to be completed."[243]

We have already seen that the Cavendish style was not the "expression of a new will" of William's, as he lacked the agency to impose novelty onto the household. The new classical style was inevitably modulated by a sense of family history and local identity both on William and his household's part. But this local interpretation placed upon classical features also contributed to the unique and positive 'courtesies of place' that William's architectural patronage expressed. However, the changing interpretations of the Palazzo del Té also demonstrate that the danger of relying on the art-historical tradition of stylistic interpretations of buildings lies in ignoring the functional explanation for the same features. The function of the Cavendish buildings will therefore be the subject of the next chapter.

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242 Verheyen, (1977), p.12.

243 Burns, Howard, 'The Gonzaga and Renaissance Architecture,' in Chambers and Martineau, (1982), p.33.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FUNCTION OF THE HOUSE

> Every Mans proper *Mansion* House and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his Sonnes *Inheritance*, a kinde of priuate *Princedome*; Nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*: may well deserue by these *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned.[1]

4.1 Introduction

Quite apart from its cultural value as an art object, a portrait, sculpture or great house also provides a record of the social relationships that led to its being made. This chapter argues that the silent majority of the household, whose only documentary traces are hints in the household administrative records, was more important than is usually thought in house design. The household, with its needs, impeded William Cavendish's ambitions for the design of his new houses, and therefore limited their potential impact.

Chapter Three demonstrated that the form of the house owed something both to precedent and to new influences in design. But Chapter Two showed that the process of construction was, to a great extent, beyond the control of the supposed patron. Members of the household decided what should be built, and understood the needs of the household dictating the accommodation to be provided. In this chapter, these household needs will be examined at a deeper level, not leading necessarily to explanations of particular buildings, but explaining the background to the household's decision to build as it did.

As Kate Mertes has noted, albeit of an earlier period, the noble household seemed to exist solely for the purpose of supporting and administering itself. "While its chief function, certainly," she writes, "was that of serving the lord as he desired, indubitably household members spent much time and energy in keeping the household staff and appurtenances in some kind of order."[2] Lena Cowan Orlin has shown that although the state made the householder responsible for the moral order within his own household - and stressed the patriarchal hierarchy as a way of reinforcing him politically -

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1 Wotton, (1624), p.82.

2 Mertes, Kate, *The English noble household, 1250-1600, Good Governance and Politic Rule*, Oxford, 1988, p.184.

the social history of households reveals that "domestic roles and duties were contested in practice."[3] Her works goes even further in suggesting that, against expectation, the structure of the household was "often irresolute in theory, too."[4] This chapter will demonstrate that competition and disorder was the norm within the living organism of the Cavendish household. This fluidity within household relationships is now widely recognised, and Cynthia Herrup, for example, has uncovered a similar situation in the household of the Earl of Castlehaven (1593-1631), in the 1620s.[5]

4.2 The composition of the household

Extensive records survive for the composition of William's household for Welbeck in 1661. There were forty-six inhabitants at the main house, and a few remained at secondary locations such as Mrs Alice Bunbury, the housekeeper at Bolsover.[6] Only two household members were gentlewomen, but six had the honorific "Mr": the captain of the horse, steward, solicitor, officer of the treasury, violist and one other who has not been identified. Twelve servants on the permanent wage roll lived out at the Grange, and William's bailiffs numbered about fifteen. They lived as far afield as the Northumberland or West Country estates, but were expected to attend at Welbeck or London to present the Michaelmas and Ladyday rents, and would then be accommodated in the house. This blurring of the boundary between those inside and outside of the household is an important explanation of William's enormous local influence. Similarly, in discussing Robert, Earl of Leicester's connections, Adams notes "the complex relationship between local and central and the absence of a rigid distinction between the two levels, whether central is taken to mean the court or Leicester's own household." Leicester's household also had an out-group from a particular region, the men from Cheshire, like the Northumberland men at Welbeck.[7]

William's household was much smaller than that of his grandmother in the previous century, a household comparable in rank and status. Bess of Hardwick gave seventy-seven people their wages at midsummer, 1597, and even Gilbert Talbot's household contained fifty-one members plus ten

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3 Orlin, (1994), pp.3-4.

4 ibid, p.4.

5 Herrup, Cynthia, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven,* New York and Oxford, 1999; Friedmann, (1989a).

6 NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.69; NU PW1.670.

7 Adams, (1995), p.43.

more in the stable in 1610.[8] However, the household was an amorphous being: sometimes swelled by visiting trains and sometimes much smaller. Only nine people remained at Welbeck in 1655, when Thomas Bamford reported the cost of their "dyett" for nine weeks.[9]

The house itself, therefore, had to be highly adaptable. Inventories show that rather than rooms being shut up in quiet times, the whole house would be more heavily used when the full household came into residence. There was no expectation that household members would have a room to themselves. The Welbeck bedding inventory does not designate special rooms for guests, apart from the "best" bedchamber, but it does show many spare beds.[10] This meant that compact, centralised plans did not necessarily cause the difficulties that might be expected for households used to rambling medieval houses.

The household was also fluid in that servants passed in and out of employment, resulting in even closer connections with the surrounding area. This reflects the national picture of between a quarter and a half of the entire population's having been servants at some point in their lives in the seventeenth century.[11] When Henry petitioned William for permission to live at Welbeck, he promised he would "put away any y^{r} Grace dislikes," suggesting that personnel had been a bone of contention in the past, and that a job was not necessarily for life.[12] Upper servants seemed to follow a pattern of moving out of the house itself as they matured, taking leases of manor houses: John Rolleston's long service was rewarded with the manorhouse at Sookholme, but he remained in frequent contact with the household.[13]

The household acquired new members through personal recommendation, and loyalty was more highly prized in a servant than efficiency or skill. For example, William recruited a chaplain by the

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8 Chatsworth House Archives, Hardwick MS 8, 'Servannts Wages for the halffe yeare ended at middsom 1597,' transcription by David Durant, Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3203, f.582, 'the Names of all the persons of my lord his howshould … at sheaffeild, 1609.'

9 NU PW1.5

10 NU PW1.595, 'The perticuler of what Bedding is Within Welbeck Taken May the 12th 1662.'

11 Macfarlane, Alan, *The Origins of English Individualism, The Family, Property and Social Transition*, Oxford, 1978, p.79.

12 NU PW1.74, c.1674.

13 NU PW1.315, f.5.

recommendation of the Bishop of Chichester, his companion in Prince Charles's household.[14] From medieval times, well-born children were sent away to grander households to be trained. Charles (I) himself had been "bred together in one Family" with Gilbert, future Earl of Shrewsbury.[15] William too sent letters home from Gilbert's household at Worksop, where Prince Henry had been received in 1604, thanking his father for "*lhonneur quilz me font de mestimer capable dentretenir cel prince.*"[16] This tradition continued as Henry Cavendish deliberately strengthened his Northumberland ties by training youths: Ralph Delaval of Seaton Delaval thanked Henry in 1667 for taking his son.[17] Sir John Swinburn of Capheaton recommended a neighbour's son, and Henry replied that that the boy could be "bred up to my Buttler and to goe of messages here in ye Towne" and that "I will take him much for your sake."[18] This shows that the Northumbrian element within the household was constantly being renewed. It also shows that servants were bound to their lord by a sense of privilege; the Swinburns were an old family connection and in 1670 "Blind Mr Swinburn" lived with the household at Welbeck.[19]

This sense that serving the family was a privilege contributed to the lack of control that the household had over when they would receive their wages. Christopher Matlock had to write repeated petitions for "arreares of wages due to him at Welbeck, wch is ye sume of seaventeen pounds tenne shillings & then it was deferred." He has had to ask again, as "necessity compells yor peticoner to make his sad condicon knowne..."[20] In addition to their wages, the servants' 'dyett' was a prized but strictly-controlled privilege, and the servants could take subtle revenge such as wasting resources. The costs also included the servants' livery and travel expenses. When Henry agreed to take a Northumbrian youth into his household, he wrote saying the boy should come south "spending as little by ye way as he can I will pay for his iorney and lett him buy noe clothes." A reply came that the expense would be minimal "for the boy can drink nothing (as yet) but smale

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14 NU PW1.181

15 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.2.

16 William thanks his father 'for the honour of thinking [him] capable of entertaining the prince,' BL Add MS 70499, f.84.

17 NU PW1.109-110

18 Northumberland Record Office, ZAN M15 / A 23bi, pp.65-66.

19 NU PW1.314, f.4.

20 NU PW1.179

beer."[21] In the 1650s, William in Antwerp begged his son not to send a servant over, "for Itt will bee charges to you in sending him & charges to mee for returninge of him."[22] Henry's debts in c.1663 included "cloathes for myselfe & servants, as appeares by the taylors bills ... £2000."[23] Clothing for himself and his servants cost twice as much as the furnishing of his London house.

The other benefit that members of the household received was heating and lighting. The surviving book for orders for the household of the Prince of Wales, where William was the chief officer, records that the issuing of rations was strictly controlled. William received "halfe a pound of white lights by the night. Three Torches by the weeke."[24] His personal servant had to go to the bars at the buttery, pantry and chandlery to collect them, and care was taken to prevent the chamberkeepers from selling their masters' rations. There was also a strict instruction about not wasting wax, and William as chief household officer was responsible for the punishment of malefactors.[25] There is evidence from the 1690s that candles were also kept locked up at Welbeck.[26]

The tone of the prince's household orders implies that the rules were frequently broken, and the punishments for infringements are often spelt out. It is implied that a household of servants was not so much a luxury as an expensive and tedious necessity. A smaller house, however, could also be a way of tightening up the behaviour and profligacy of the servants. Wingfield Manor, for example, a medieval house of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, was described as "a howse of great wayst dyvers wayes & specyally of lyghts."[27] Therefore a smaller house like Bolsover, Slingsby or Ogle could be a way of cutting down on manpower and avoiding troublesome contact with the servants. It is striking that William had several of these smaller projects, contrary to the more common contemporary desire for space. His daughter Jane, after her marriage, outlined her household's extensive requirements: "no les then 12 roomes of a floore, besides offises, & servants lodgings ...

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21 Northumberland Record Office, ZAN M15 / A 23bi, f.66.

22 BL Add MS 70499, f.355v.

23 BL Add MS 70500, f.13.

24 BL Harleian MS 7623, 'A Copie of The Booke (assigned by his Maiestie,) of Dietts, Wages, &c. For Prince Charles his highnes: and the rest of his Ma:ts royall Children,' f.14.

25 ibid, f.16v.

26 NA DD.6P.58.75a

27 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3199, p.219.

much roome & convenience..."[28] She also mentioned her brother Henry's removal to Thorpe Salvin Castle, which she decried to Charles (III) as "not Large Enuffe for your Inclinations."[29] The Gazetteer shows that even John Booth, a bailiff resident at Bothal Castle, spent £100 "in the repair of 18 rooms there."[30] It has been argued that the expansion of the Terrace Range at Bolsover Castle was to celebrate William's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire, or to receive the king. However, it is at least possible that expansion was partly due to the failure of the experiment of living at a reduced scale, and to the necessity of housing a greater part of the clamorous household left behind at Welbeck.

Starkey notes that as rendering service was the dominant social relationship, the language of service was used to describe most other kinds of relationship as well, from the amorous, and, as outlined in Chapter One, to the political.[31] The relations between master and household were difficult for both sides to untangle as personal feeling was supposed to mask the reality of an economic relationship. William and Jane's poems give an affectionate, but exasperated, picture of household members. Jane, for example, writes that "Mr Bamford hee doth give a Humm / And alwayes lookes according to hum Drum," whereas "modest Daniell his lookes dayly say / I doe noe hurt pray therefore let mee stay." She is scathing towards her waiting women: "Judyth doth boldly say this flatt / I have my Ladies love, soe I care not," and says that "for weomen Lectures I doe them give / To hold their tongues, or else not there they live."[32] Household members with clacking tongues were perhaps a major concern in planning houses for retirement such as Bolsover, showing that the balance of power was disputed between family and servant.

Given the inconvenience and expense, what was the household needed for? Firstly, there was a general need for large numbers of people to perform the ceremonies of acclaim that created the charisma of an aristocrat. John Rolleston wrote that William had "beside his ordinary and constant House-keeping and Attendants, some for Honour, and some for business, where he exceeded most

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28 NU PW1.89

29 NU PW1.89

30 NU PW1.25

31 Starkey, (1981), p.252.

32 Bod. Rawlinson MS POET 16, p.93, 'The Carecter.'

of his Quality."[33] As Chapter Two indicates, expense and debt could be tolerated as more desirable alternatives to falling below the standard of magnificence expected. John Dryden praised William's ability to live on credit: "you lived plentifully without a fortune; for you lived on your own desert and reputation."[34] William also forced this attitude onto his sons. Henry had to explain his debts to his father, due partly to "living better ... than my Revenue allowed. Your lo[pps] being pleased to command me to goe from Thorpe, & to live at Wellbeck."[35] William described the house at Thorpe Salvin as a "dove cote," but the Gazetteer shows that in fact it had a ground floor area of about 800 square metres.[36]

William advised Charles II on how to use his household to create an aura of majesty. "Seremoney though itt is nothing in itt Selfe, yett it doth Every thing," he wrote, for "what is a Lord more then a footman, wthout Seremoney, & Order - a Dispised Title."[37] He also cited Elizabeth I's theatrical tricks of creating a sense of occasion. "Ye Queen would say God bless you my good people, - & though this saying was no great matter, in it self, yett ... itt went very farr wth ye people."[38] In the 1630s, he had enlarged on the attributes of majesty, listing "the Cloth of Estates the distance people are with you, Great Officers, Heralds, Drums, Trumpeters, Rich Coaches, rich furniture for horses, Guards, Martialls men making room, disorders to be laboured by their Staff of Office, and Crie now the King comes."[39] William had a mini-court of his own, performing the same function, and a footman's silver-topped staff is one of the artefacts surviving from seventeenth-century Welbeck.[40] A newsletter listed some of the people accompanying Margaret to court in 1667. She was "attended with three coaches, the first of her gentlemen, of two horses, the second of her own, of six, and the

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33 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), John Rolleston's 'Epistle to her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle.'

34 Dryden, John, prefatory letter to William, 'An Evening's Love; or, The Mock Astrologer,' in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Scott, Sir W., and Saintsbury, G., Edinburgh, 1883, Vol.3, 1883, p.232.

35 BL Add MS 70500, f.14, c.1663.

36 BL Add MS 70499, f.353v.

37 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.52.

38 ibid, p.53.

39 BL Harleian MS 6988, f.112r.

40 Jones, (1935), p.84. The staff dates from c.1665.

third that of her women, of four. Her train was carried by a young lady in white satin."[41] An entourage like this had to be accommodated permanently in the house, with further provision for that of an important guest. William's household could be lent out to add splendour to the occasions of more important friends and relatives. The procession at Gilbert Talbot's funeral included both "S[r] Willm Cavendishes men" and "S[r] Charles Cavendishes men,"[42] and Henry's funeral possession to Bolsover contained eighty followers.[43] The house itself, then, had to accommodate these large numbers of people. They provided the ever-present audience that gave point to the rituals of old-fashioned aristocratic life, and could not easily be discarded when new forms of behaviour, such as William's fondness for solitary writing, began to make their presence obsolete. The design of the house itself was therefore a means of addressing the problem.

The daily timetable

How did the daily life of the household flow through the house? The confession of the Clayton conspirators shows that on the day of the writing of the libel, Booth was woken and summoned straight to Clayton's chamber.[44] Clayton and Booth "pretended to tell money and paste accompts all that day." They finished off their work at "about 3 in the afternoon, dinner being past" and the next day took their supper "late in the evening." While they were eating, Clayton was called in to William, and later the three retired to Booth's chamber to talk privately. The impression is given of the upper servants working away in their individual multi-functional chambers all day, being summoned to William at any hour of the day or night, and for their recreation gathering together in the Hall or each other's chambers. Public areas such as the gallery or Hall were important amenities, then, for the whole household.

John Booth referred to another daily feature of life at Welbeck, William's equestrian exercise: "the horses were a Rideing and we present as usually."[45] Henry, too, in his petition to live at Welbeck

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41 HMC, 12th Report, Appendix 7, *Manuscripts of S.H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall*, London, 1890, p.47, newsletter, 23rd April, 1667.

42 BL Harleian MS 1368, p.35, 'The pceedinge of the funerall of the Right honorable Gilbert E: of Salop at Sheffield on mondaye the 12th of August, 1616.'

43 NU PW1.623

44 NU PW1.314

45 NU PW1.315, f.5.

promised only to bring guests over in the afternoon or "to see y^r^ horses."[46] While the invisible Empress of the Blazing World was visiting Welbeck, in one of Margaret's books, William "came out of the House into the Court, to see his Horses of Manage," and then "went to the exercise of the Sword."[47] William's priorities are clearly reflected in the gigantic scale of the equestrian facilities he constructed. Hobbes, too, tutor to the third Earl of Devonshire and William's frequent correspondent, dedicated "the Morning to his Health, and the Afternoon to his Studies" at either Chatsworth or Hardwick, and presumably on his visits to Welbeck. "At his first rising he walk'd out ... After this he took a comfortable Breakfast, and then went round the Lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Countess, and the Children, and any considerable Strangers, paying some short Addresses to all of them. He kept these Rounds till about 12 a Clock ... Soon after Dinner he retired to his Study, and had his Candle, with 10 or 12 pipes of Tobacco laid by him; then shutting his Door he fell to smoaking and thinking, and writing for several hours."[48] The necessity that even a familiar old servant like Hobbes felt of waiting on his patron every day shows how much William's time must have been taken up with his household when he too would have preferred to be "smoaking and thinking, and writing..." Channeling the household's energy into a building project must therefore have provided a relief from the constant irritations of daily life.

4.3 Hospitality

The first of the functions that Wotton lists for "Every Mans proper *Mansion* House" is as "the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*." This can be seen as a performance enacted on the stage of the house itself, which therefore had to provide a suitable backdrop. This was the message behind, for example, the provision of a traditional vaulted hall in the Little Castle at Bolsover. But this obligation to provide hospitality was one of the engines of discord within the household as it was a changing concept during the early modern period in England. Despite the trouble, time and wastage involved, William felt compelled to maintain what he saw as the old-fashioned virtue of abundant hospitality. The resulting prestige gained by the host was even linked, by Margaret, to sexual attractiveness: she wrote that "the Master or Mistress of the House shall be amorously affected, and earnestly solicited, by the turning of the eyes, and the like ... in the times of *Hospitality*."[49] The

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46 NU PW1.74

47 Cavendish, Margaret, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy: To which is added, The Description of a New Blazing World*, London, second edition, 1668, pp.109-110.

48 White, (1708), pp.14-15.

49 Cavendish, Margaret, (1671), p.67.

categories of hospitality to be offered can also explain the choice to build new types of house. Flecknoe urged his readers to visit Welbeck, where visitors

> Imagin'd in his House they did not see
> A man, but God of hospitality,
> Fed more at's Board, then Nature at her Brest,
> When she's most bountiful, amongst the rest
> His Entertainment of the KING was such,
> The state so Royal, and expence so much,
> It ever will be questioned wh're that, or
> The Entertaing's Army cost him more.[50]

Brown has pointed out that hospitality to royalty at a country seat is improved by making an entertainment appropriate and specific to the place where it is being given.[51] This is reflected in the difference between the entertainments provided in 1634 at Welbeck and Bolsover: one more traditional, chivalric and nostalgic in character, the other more cerebral and contemporary. Charles I was welcomed at Welbeck with a fanfare of trumpets, was given a tour of the house, and a hunting party was followed by a tournament, with a formal challenge, jousting and sword-play. Meanwhile, the entertainment at the innovative, new-built Bolsover Castle incorporated a neo-Platonic masque of the up-to-date kind expected at court.[52] Brown's concept of the 'courtesies of place' also extends to architecture.

William had witnessed 'place-specific' hospitality from a young age, for his uncle Gilbert had received James I in 1603 for an entertainment in Sherwood Forest. Gilbert created the necessary illusion of the abundance and readiness of the countryside to serve an important guest by careful preparation. "I shalbe verie shortly in the cuntrie," he wrote to John Harpur on 30th March, "and perhaps may be soe happie as to entertaine the Kinge our Sov'raigne at Worsupp ... lett all my good frends in Derbyshire and Staffordshyre know so much, to the end that I may have theire companie against such tyme as his Matie shall come thither."[53] The visit itself took place on 20th April: "to

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50 Richard Flecknoe, 'The Portrait of William Marquis of Newcastle,' *Heroick Portraits*, London, 1660.

51 Brown, (1994), pp.47-8.

52 Raylor and Bryce, (1994), pp.174-5.

53 Hunter, (1875), p.93.

Worksop his Majestie rides forward; but by the way, in the parke, he was somewhat stayed, for there appeared a number of huntsmen all in greene, the chiefe of which with a Woodman's Speech did welcome him ... at last he went into the house, where he was so nobly received with superfluitie of all things, that still every entertainment seem to exceed other ... there was such a store of provision left, of foule, fish and almost every thing, besides bread, beer, and wine, that it was left open for any man that would, to come and take."[54] The woodsmen of the Forest, the superfluity of provisions and a "soul-ravishing" musical entertainment were all features re-emerging in William's entertainments at Welbeck and Bolsover in the 1630s, possibly at the entertainments of 1617 at Bothal Castle,[55] and of 1619, 1624 and 1636 at Welbeck, for which few details survive. William's trip to Italy brought him some experience of continental entertainments, which also involved riding forth to meet important guests.[56] Chapter Three showed how the great tilting match in the market place and then the musical entertainment at a country palace outside Turin compared with the jousting at Welbeck and contrasting elegant masque at Bolsover in 1634.

For a royal visit, the house would be given up to the king in the manner that Christian Devonshire had to surrender her house (possibly at Byfleet) to the queen. The Prince Elector had expressed a wish to visit, "the queen hering of it told him she would mak him her guest heer," and Christian invited William to be present.[57] Another of her undated letters hinted at the competitiveness of courtier entertainments: she said that the strivings to exceed previous feasts will continue until "your lo come to give it the height of perfection and that may slacke this ambitione,"[58] perhaps referring to one of William's forthcoming royal entertainments. The *topos* of the inadequacy of one's entertainment, as seen in the apologies to Wotton in Turin, is repeated again and again. Christian invited William and his wife to be present "If my lady can dispence with such homely

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54 Nichols, (1828), Vol.1, pp.85-7.

55 Nichols, (1828), Vol.3, p.297.

56 Bod. Ashmole MS 1729, f.221r.

57 NU PW1.60, n.d., 1630s.

58 NU PW1.63, n.d.

fayre, as I doe."[59] "Bye your leave I will dine with you because Ile dine well, your ordinarye my feastes," wrote William to his county ally, Sir Gervase Clifton, in 1632.[60]

The entertainments at Welbeck and Bolsover for Charles I are well-known because so frequently mentioned by contemporaries. The most famous description is Clarendon's, recounting how in 1633 "both the King and the Court" were received "in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, as had scarce ever been known in England," followed the next year by an even "more stupendous entertainment."[61] Margaret, too, mentions it chiefly in connection with expenditure. An anonymous account of the 1633 entertainment describes how Charles I was given "a standinge banquet after dinner amountinge to the value of seven hundred pounds and after that in the outer court was there a speech made to the kinge..."[62] William's own comment on the entertainment of 1633 was that he had "hurt his estate much" and suffered under a "weight of debt."[63] So the reactions to the entertainments include admiration, but prodigal expense and disappointment outweighed wonder at the elegance, inventiveness and quirkiness of the show.

There was another royal entertainment in the park at Welbeck in 1636 about which little is known apart from the cost - £1500 - and the fact that Charles I was accompanied by his nephews the Palatine Princes Charles Louis and his brother Rupert.[64] Charles I's final visit to Welbeck took place after William's exile. Having been defeated near Chester, Charles I "came to Welbeck ... where he refreshed himself and his troops, two days."[65] So royal visits to Welbeck were fairly frequent throughout the first forty years of William's life, and building extra houses to provide variety and prodigality in his royal entertainments was reasonable. What is less clear, though, is the reasoning behind the building works of the 1660s.

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59 BL Add MS 70499, f.192, 1635.

60 HMC, Report 55, *Manuscripts in Various Collections*, 'Additional Manuscripts of Sir Hervey Juckes Lloyd Bruce,' London, 1914, Vol.7, p.402.

61 Clarendon, (1888), Book I, Chapter 167, Vol.1, pp.104-105.

62 Bod. Rawlinson MS D.49, 'The Jesse of the progresse to Scotland with other observations in the journey,' f.1.

63 Knowler, (1739), pp.101-2.

64 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.140; Bromley, George, *A Collection of Original Royal Letters*, London, 1787, pp.80-81.

65 Clarendon, (1888), Book IX, Chapter 86, Vol.4, pp.88-9.

William may have begun enlarging Bolsover in the early 1660s in the expectation of this kind of event, but Charles II did not make progresses. After the Restoration William grew isolated from court life, even sending Henry to represent him at his installation as a knight of the Garter.[66] By the time of the building at Nottingham, William can have had little expectation of any further royal visits, and disliked other company. Henry in 1674 stressed that, if allowed to live at Welbeck, he would "entertain & receive any whomsoever your Grace would entertain without any occasion for them to take it ill..."[67] Even when Henry and Frances were installed there, Frances' aunt worried that she lived "but a solitary life."[68] The desire to give hospitality and extravagant entertainments in appropriately customised environments perhaps explains William's earlier buildings, but Nottingham must have been motivated by something less clearly defined. Chapter Five will argue that the head of steam behind the building process amassed by the family and household provides an alternative explanation.

4.4 New influences in behaviour and the subversion of convention

Houses acted as a stage not only for the performance of old-fashioned hospitality, but for the new forms of behaviour which were appropriate to the modern and classical influences in William's buildings. The local version of classicism involved the individual interpretation of continental features, and can be seen as a manipulation of the rules of antiquity. This section will argue that the rules of *cortesia* similarly involved the subversion of the social hierarchy and the inversion of the patriarchal order that had previously been underpinned by providing hospitality to all comers.

In the sixteenth century, following Castiglione, there was a widespread interest in ceremony, but increasing sophistication meant that subtlety could be as important as brazen display. Continental attitudes towards courtesy, revealed through *Il Cortegiano*, made ceremony something to be moulded or manipulated to a particular end. The quality of "grace" was "a sauce to everything, without which all [the courtier's] other properties and good condicions were litle woorth."[69] William came into contact with the intricacies of continental behaviour in Italy, and Wotton's description of the behaviour of the Marquis di Lanz has several echoes in documents from

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66 College of Arms, Archive of Garter King of Arms, *Order of the Garter*, (No.50), p.116.

67 NU PW1.74

68 BL Add MS 70500, f.69.

69 Castligione, Baldassare, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Hoby, Thomas, (1561), ed. Cox, Virginia, London and Vermont, 1994, pp.23, 51.

William's later life. According to Wotton, the Marquis's "nature seemeth strangly composed, for though he bee so popular that in the street he will put off his hatt to the meanest artisans, and even to beggars (as we thrice noted), yet all men agree that he is otherwise not very cheape of his person."[70] Margaret likewise claimed that William was "respectful to all persons, according to their Quality; He never regards Place, except it be for Ceremony: to the meanest person he'll put off his Hat, and suffer everyone to speak to him."[71] The Duke of Savoy also treated Wotton in a courtly manner by introducing a flattering informality during his stay in Turin. It was reported that "Neither his Highness nor the Princes treated him in any way out of the ordinary; indeed ... in walking down the gallery the Duke took the right hand side of the Ambassador."[72] Margaret went on to describe William's behaviour as "Courtly, Civil, easie and free, without Formality or Constraint;" yet also "it hath something in it of grandure, that causes an awful respect towards him."[73] The poet Richard Flecknoe too praised William for an informality that only reinforced his greatness. William did not expect doffed hats:

> He looks not (as some do) that you shud d'off
> Your Hat, and make a reverence twelve-score off:
> Nor take Exceptions, if at every word
> You don't repeat your *Grace,* or else my *Lord*;
> But as they'd seem great men by *Pride*, so he,
> Is one indeed by noble curtesie:
> And dos appear a hundred times more great,
> By leaving it, then they by keeping state.[74]

This apparently contradictory mixture of formality and informality, easy courtliness and yet grandeur worthy of respect, is perhaps the nearest description an English writer could achieve of the continental art of *cortesia* or courtly behaviour, notably practised in England by William's kinsman-

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70 Bod. Ashmole MS 1729, f.221, 9th May, 1612.

71 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.148.

72 Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, p.354.

73 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.150.

74 Flecknoe, Richard, *A Farrago of Several Pieces being a supplement to his poems, characters, heroick portraits, etc.*, London, 1666, 'On Welbeck,' p.12. In his dedication to Margaret, Flecknoe stated that the poems were written "under your *Graces* Roof at *Welbeck.*"

by-marriage, Arundel.[75] If so, it seems probable that William learnt his *cortesia* in Italy in 1612, in the company of the Marquis di Lanz, whom Wotton and his company of young gentlemen noticed taking his hat off to beggars.

This doffing of hats to inferiors went beyond the hierarchical rules. William's own letter of instructions to Prince Charles discussed the matter. "The things yt I have discoursed to you most," William wrote, "is to be courteous and civil to every body... and believe it ye putting of of your hat and making a leg pleases more then reward ... I woud not have you so seared with Majtie as to think you are not of mankind."[76] William's skill as a courtier, sensitive to the nuances of hierarchy, was noted widely. He was "a Soule traducted out of *Perfume* and *Complement*; a silken *Generall*," complained a Civil War pamphleteer.[77] William and Prince Rupert's failure to discuss tactics before the battle of Marston Moor was put down to Rupert's rudeness on entering York. He did not visit William, "who was so much hurt at this want of ceremony that he did not proceed to seek the Prince."[78] The Earl of Exeter considered that William's sons, returning from France, would have nothing to teach their father and his exceptional "Caurteree."[79] If William practised *cortesia* within his own household, we cannot expect to find the rules of rank followed strictly in every case. It will be demonstrated that William subverted and personalised the order of his household, and his buildings reflect this.

Successful *cortesia* won over the influential into dropping the courtly act, as William learned in Italy, when Wotton asked the favour of being entertained "without any pomp of liveries and quite ordinary."[80] Likewise, Christian Devonshire speaks positively of a lack of ceremony. "I shall com the mor cheerfull neighbor to attend you att hardwick ... I hop without the acostumed ceremoney that exclude all good neighborhode..."[81] The lifting of ceremony was also more flattering than its observance in royal letters. Henrietta wrote to William to reinforce his loyalty during the dangerous

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75 Howarth, (1985), p.36.

76 BL Harleian MS 6988, ff.111v-112r.

77 BL Thomason Tracts, E 279(2), *The Character of an Oxford-Incendiary*, London, 26th April, 1645, p.7.

78 Warburton, (1849), Vol.2, p.446.

79 BL Add MS 70499, f.133.

80 Brown, Horatio F., ed., *C.S.P.Venetian*, London, 1905, Vol.12, pp.354-5.

81 NU PW1.65

days of the siege of Hull, requesting him to write to her as a friend: "*Sy javois voulu aler par seremonies je vous serois fait escrire par un autre ... et comme se sy est escit avec franchise je demande une response de mesme...*"[82]

It is exactly this emphasis on knowing the rules, but being able to break them, that appears in several aspects of life and architecture in William Cavendish's houses. For example, he hung the Hall at Welbeck with copies of Titian's Caesars in imitation of the Charles I's arrangements at St James' Palace, yet ate there himself according to the medieval tradition of which he was nostalgically fond.[83] He used the conventional vehicle of the masque at Bolsover in 1633 to allow Ben Jonson to take an unprecedented swipe at his enemy Inigo Jones.[84] And he used Italian inspirations for the statues on the fountain at Bolsover, but giving them an intensely personal bawdy twist.[85] Karen Raber argues for a similar confusion in the way that William unconsciously subverted the social order through his treatises on the art of horsemanship. Since medieval times, royal equestrian portraits had paralleled the might of the king with his domination of a spirited and lively horse. The tone had changed, however, in portraits such as Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I, where the noble, sensitive horse, his "abstracted gaze," full of intelligence, mirrors rather than submits to his rider's identity.[86] Similarly, William's writings, with their emphasis on the need for a humane and intelligent attitude towards horses, which he thinks of as almost 'reasonable creatures,' suggests a relationship between man and rider that "is no longer fully, fixedly, or naturally hierarchical."[87] The influence of these old and new forms of behaviour on the planning of the houses will be illustrated in the following section.

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82 'If I had chosen to act ceremoniously, I should have had this written to you by another ... and as this is written with frankness, I request a reply of the same.' BL Harleian MS 6988, f.159r, Henrietta Maria to William, Oxford, 7th October, 1643.

83 See pp.49, 158.

84 See p.12.

85 See Gazetteer, p.39.

86 Raber, Karen, ' "Reasonable Creatures": William Cavendish and Dressage,' in Fumerton, Patricia, ed., *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, Penn, 1999, especially pp.47-53.

87 ibid, p.55.

4.5 The workings of the house

The Porters' Lodge and reception

The porters' lodge is mentioned in the 1593 lease and the 1652 survey of Welbeck Abbey.[88] The role of the porters is explained in the book of orders drawn up for the operation of the household of Prince Charles. They were to admit only those named on the approved list, to keep out "ragged Boyes" and "unseemelie persons," to check that the serving men lodging outside the court did not steal provisions or silver dishes, and to report any member of the household who stayed out all night.[89] The need for porters to regulate the household must have been behind the provision of the 'ante-room' in the Little Castle at Bolsover, which otherwise leads nowhere. "Your place to cleere the Gates, make good your Towre," wrote William in his poem 'Of the Porter.'[90]

The reception of important visitors was obviously beyond their remit. When a great courtier arrived at Kirby Hall, Lord Hatton's excited preparations caused some amusement to his wife. "As soone as he heard y^{e} coach was near," she wrote, he "himself went to y^{e} gate & caused y^{e} great gates to be opened and stay ther abouts near a quarter of an houre to wait ther coming."[91] It was the process of arriving at the house and being welcomed which was made such a feature of many of the royal entertainments of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, for example the riding-out from Worksop Manor by Gilbert Talbot to meet James I in 1603.[92] But this expectation is again overturned in William's 1633 entertainment for Charles I: there the performance took place as he *left* the Hall after the banquet.

4.5.1 The Great Hall

Dinner in the Great Hall put the household hierarchy on display, and was regulated by "ye Usher of ye Hall."[93] The arrangement of the Hall tables is described in a record of the diet of the household at Welbeck in the 1660s. The top table was "my Lord's," followed by the steward's table, those of the "gentlewomen and laundrymaides," the "chyldren and nurses," "the groomes" and "those that

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88 NA DD4P.22.4; NA DD6P.1.18.22.

89 BL Harleian MS 7623, f.15.

90 NU PWV25.162, f.141v.

91 BL Add MS 29571, f.76, c.1668.

92 Nichols, (1848), Vol.1, p.82.

93 NU PW1.670, f.2.

wayte on the masters."[94] The surprising aspect of the arrangements is that "my Lord" still seems regularly to eat in the Hall, despite the now-general tendency to withdraw from it. However, William was notably fond of nostalgic practices intended to revive the supposed harmony of the good old days of Queen Elizabeth. His *Advice* discusses the benefits that Gilbert Talbot earned by having neighbours to dine. On St George's Day they would acknowledge themselves his servants and wear his blue livery, "butt ye next day they satt at my Lords table next him, & nothing butt good Coosen Corbett, & good Coosen Booth, & they were very wise in itt, for thus they did oblige my Lord, to bee their servant all ye yeare after, wth his power to serve them, both in Courte, & Westminster Hall ... - & agen my Lord had no business in the Country, but they did itt for him..."[95] This is quoted by Peck as an example of how old-fashioned English hospitality worked, presenting "a golden vision of Elizabethan court patronage."[96] Yet it has also been pointed out that nostalgia was such a prevalent feature of writings about manners in the 1660s that it should be discounted as a significant characteristic of the *Advice*.[97] Similarly, Felicity Heal points out that complaints about the declining standards of hospitality and communality are common to moralists in all periods.[98] However, this quotation from William's *Advice* once again illustrates the ambivalence that can be seen throughout the whole work. There is certainly an element of nostalgia in William's reminiscences of Gilbert Talbot's habits, but the intimacy extended to his clients on St George's Day, when the earl himself invited them to his table, is also an illustration of *cortesia* in action.

Books of household rules that suggest that eating in the Hall was the norm are often treated with skepticism, as they were intended to maintain historical continuity rather than to reflect actual practice. This is borne out by the survival of a letter referring to how William's commission for the operation of the household of Prince Charles was written. That drawn up previously for Prince Henry was simply copied, and the clerk told to "observe the letter of the same, without any variation except in the very Names and Title & date."[99] This makes the survival of a menu from Welbeck all the more interesting, for it is not an official household order but an informal set of

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94 NU PW1.672

95 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.55.

96 Peck, (1993), p.217.

97 Condren, (1993), p.183.

98 Heal, Felicity, 'The idea of hospitality in Early Modern England,' *Past and Present*, Vol.102, 1984, pp.79-82.

99 Bod. Bankes MS 54, p.101, (formerly 54/53).

notes intended for the caterer, and is accompanied by a list of the actual quantities and costs of the provisions consumed in a quarter of a year.[100] It suggests that when it came to eating in hall, William practiced what he preached.

The food at each table was also differentiated, and the "supper of those that wayte on the masters" was limited to porridge and mutton alone.[101] Henry's petition to live with his father at Welbeck suggests that his servants should "have the same allowance of beef with your other servants & ourselves never at any time except strangers to the table to have above 4 dishes besides beef & one dish at supper."[102] The number of dishes was obviously increased to impress visitors. It was the number of dishes served in the 'mess' or meal that was important, and the Welbeck arrangements closely mirror those in the household of Prince Charles in 1638. Then, William and the Countess of Dorset, the chief officers, each received a mess of twelve dishes, in addition to the basics such as bread and beer. A mess was intended for four people, so superfluity was standard.[103] "Tarte" was the twelfth and therefore the most exotic dish of William's dishes in the prince's household in 1638, and he still required twelve dishes, ending with tart, in the 1660s at his table. This was probably a deliberate homage to Prince Charles.

The account of the conspirators in 1670 also shows a more casual use of the Hall. John Booth and Andrew Clayton, returning late, "came into the Kings Hall, and there had a dish of meat brought in for supper, but before we had halfe done, one came to call Clayton to come to his Grace."[104] In contrast to acting as an informal staff canteen, the Hall also had a ceremonial, symbolic function as the heart of the household. William's grant of all his rights in Sherwood Forest to Rolleston and Clayton could be revoked by paying them five shillings "in the common dyneing hall at Welbeck."[105]

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100 NU PW1.672, see also Gazetteer, p.130.

101 idem.

102 NU PW1.74

103 BL MS Harleian MS 7623

104 NU PW1.315

105 NA DDP.29.14, 14th January, 1666.

How .were these uses for the Hall reflected in the architecture of William's various projects? Significantly, the eighteenth-century plan of Nottingham Castle discussed in the Gazetteer shows that Marsh and/or William had still chosen the traditional layout for the Hall.[106] Disguised behind a more modern classical façade, it was still entered at the end of its long side into an implied screens passage. The Gazetteer suggests that Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, had a similar plan.[107] As an end-on or symmetrical Hall had been built at Hardwick Old Hall as long ago as the 1580s, this must have been deliberate nostalgia rather than ignorance of Palladio. The Little Castle, of course, contains a perfect miniature reproduction Great Hall, and a Hall entered traditionally by a screens passage was also built into John Smithson's first version of the Terrace Range.[108]

Charles (I)'s letter about his ideal house shows a distinct coldness towards Italian ideas. He disliked a central Hall designed for access rather than eating: it would be chilly, and "fill all the house full of noise and smell." He also disliked "the other place to eat in, which in Italian they call *tenelli*." It is "fit for an Italian gentleman" but not for an English earl.[109] This was, however, a feature admired by Wotton. He noted "a common defect, that wee have of a very vseful *Roome*, called by the *Italians Il Tinello* ... It is a Place properly appointed, to conserve the meate that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eate, which with vs by an olde fashion, it more vnseemely set by, in the meane while."[110] The dining arrangements for Welbeck in the 1660s show that indeed there were a separate group, "those that wayte one the masters," who had their supper afterwards.[111] According to Charles (I)'s views, the left-overs should not be carried away, but simply left in the Hall for them to eat later, conveying an impression of careless abundance. Generous provisioning was a positive feature of English houses, as Wotton admitted, for "by the naturall *Hospitalitie* of *England*, the *Buttrie* must be more visible."[112]

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106 NU Nottingham Park, NPE.P.4.5.3-4.

107 See Gazetteer, p.84.

108 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/1(4); see illustrations 2.7 and 2.18.

109 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* London, 1964, Vol.19, pp.129-130.

110 Wotton, (1624), p.71.

111 NU PW1.672

112 Wotton, (1624), p.71.

Despite this fondness for traditional halls, there were some moves away from them in the Cavendish buildings. At Slingsby Castle, for example, there was a more Palladian arrangement of a hall entered centrally through the long side, and it seems to have had no extra height over other rooms of the *piano nobile*. The Gazetteer argues that it was essentially a room of passage, with a more important Great Chamber above, suggesting that Charles (II)'s entertainment of intimates above was more important than entertaining the household and visitors of lower rank below. At Bolsover, too, the Hall in the Terrace Range seems to have become more specialised in function as time passed and after the 1660s remodelling it became known as a private "Dineing Room."[113]

Family dining on special occasions was more complicated. William's letter of advice to Prince Charles shows how the true courtier upturns precedence to win favour when dining: "To Women you cannot be too civil, especially to great ones: what hurt were it to send them a dish from your table ... & to drink their health."[114] None of the nobility actually ate at the same table as the royal family, as William found in 1610. On the following day, he and his fellow Knights of the Bath "gave their presence upon the Prince at his Creation, and dined that day in his presence at a side-board."[115] Charles (I) reported from a visit to Theobalds in 1587 that his niece Arbella had dined in the presence, and caught the eye of the Lord Treasurer: "At supper he made exceeding much of hir, so did he the after noon in his great chamber publicly..."[116] Placement was also important, and involuntary, at the family dining table, for Arbella Stuart in March, 1608, asked Mary Talbot to commend Arbella to "my .2. prety cousins [William and Charles (II)], I thinck I shall many times wish my selfe set by my cousin Charles at meales."[117] Despite William's fondness for dining in the Hall, there were certainly occasions where he did not do so. The "dineinge Chamber next" the best bedchamber at Welbeck is mentioned in 1655,[118] and the Bolsover inventory dating from about 1676 names the Pillar Parlour as "the lower dining room."[119] In 1665, John Evelyn was flattered when, after dining at Newcastle House, William accompanied him and his wife down into the court

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113 College of Arms, RR.19E.A, p.37.

114 BL MS Harleian 6988, f.112r.

115 Nichols, (1828), Vol.2, p.341.

116 HMC, 3rd report, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Devonshire*, London, 1872, appendix, p.42.

117 Stuart, Arbella, (1994), p.49.

118 NU PW1.4

119 BL Add MS 70500, f.110r.

after dinner.[120] They must therefore have eaten in "ye great Dining Rome," descended "the Stairs" and crossed "ye Hall" of the house.[121]

There is also some limited evidence for the removal of the banquet or final course into a different room. William, in exile, joked that he could now only afford "3 preserved cherries and 5 drops of syrup by them for the banquet."[122] An inventory of the silverware from Welbeck lists the utensils for a more lavish spread, including "12 ffruit dishes for crame."[123] At William's entertainment in Antwerp in 1658 for the exiled Charles II, the banquet was brought in "in eight great chargers, each borne by two gentlemen of the court."[124] The design of the Cavendish houses certainly included no shortage of pleasant places to retire to for banquets, especially 'garden rooms': set within the walls of the garden at Bolsover, in the canal pavilions at Welbeck, or in the turrets overlooking the moat at Slingsby Castle. But there is no documented evidence for their use.

The kitchens and offices

There was some argument about the best position for the kitchen offices, in which the "ye Caterer" or food-buyer was an important figure.[125] Wotton noted that the kitchen should be close to the dining room or "some of the Dishes may straggle by the way."[126] At Bolsover and Slingsby, the offices and kitchens were ingeniously disposed in a basement with easy access by staircases - three at Bolsover, possibly two at Slingsby - to the *piano nobile* above. At Nottingham Castle, the service area in the basement of the seventeenth-century house was disturbed by the nineteenth-century fire and consequent rebuilding, but kitchen fireplaces at semi-basement level were discovered in the recent refurbishment.

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120 Evelyn, (1955), Vol.3, p.481.

121 BL Add MS 37998, f.241, undated, probably late 1676 or early 1677.

122 Trease, (1979), pp.156-7, quoting a letter of William's that in 1648 was 'intercepted and derisively published in a newsletter.'

123 NU PW1.367, 'A Note or Inventory of such Plate of my Lord of Newcastle as was by to putt into two hogsheads & placed & layd deep in the ground wthin the Brewhouse att Welbeck.'

124 Scott, Eva, *The Travels of the King, Charles II in Germany and Flanders, 1654-1660*, London, 1907, p.341 quotes Cotterel to Nicholas, 1st March, 1658 in more detail than Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1657-8*, London, 1884, p.341.

125 NU PW1.670, f.2.

126 Wotton, (1624), p.71.

A separate floor of offices housed the autonomous kitchen department of the household, whose workings are obscured by its own separate accounting system. Household accounts tend to contain lump payments such as "Groceries" and "To Mr Bayly the Clerke of the kichm."[127] These sums covered the purchase of provisions, although much came from the estate, such as the 714 eggs sent to Welbeck in four months of 1662.[128] Sometimes provisions were included in rents: William agreed a lease in 1630 that specified the annual payment of one capon, a domestic cock, castrated and fattened for eating. [129] Only the occasional glimpse of kitchen life is seen such as Clayton's payment "To Goodwefe Lemon helpinge in the scullery."[130]

In the Prince Charles' household, the Comptroller and Clerk of the Kitchen were responsible for deliveries. They had to "dalie keepe Lardr at nyne of the clock in the morning and at two of the clock in the afternone To see that the meate be good" and to "keepe Records of the Same."[131] Despite these meetings, it was very difficult to exercise any financial control over the kitchens. Henry mentioned the problems of limiting expenditure in a petition to his father, c.1674. "Every servant is apt to wast upon the account of strangers," he said, referring especially to his life in rented houses, "& to take the advantage."[132] He wrote that he and his family would not add to costs at Welbeck, but "find ourselves, out of w^{h} your grace is pleased to allow us, wth wine sugar all sort of Groceries soap and horsemeat..."[133] William's series of poems on his household officers are chiefly grumbles about their dishonesty. Of the brewer, for example, he said that "For evry bruinge you steale oute freshe Ale." The wardrobe man stole "Carpetts, cuishions, & Sheetes," the bailiff made a profit "In Sellinge chepe & bienge Deere," while the butler was always drunk.[134] He suggests that the servants were constantly disputing the balance of power. At Bolsover and Slingsby two faults of the innovative basement offices were their dampness and the difficulty of arranging deliveries both physically and in terms of avoiding the line of sight of upper members of

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127 NA DD2P.24.73, f.102.

128 NA DD4P.58.59

129 NA DDP.98.4

130 NA DD2P.24.73, f.115.

131 BL MS Harleian 7623, f.17r.

132 NU PW1.74

133 NU PW1.74

134 NU PWV.25, ff.140r-143r.

the household above. However, the disadvantages of a basement kitchen were perhaps offset by the practical advantage that the lord would have more opportunity for monitoring the offices, and his household officers a better chance of checking the endemic abuses.

The food consumed in the Cavendish household showed the familiar balance between the rhetoric in favour of tradition and the more exotic reality. Margaret was at pains to stress the simplicity of William's lifestyle: "he makes but one Meal a day, at which he drinks but two good Glasses of Small-Beer."[135] In her writings, Margaret complained of the "Courtier, rather than a Countrey-Lady" who turned down beef, "not only an Old but a Countrey fashion" and therefore "shew'd her self a Fool."[136] Despite this supposed restraint, William owned a licence allowing eight of his guests to eat flesh on prohibited days in return for alms.[137] Many, many letters survive about the import of William's luxuries: tobacco from Spain, cheeses, canary wine, oranges, lemons and melons.[138] While in Antwerp and very short of money, William still insisted on keeping a servant "att London for byenge of many parcells of litle Comodeties which wee dayleye wante & can nott have them heer," all part of maintaining standards.[139]

4.5.2 The Great Chamber and Gallery

Charles (I) described how in his ideal house "one side may be a fit lodging for the King, the other for the Queen, and both to use the gallery." Each, then, were to have a Great Chamber, along the model of Hardwick Old Hall with its Hill and Forest Great Chambers, or Audley End. It is an arrangement also implied in the surviving ground floor plan for the rebuilding of Welbeck by Robert Smythson.[140] Charles (I) favoured a rectangular Great Chamber to create a sense of procession up to the chair of state at the end.[141] The position of the Great Chamber at Welbeck remains in some doubt, but it was certainly somewhere in the south wing at the high end of the Hall.

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135 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.151.

136 eadem, *CCXI Sociable Letters,* London, 1664, pp.67-8.

137 NA DD.6P.1.27.2, 22nd-23rd February, 1630.

138 For example, BL Add MS 70500, ff.3, 6; NU PW1.502; BL Add MS 70499, f.231.

139 BL Add MS 70499, f.355v.

140 Illustration 14.3.

141 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* Vol.19, pp.129-130.

As is well-known, the Great Chamber was a place for formal and ceremonious service, and in the household of Prince Charles, fires were lit in his presence by the dedicated "Fiermakr: in yr Presence."[142] Yet, in the lord's absence, access to it was casual for the upper members of the household, and it was possible to find oneself alone there. Clayton struck a blow at the symbolic centre of William's household when he used the Great Chamber fireplace in 1671 to burn an incriminating letter that he had concealed in his "stoking."[143]

Galleries often led to chapels; a well-known example is Thornbury Castle, built 1511-21 by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, where the gallery led to the family pews in the upper level of the parish church.[144] This combination of a gallery leading from the main apartments to a chapel was certainly planned at Bolsover, as John Smithson's plan for the Terrace Range shows a gallery leading to the (unbuilt) chapel. At Welbeck, too, the gallery in the south range was near the chapel, the re-used monastic frater. Charles (I) laid out his thoughts about galleries to Gilbert Talbot. "Your chapel," he wrote, must be "very fair, coming to it without annoyance to other places or passages, your gallery most fair..."[145] At Bolsover, the gallery as built is unusual in that it does not lead 'to' anywhere, but there was a celebrated local precedent: the gallery at the Shrewsbury property of Sheffield Manor. Cavendish, Wolsey's biographer, and William's ancestor, describes how Wolsey was imprisoned "at thend of a goodly gallery" there, the gallery extending from the entrance front and simply terminating with a tower in the garden.[146] There was another, more recent example: the gallery at Arundel House, well-known from Mytens' portrait of Arundel. It was innovative in extending through the gardens, terminating simply in a balcony, and in being used for displaying art and viewing the statues in the garden.[147] William, owner of nine bronze statues by Arundel's favoured sculptor Fanelli, also had art to display.[148] The Gazetteer argues that the

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142 BL Harleian MS 7623, f.9v.

143 NU PW1.315, f.4.

144 Coope, Rosalys, 'The 'Long Gallery': its origins, development, use and decoration,' *Architectural History*, Vol.29, 1986, p.46.

145 HMC, *Salisbury MSS,* London, 1964, Vol.19, pp.129-130.

146 Coope, (1986), p.48; Cavendish, George, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. Sylvester, R., Oxford, 1959, p.164.

147 A copy of John Selden's book on Arundel's sculptures, *Marmora Arundeliana, cum Comment*, London, 1629, was sold from the libraries of the Dukes of Newcastle in 1719; see Noel, (1719), p.28.

148 See p.50.

wall walk at Bolsover acted as an outdoor gallery.[149] This new use of galleries as formal spaces for displaying sculpture was also mentioned in a letter to Margaret. "Your Grace's Statue ought to be placed alone, and at the upper end, in the *Gallery of Heroic Women*, and upon a Pedestal," wrote Walter Charleton.[150]

Cavendish's biography describes how Shrewsbury would visit Wolsey at Sheffield Manor "and sitt w^{t} hyme commonyng vppon a benche in a great wyndowe in the Gallery..."[151] Mary Talbot also used the gallery at Haddon Hall for dangerous discussion, revealing her "opinion of popery" in a conversation overheard there.[152] Coope points out that the gallery was neutral in status and could be used for interchanges between members of the household of different ranks. William and Margaret used the gallery at Welbeck to call a meeting, for example, of the Northumberland men in the household in 1670.[153] Yet the lengthy long gallery at Bolsover was already slightly out of date at the time it was built. The Gazetteer shows that if Slingsby Castle had a gallery, its remains do not survive, and nothing is known of the internal planning proposed for Ogle. Nottingham Castle had a residual gallery, more of a long room. William no longer considered the long gallery vital, presumably because the smaller household that he desired would need less communal space. The private closet, on the other hand, was a much more important room to him.

4.5.3 The use of reception rooms

Although Margaret recorded that William "naturally loves not business"[154] much of his day must have been spent on it. The Great Chamber had a dual function of private entertainment, and 'public' business, although the latter was dressed up in the forms of social interaction. Personal service seems to have been the key to many problems, with satisfaction usually being obtained if access to William was achieved, but this meant negotiating the ceremonial route through the house and passing the obstacles of his stewards and upper servants. The difficulties involved come across in a letter of William Kitchin's, complaining that despite having gone to Welbeck he found it

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149 See Gazetteer, p.40.

150 *Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle*, London, 1674, p.118, Walter Charleton to Margeret, 7th May, 1667.

151 Cavendish, George, (1959), p.164.

152 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3203, f.342, quoted by Hulse, (1994), p.54.

153 NU PW1.315, f.4.

154 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.134.

impossible to speak even to Clayton, as he was "that day ... so buissy with his Grace."[155] Heal points out Henry Peacham's comment on the asymmetrical hospitality relationship between different ranks. For him, one of the marks of a noble was that "We must attend him, and come to his house, and not he to ours."[156]

Gilbert Linacre, one of Gilbert Talbot's creditors, complained to William that he had to wait in person and to beg for his money, and was "put to exceeding great charge and expence (in regard of his remote dwelling) in long attending and sollicitinge payment."[157] Significantly, he makes his case on the basis of his hardship, not of justice or fairness. The Archbishop of York also wrote to William, in 1673, about the advantages of a private, personal settlement of a dispute about the patronage of a living. He was "bold to advise it might have been done in a shorter & more private way, without the trouble of a publick hearing."[158] The problems and quarrels in the northern estates such as Cockle Park arose as access to William's personal presence for a solution was impossible.[159]

More sophisticated solicitors realised that it was tedious for William to have suitors waiting upon his favours. Henry Bates wrote to William in the 1630s with the news that the Sheriff of Derbyshire was planning a visit. He continued: "if your Lship be not at leysure, or in physick still, or any way at this time unwillinge, I will endevour to delay his attendance."[160] The failure to attend could therefore be even more flattering than its fulfillment. William, too, could be an inopportune suitor, despite - or perhaps because of - his knowledge of the rules of courtesy. In 1636, while angling for the Prince's governorship, he wrote that the Earl of Strafford "bides mee talke off an other matter, & sayes hee knowes nothinge I wayte off him as offten as I can nott to trouble him."[161] However, William did not know if he would be permitted this level of intimacy - or courteous informality - until he tried. So the house had to achieve a repressive, intimidating grandeur fitting

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155 NU PW1.168

156 Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, p.13.

157 NU PW1.560

158 BL Add MS 70500, f.62.

159 See Gazetteer, p.63.

160 BL Add MS 70499, f.162.

161 ibid, f.198.

to the formal relationship between suitor and patron. Only two references have been located to business of any kind being conducted at Bolsover Castle, dating from the 1630s. Edward Wortley sent William some court news in 1634, having been instructed to do so "at my last wayting uppon your lordshipp at Bowsouer."[162] Not a single letter survives addressed to William there, and only three letters from him survive addressed from "Boulsover."[163] Bolsover did not provide the formal backdrop needed for transactions between different levels in society as did the more traditional and intimidating Welbeck. However, it did provide the quirkiness and smaller scale that was needed for the newer forms of behaviour: intimacy and *cortesia*. These made access to William for business purposes harder and harder to achieve.

The household, like any organisation, found it difficult to get decisions taken and promises of action kept. Christian Devonshire sent William some papers "you left hier unlookt upon I apprehende may be mist by your lo."[164] Whatever business they had concerned, William had delayed it by not reading them and then leaving them behind. Running the household was like operating a large company where the rhetoric of personal loyalty and service made it impossible to admit that someone had acted less than efficiently, or that things could be done differently. As Mertes has found, there was also no formal chain of command.[165] The number of suitors intending to wait personally upon William meant that he had to filter out the less important ones, and so the route of Hall, stair and Great Chamber became real, practical obstacles to time-wasters. The constant struggle for access to the lord explains how the bedchamber could become an attractive retreat for him, and the closet even more so. No wonder Charles (I) built himself two of them at Bolsover Castle.

4.5.4 Sleeping and studying

The remaining rooms of the house were even further along the continuum towards privacy, although the word needs using with care. William certainly felt a desire for privacy during his lengthy stay at Chatsworth after the death of his cousin, but he probably simply meant that he

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162 ibid, f.176.

163 BL Add MS 64903, f.50r; Sheffield City Archives, WWM, Str. P. 12/253; 12/267.

164 BL Add MS 70499, f.188, c.1634.

165 Mertes, (1988), p.17.

wished to be with his own household.[166] Clement Ellis used the word "privacy" in that sense, when he mentioned William's "sweet *privacy* and *retirement* ... here in the *Country*."[167]

However, the use of a private chamber was a personal privilege, like having a room in a hotel. Katherine Cavendish's use of a chamber at Welbeck and Bolsover was so strongly defined that she was able to leave it in her will to her daughter-in-law, along with her cupboard and plate.[168] This was not unusual: Katherine's sister, Jane, inherited the use of several rooms at Bothal Castle.[169] Not surprisingly, though, names were attached to chambers long after their former occupants had died. Charles (II) and the "ould Lady Newcastle" had chambers in the 1661 inventory of Welbeck, though they had been dead five and twenty years respectively.[170]

There is widespread agreement that William spent an unusual amount of time in his chamber dressing. Rumours circulated during the Civil War that he was "a sweet General, lay in bed until eleven o'clock and combed till twelve, then came to the Queen...'[171] Even Margaret admitted that William was "neat and cleanly; which [caused] him to be somewhat long in dressing, though not so long as many effeminate persons are."[172] Yet bedchambers were also used for receiving guests, at least in the later seventeenth century, and were designed for show. In May, 1665, having dined at Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, John Evelyn "sate discoursing with her Grace in her bed-chamber, 'til my Lord *Marquis* of *Dorchester* came in with other company..."[173] At court, as is well known, the bedchamber formed the arena for politicking at the highest level. William's *Advice* condemned the courtiers' attempts to be intimate in the bedchamber where formality was still the rule.[174] William himself was 'Groom of the Stool,' the most intimate office, and Gentleman of the Robes to

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166 BL Add MS 70499, f.128; see also Bold, John, 'Privacy and the Plan,' in Bold, John, and Chaney, Edward, ed., *English Architecture Public and Private,* London, 1993, p.115.

167 Ellis, Clement, (1661), unpaginated 'Dedicatory Epistle.'

168 NA DD6P.1.19.18

169 NA DD4P.46.17, 12th August, 1584.

170 NU PW1.595

171 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Vol.1, p.701.

172 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.151.

173 Evelyn, (1955), p.482.

174 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.53.

Prince Charles, and later his son was Gentleman of the Robes and then Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II.

However, in line with the trend for spending more time alone, William and Margaret had their own personal uses for their chambers and closets: as places for writing. The spoils of the battle of Marston Moor included "the Marquess of *Newcastle*'s Cabinet and Papers," seized at the King's Manor.[175] Charles (II) used to visit Margaret in her chamber as she wrote, and she commemorated it in a poem:

> Sir Charles into my chamber coming in,
> When I was writing of my 'Fairy Queen;'
> 'I pray - said he - "when Queen Mab you do see,
> Present my service to her Majesty...[176]

She is shown writing in a sumptuously-hung closet in the frontispiece to *The World's Olio*, 1676,[177] and another poet described her closet as a place of solitary literary endeavour:

> What place is this! looks like some sacred Cell
> Where holy *Hermits* antiently did dwell,
> ... Is this a *Lady-Closet*? 't cannot be,
> For nothing here of *vanity* you see...
> Scarcely a *Glass*, or *Mirrour* in't you find,
> Excepting *Books*, the *Mirrours* of the mind.[178]

At court, too, 'private' rooms were multi-functional. During the ceremonies surrounding William's investiture as a Knight of the Bath, the candidates met "in a private roome appointed for them (the

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175 Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, Part III, 1691, Vol.2, p.635.

176 Cavendish, Margaret, 'An Epilogue to The Pastime of the Queen of Fairies,' in *Poems and Fancies*, reproduced in Jenkins, E., ed., *A Cavalier and his Lady*, London, 1872, p.87.

177 Cavendish, Margaret, *The World's Olio*, London, 1676, frontispiece, illustrated in Worsley, Lucy, (2000), p.34.

178 Flecknoe, (1666), 'On the Dutchess of Newcastle's Closet,' p.13.

Queene's closet) [where] they were cloathed." [179] William also used his chamber for private scientific experiments, and described how his chaplain, "being at my House at *Bolsover*, lock'd up with me in a Chamber to make *Lapis Prunellae*, which is Salt-petre and Brimstone inflamed."[180] It was also possible to get married in a private chamber, as William's granddaughter Elizabeth did in 1669, in the bedchamber of her dying father-in-law, the Duke of Albemarle.[181] The view from, decoration of, adaptability of and access to a chamber were all therefore important

The upper servants too had multi-functional chambers. Clayton and the other conspirators used the privacy of Clayton's chamber to make their pact, Clayton's man Joseph having been sent to Chesterfield to be out of the way. Clayton's chamber was also his office, and he and Booth spent much of the day there "upon the accompts of [their] busines."[182] After Clayton's disgrace, an inventory of the household goods at Welbeck, a book containing a rental of the whole of William's estate, and an abstract of Charles (III)'s estate were discovered in his room.[183]

No one other than an aristocrat could expect to sleep alone. Even an upper servant like Henry Slaughter, who died at Welbeck in 1688, had to share. He was killed falling down the stone staircase, having argued with his bedfellow.[184] This is confirmed by the 1662 Welbeck inventory of bedding, which shows a total of fifty-five featherbeds in only thirty-four named rooms.[185] There were surplus beds for visitors as the 1661 list of servants includes forty-one members of the household.[186] This shows that the number of chambers in a house was not a check on the number of servants in train. The 1601 inventory for the Hardwick Halls lists 126 featherbeds, which appear in most of the rooms of the house apart from the grand spaces of the Hall and Great Chamber. There

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179 Nichols, (1828), Vol.2, p.341.

180 Cavendish, Margaret, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, second edition, London, 1663, the Marquis of Newcastle's 'Opinion concerning the Ground of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,' p.465.

181 Skinner, Thomas, *The Life of General Monk: Late Duke of Albemarle*, London, 1723, p.412.

182 BL Add MS 70500, f.59.

183 NU PW1.621

184 NA DDP.65.70

185 NU PW1.595

186 NU PW1.670

were "too bedstedes to turne up like Chestes" on the landing of the stairs, beds in a chamber within the pantry, in the scullery, and in the little turrets on the roof.[187]

Many of the servants had to sleep on pallet beds. There is some doubt about what exactly a pallet bed consists of, for as ephemeral items they have rarely survived. Charles (I) is depicted in the monument on his tomb on a straw mat rolled up under his head to form a pillow. This is possibly the type of temporary bed listed as a "small flock Bedd" in the Welbeck bedding inventory, "trundle bedds" are also mentioned. However, his wife Katherine lies on a tassled cushion, and a rolled straw mat is sometimes taken to demonstrate that the deceased had been a soldier and had served in the field. His grandson Henry discussed bedding while he lay dying. He remembered in particular a bed he had slept on at his brother-in-law's, which consisted of "three quilts, and the undermost was a very thick one."[188] At that time of the conversation, Henry was not in his usual bed, but "laying on a pallet bed which stood with ye head thereof to ye wall, by ye coming in of ye dore."[189] So pallet beds were not indisputably the property of servants, but used as a more convenient alternative to state beds. Flexibility was key, and once again the hierarchy expressed through bedding was not always adhered to in practice.

It may appear that the sleeping arrangements were rather casual, but in fact the hierarchical character of the household meant that in reality servants probably knew exactly where they were entitled to sleep. However, in an example of the disruption that co-existed alongside the ideal hierarchical structure of the household, they would jostle every night to improve their position. One of Margaret's stories describes the "justling and thrusting one another to get places" in the masquing room that preceded a performance.[190] In rules for the household of Prince Charles, lodgings were to be assigned by the "harbinger,"and anyone presuming to lodge himself "neere unto the Prince" without license would be told to depart, or would be punished."[191]

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187 Boynton, Lindsay, ed., *The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601*, London, 1971, pp.33-4.

188 NU PW1.296.6.g

189 NU PW1.298.6.c

190 Cavendish, Margaret, *Nature's pictures drawn by Fancies pencil to the life,* London, 1656, p.191.

191 BL Harleian MS 7623, f.18v.

Not surprisingly, given their proximity, members of the household often got married. This was contrary to the rules, but in line with the generally ambivalent contemporary attitudes towards marriage: it was readily entered into, but not always taken seriously. According to the evidence of the church courts, where sexual misconduct was punished, one in four inhabitants of Elizabethan Essex, for example, were accused of a sexual crime such as fornication, adultery or bigamy over the course of their lives.[192] In line with this attitude combining widespread sexual misbehaviour with strict punishment, marriage among the lower servants was forbidden by the book of rules governing Prince Charles' household, "upon paine of the loss of their severall Places."[193] William had the priest George Leadbeater expelled from the Welbeck household for arranging the "Clandestine marage of some of [the] serv^{ts}."[194]

4.5.5 Furnishings

This section will seek to explain how the furnishings of the house related to its use. One of William's complaints about the degeneracy of the times in his *Advice* was that the lower ranks of society were appropriating the furnishings of their betters. "Non under ye Degree of a Barronnes, can have Carpetts, by her Bedd," he claimed, "& Shee but one, or two, at ye moste, And now Every Turkey merchants wife, will have all her Floore over wth carpetts."[195] Beyond expressing status, a body of furnishings could take on an identity as family possessions with a family history. Bess of Hardwick's will commanded her heirs to preserve her furnishings from "wett, mooth and other hurte or spoile."[196] William too, in exile, found that the fate of his goods troubled him very much, "that so longe gatheringe by [his] ancestors should be distroyed in a moment."[197]

The inventory of Welbeck mentioned at Welbeck in 1671 has, sadly, not survived,[198] but the contents of Bolsover Castle are known in some detail. William's letters to his son mention the "Cases of Crimson velvett for the Cheares In the Parler att Bolsover" and "the Gold Lace, &

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192 Stone, Lawrence, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, London, 1977, p.519.

193 BL Harleian MS 7623, f.16.

194 NU PW1.171

195 Bod. Clarendon MS 109, p.53.

196 NA DD4P.46.3

197 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

198 NU PW1.621

Imbroidereye on the purple Velvett bedd [that] was worth att leaste 300: & the 5 chambers at Bolsouer with very fine hangings att 4£ a stick."[199] In 1662, the only bedding at Bolsover was "1 feather Bed 1 boulster 2 blanketts & a CouerLidd."[200] The chance survival of this document confirms Margaret's statement that in 1660 there was "nothing else left but some few old Feather-beds, and those all spoiled, and fit for no use."[201] Margaret also claims that only 10 or 12 survived out of 150 sets of hangings, which had been distributed between all of William's houses. But the inventory for the Castle which probably dates from William's death in 1676 shows a total of eight bedsteads in the Little Castle, one in a passage, but otherwise in separate rooms.[202] This provided a much higher level of privacy than was implied by the bedding inventory for Welbeck. The disruption of the Civil War seems simply to have been too great to expect any continuity of furnishing between the two periods of William's occupancy of the Little Castle. The Marble Closet hangings provide a single possible exception. It is by no means certain that the red taffeta hangings were from the original scheme, but the surviving design drawing by John Smithson suggests that they might have been.[203]

Other sources for the interior decoration of a Cavendish house in the 1620s include the backgrounds to portraits. In the Larkin portrait of c.1618, Elizabeth Bassett stands on a red and black oriental carpet with Larkin's trademark metallic curtain swagged behind her.[204] Her hand rests on the arm of a red chair, and its scale suggests that she must have been small in stature. In the 1624 portrait by Mytens, she again stands next to what appears to be an abnormally high table, on a flowered carpet.[205] The table covered with a sumptuous carpet, on which lies her fan of white ostrich feathers. These extravagant courtly interiors were perhaps typical of William Cavendish's friends' houses - particularly his wife's in-laws, the Suffolks' - and his own aspirations. In these pictures, nothing can be deduced about the room in which the furniture is placed. The furniture, which

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199 BL Add MS 70499, f.355v.

200 NU PW1.595, 'The perticuler of what Bedding is Within Welbeck Taken May the 12th 1662.'

201 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.106.

202 BL Add MS 70500, ff.110r-111v.

203 See illustration 2.23.

204 See illustration 16.2.

205 Illustrated in Turberville, (1938), Vol.1, facing p.82; see also Goulding, (1936), pp.144-145.

travelled from place to place with its owner, perhaps created 'home' more than the physical shell of the room in which it stood, again illustrating the flexibility of living spaces.

One drawing showing the family circle has been wrongly connected with Bolsover Castle in the past. The original drawing is by Abraham Diepenbeke and cannot date from before the Civil War as it shows an imaginary grouping of William with his second wife Margaret and his children and their spouses.[206] William and his wife sit under a canopy in a room with a huge mannerist fireplace and the tall windows of the type to be found in the *Rubenshuis*, another place of temporary residence. An interior view of the *Rubenshuis* c.1630 shows the kind of decor that William was to become familiar with during his exile: matting on the floor, carpet on the table, an ornate cupboard, gilt leather hangings and heavy, ornate andirons. The chairs have been temporarily pulled out from the walls to create a tableau for the women and children depicted to inhabit.[207] Interestingly, gilt leather also became a feature at Bolsover, with gilt leather chairs mentioned in the 1676 inventory, and there were "old gilt leather hangings" at Welbeck in 1717.[208] However, it was not uncommon: tapestries from Antwerp and "skinnes of gold & blew leather" decorated Syon House in the 1630s.[209] Less is known of the furnishings of the humbler accommodation of the house although a piece of seventeenth-century kitchen furniture from Bolsover survives at Welbeck.

If houses, then, were like stage sets to be dressed appropriately, they could be personalised to suit the resident, and one way in which William did this was through his innovative commissioning of art featuring his horses. These included his equestrian bronzes by Fanelli, the Diepenbeke horse paintings at Welbeck, and the tapestries featuring plates from the horsemanship book that are today at Leeds Castle.[210]

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206 British Museum 1858.4.17.1629, illustrated in Stainton, Lindsay, and White, Christopher, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth*, London, 1987, p.83; it was engraved by Peter Clouwet as the frontispiece to Cavendish, Margaret, *Natures Pictures drawn by Fancies Pencil*, London, 1656.

207 See illustration 11.8.

208 NA DD4P.39.55, f.8.

209 Woods, (1993), p.75.

210 See Gazetteer pp.26-27, p.130; Leeds Castle Foundation, *Leeds Castle*, 1994, pp.52-3.

4.5.6 Stables and Riding Houses

It is much harder to establish what happened in the offices of the house. The outbuildings of Welbeck Abbey were listed in 1652 as "one Stable six other Stables and one Coach house one Graynery one Smithy house one shooing house one ryding house..."[211] and the mystery of houses such as Bolsover is how they operated with so small a capacity for service functions. They were probably never inhabited for very long at a stretch.

However, the stables and Riding House formed part of the formal, ceremonial area of the house where the frequent presence of William and his guests could be expected. William's views on the role of court ceremony in maintaining the charisma, and therefore the power, of the king were also applied to horsemanship. He argued for a political dimension to this frivolous pastime, claiming that it showed the king at a graceful advantage to spectators, so that "the pleasure in this case is as useful as anything else."[212] In addition, the exchange of horses as presents was a great cementer of social connections. Lord Fauconberg was "bould to present [William's] noble son wth a Gallaway Nage, itt is but a trifell," in 1636.[213] Trained horses also took part in court entertainments. William Crofts wrote to William in the 1630s of "a greate expectation of a horse maske ... by the templares."[214] William used his own skill to make an impression at court, writing to his wife in 1636 with the news that he had "ridd my Horses before the kinge & he liked them Extreame Well, theye are the beste horses in the towne."[215] Horsemanship, then, was a spectator sport, and it is not surprising that the Riding House itself was ambitious enough in design to impress as well as simply to exercise the horses. The 'riding house chamber' with window added high up in the wall at Bolsover and Welbeck was like a box in the theatre for viewing the action. Those wishing to see William's famous *manège* in the 1660s included the Marquess of Caracena and Don John of Austria also took an interest. As William explained, "*all the* Spaniards *of his Court, went to my* Mannage,"[216] and they must also have crowded the floor, for William wrote that it "*was often so*

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211 NA DD6P.1.18.22

212 Cavendish, William, (1667), introduction; Raber, (1999), p.59.

213 BL Add MS 70499, f.206.

214 ibid, f.174.

215 BL Add MS 70499, f.196.

216 Cavendish, William, (1667), pp.b-b2.

full, that my Esquier ... had hardly Room to Ride."[217] On one occasion, Margaret "reckoned about seventeen Coaches, in which were all Persons of Quality" arrived from Dom John's court "in the morning of purpose to see [William's] Mannage."[218] Another point in favour of Riding Houses was, once again, their flexibility. William's son-in law-John Egerton was criticised for the expense of a new Riding House at Ashridge in the 1650s, yet hoped to be excused, given its flexibility, and "how many good & proper uses, that house may conveniently be put..."[219]

4.6 Moving between houses

What determined the decision to move from one house to another? There was the sound economic reason of making a personal appearance to check abuses, and an annual removal was usually made to London for the early summer. This was for Parliament and legal business as much as pleasure, and certainly the London house was only used in season. Henry in London wrote to his father in 1667, hoping to borrow it.[220] A summons to London could in fact come at any time of year. William wrote reluctantly to his friend Sir Gervase Clifton on 30th December 1636 that he had been summoned to London.[221] He described the "many preperations for a London Jurneye" that "to a Countrie man is more dificulte then an Easte India voige to sum mertchantes."[222] However, his attitude, like the stylistic references in his buildings, was ambivalent, as he also wrote an anticipatory poem about a trip to court: "Trunckes all packte Upp for London all Coulde tell / Redy to take the Coach for hightned pleasure / off Courte & towne..."[223]

Bolsover Castle did seem to function as a place for William to retreat from business and the household. Certainly, after Henry's death in 1691, his wife retired to Bolsover from Welbeck.[224] Henry himself was buried at Bolsover, and his death certificate recorded his being carried privately

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217 ibid, p.(c)2v.

218 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.77; see also Gazetteer, p.106.

219 The Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California, Bridgwater MS 8117, quoted in Worsley, Giles, *The Development of the Stable and Riding House*, Ph.D. thesis, The Courtald Institute of Art, 1989, pp.324-5.

220 NU PW1.71

221 HMC, 55th Report on *Manuscripts in Various Collections*, Vol.7, 'Additional Manuscripts of Sir Hervey Juckes Lloyd Bruce,' London, 1914, p.402.

222 Sheffield City Archives, WWM Str. P. 12/267.

223 NU PWV.26, f.28r.

224 NU PW1.309

from Welbeck "to the Church of Bolsover ... (where his Grace had a noble seat and often resided)."[225] William Pierrepont, whose main house was at Thoresby, used Oldcotes in a similar manner, and letters were not forwarded to him there. "When yours of ye 6th came to Thorsby I was at Olcotes", he explained in October, 1657, to Henry, "els I had writ that day."[226]

Perhaps the most useful source, although slightly later, is the account-book of William's daughter-in-law, Frances. She mentions Bolsover Castle, Nottingham Castle and Welbeck as residences over an eight-month period; she was at Bolsover in April, and moved from Nottingham to Welbeck in December 1681. Although there may have been other unrecorded moves, this may be a glimmer of a seasonal pattern of Bolsover for the spring, (perhaps London in the summer, to judge from William's own movements), Nottingham for the autumn, and back to Welbeck for Christmas.[227] On the other hand, Henry wrote in August, 1684, that he and his household were to move from Nottingham Castle to Welbeck "in three or four days, where we shall have house room and more privacy..."[228]

Once the owner had left, open conflict could break out amongst the servants, who had the important job to do of putting the house to bed. Thomas Bamford, at Welbeck in 1656, complained that he had "taken downe the hangings in the best bed chamber 3 peeces, In the dineinge Chamber next it, 2 peeces, and the ould bedchamber 5 peeces, brushed and layde up ... as well as I can amongst such ugly and inanimate fellows as some of them be here."[229] Charles (II) left a caretaker at Slingsby Castle during his absence. Barbara Stanley records how her husband was employed "for the better secureing of the said building leads & goods therein, to dwell there," but during his duties he was "many tymes beaten & wounded."[230]

The journey from house to house was also determined by the obligation to visit and to receive family connections. William's stepdaughter Cate was at Welbeck in January, 1634; a letter shows a

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225 NU PW1.623

226 NU PW1.376

227 NA DD.6P.7.2.237, April-December, 1681.

228 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Appendix, Part II, p.157.

229 NU PW1.4

230 NU PW1.250

family party was in progress, as the writer sends good wishes to William, his wife, Charles (II), "and Sir John Harpur and his Lady."[231] Charles (I)'s first son, who died young, was baptised "in ye chappell at worksoppe Manor"[232] during a visit to the Talbots, and William himself was born at Handsworth Lodge, another Talbot property near Sheffield.[233] It was not, apparently, necessary to give any notice of a visit, for the fiction was maintained that every house was kept in perpetual readiness to entertain. Henry wrote to his brother Charles (III) from Thoresby in April, 1656 giving notice of his intention to come to dinner with guests: "If we had come a lone I should have not write you we would have come to dinner for feere of extradenarys."[234] The illusion of being continually prepared for guests was part of the carefully-cultivated image of abundant and traditional hospitality which worked against any attempts to control the waste and profligacy of the household.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the types of spaces needed by the household for their eating, working and sleeping. The need to accommodate both family and guests in magnificence explains the extravagant qualities of the Cavendish houses. The expectation that a house would always be on show to strangers comes across in the theatricality of a house intended to be a "theatre of hospitality," and adaptability and readiness to receive guests were behind much of the wasted space and over-provisioning of the household. The ceremonial quality of contemporary behaviour - and the relaxing of the rules to show a flattering intimacy - may be reflected in the quirky mannerist twist given to the architecture of the Cavendish houses, especially innovative smaller houses such as Bolsover and Ogle with their classical features creatively used. These intimate arts of *cortesia* militated against the traditional obligation to provide large-scale hospitality. The inevitable aristocratic trend for spending time more in private, although William himself felt compelled to resist it in some ways, decreased his availability and increased the level of competition among suitors and household members for access to his presence.

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231 BL Add MS 70499, f.166.

232 NA Worksop Priory Registers, 1592.

233 Parish Register of St Mary's Handsworth, 16th December, 1593, 'Willm Cavendish sonn of Sir Charles Cavendish' baptised,' quotation kindly confirmed for me by Martin Ripley, the parish archivist.

234 BL Add MS 70499, f.337.

But William appeared to lose interest in both hospitality and courtesy in his old age, and none of these reasons can fully explain an obsession with building that went on right up to his death in the middle of his last great project. The only preoccupations which could have remained with him right into his old age were an interest in architecture 'for its own sake,' or an obsession with family aggrandisement and his difficult son Henry. The functioning of the household could also be relevant in a psychological manner that has been hinted at but not explored: the building process as a means to keep a factious family - in the sense both of blood relations and of the household - united by work on an absorbing project.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE FAMILY

> Under these Streights and Confusions He laid the Design of Building, like a Merchant that was to make the greatest show when nearest breaking; or a desperate Gamester loosing so much that he would throw at all.[1]

5.1 Introduction

Bolsover Castle, Newcastle House, Nottingham Castle: to build on such a scale cannot be explained merely by enjoyment. There must have been some underlying motivation for the act, and this chapter will explore the possibility that it was a quest for power. The first part investigates power in the sense of trying to obtain influence at court. The timetable of William's pre-Civil War building programme, outlined in Chapter Three, points to a relationship between his private Midland and his public court life, and various connections suggest that building was tightly interwoven with his search for promotion. Yet William went on building after 1660 when his public role was greatly reduced. Perhaps he was now inspired by his negative relationship with the court,[2] but another explanation should still to be sought.

The second half of the chapter will argue that these attempts to win power at the national level stemmed in turn from William's more localised sense of *powerlessness*: an absence of control over his own licentious household. This explanation, centred on the operation of the household, provides a continuous underlying motive for both his retirement and his earlier search for court promotion. If William's search for national status was indeed fuelled by the difficulties he had at home in the Midlands with his household, clients and family, his contribution to pre-Civil war politics would match Revisionist interpretations of court politics as *ad hoc* actions in search of petty personal gain. The findings of this chapter support both the historians who see the court and its competing factions as the key to the Civil War, and those who concentrate on local parish-pump issues as the underlying causes of a political upheaval. The small local men and the unimportant relatives who

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1 BL Lansdowne, 1013, f.290v, Bishop White Kennet in a letter of September, 1707, to Reverend Samuel Blackwell, describing how the 1st Duke of Devonshire began to remodel Chatsworth, "though there was no Need of a new House and [he] form'd no project of it till a time the most unseasonable. the second year of King James II when he was under a fine of thirty thousand pounds and had broke loes from a custody in the king's Bench, and had fled hither..." Saumarez-Smith, (1990), p.19 provided the reference.

2 See Stone, (1965), p.552, who argues that Longleat was the result of the "sublimation of thwarted political ambition" of Sir John Thynne.

caused William's problems at home led him to seek to trivialise those problems by seeking success at court. This allowed William's feelings of powerlessness to be aired - mutated into arguments about status and precedence - on the national stage. And when power ultimately eluded him, he continued to seek success through building instead. His agency, in other words, was constantly being crushed by outside pressures, and the individuality of his building style was a response to this. Wotton wrote that a man's house was "the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his Sonnes *Inheritance*, a kinde of priuate *Princedome*."[3] However, a social history of William's architectural patronage shows that a house could also be a theatre of self-promotion, a seat of self-deception, a place to be made uncomfortable by children and servants, and a place of domestic tyranny.

5.2 Building to increase family status in court circles

5.2.1 The completion of the Little Castle at Bolsover

There is no evidence that art was consciously used at the Carolean court as a way of mediating status and gaining power.[4] There is no direct evidence that William deliberately used architecture as a means of distinguishing himself from other courtiers in a similar position. Yet the timetable of his projects can be used to suggest that the trajectories of his court and his construction careers were inter-linked. The most obvious example of this is the process of completing the Little Castle at Bolsover. William made his court debut in 1610. In 1612 he departed on a tour of Italy and on his return the Little Castle was begun. On his father's death, William entered a struggle for both financial and political survival, frantically active in an attempt to win royal notice and to vanquish the heirs of Gilbert Talbot. Far from being simply the romantic and reclusive pleasure-house described in most accounts of Bolsover, it can be argued that the completion of the Little Castle was in fact performed with short-term 'political' gain in mind. The seventeenth-century urge towards privacy and seclusion is well-known, and is expressed through the lodge at some distance from the main house. Fumerton has provided the most fully-developed exposition of the idea, linking the withdrawal to the banqueting house after dinner, or to the hunting lodge, with the "insubstantial fiction" of the James I's privacy. She argues that the identity of the aristocracy, shrinking from the onslaught of intimates, is revealed only through the peripheral and ornamental.[5] She sees the

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3 Wotton, (1624), p.82.

4 See, for example, Smuts, (1981), pp.165-190.

5 Fumerton, (1991), p.142.

complicated planning of the Little Castle as a series of interconnected houses, "retreat upon retreat [leading] to a dance of subdivision and unfixedness. The small group of guests invited to the banquet would break up into even smaller parties, each with its own 'house.' "[6]

Although this provides a convincing psychological background to the project at Bolsover, the little-known family circumstances surrounding the house designed for intimate hospitality and conspicuous consumption have received less attention. Charles (I) became the Castle's owner in a transaction forming part of a complicated web of loans and gifts binding him to his step-brother: Charles (I) lent Gilbert £16,000 that was never fully repaid. This loan explains Charles (I)'s acquisition of the site on such generous terms, and some of his son's financial difficulties. Gilbert died in 1616 and Charles (I) in 1617, leaving William as executor of Gilbert's will. The difficulty of William's position comes over in his notes to his mother in 1618, noting that as executor he could be liable for Gilbert's debts, and unlikely to see his father's loan repaid. On the other hand, if he won through, he could be rewarded with a viscountcy.[7] Turning to building was therefore a risky roll of the dice in the game of buildings and power. The house was intended to score off the powerful Talbots, and to present a confident image to the court in expectation of receiving an honour: a local problem being converted into a national opportunity. By August 1619 James I and Prince Charles were in Derbyshire and William entertained them at Welbeck. The following year, he received his viscountcy through the intercession of Arundel and Pembroke. In the Terrace Range a decade later it is possible to detect the same pattern all over again: building work, royal visit, hope of gain: realised, eventually, in the appointment of William as governor to the Prince.

This pattern of building and advancement up the ladder of the nobility was not unusual. William's uncle, another William Cavendish, for example, became the first Earl of Devonshire. Achieving a barony in 1605, he spent over a thousand pounds on improvements at Hardwick between 1608 and 1612. He finally received his earldom in 1618, in consideration of a payment of £8,000 to the Crown. In 1619 there was another spurt of building at Hardwick, and a visit from the Prince of Wales in August.[8] The dates and facts are very similar: expenditure on building followed by an

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6 ibid, p.129.

7 For example, see NU PW1.553, ff.1r-2r.

8 Stone, (1965), p.106; Girouard and Durant, (1996), p.37.

honour. Building and an honour are connected too in the career of Lord Burghley, whose biographer described the new-built Burghley House as "the mansion of his barony."[9]

William caused a clear change in direction in the decoration of the Little Castle after his father's death. Paint research in the Little Castle makes it clear that there was a plainer, earlier scheme which was reworked into a richer and more lavish interior typical of court circles, and it is convenient to attach one phase to Charles (I) and one to his son.[10] Although Charles (I)'s scheme was stark and gloomy, it could be argued that perhaps it was more appropriate to the castle he had built, more dramatic, and more individual. It included doors of a deep red and walls covered with incised false-ashlar plaster finishes (now hidden beneath later figurative paintings), and must have created an austere, almost menacing, fortress-like impression. On the other hand, William's interiors, although extravagant, were more conventional for the late Jacobean court, with the use of new tricks of perspective in the paintings and decorative stencilling on the panelling.[11] There is a clear comparison with Robert Cecil's reworking of Theobalds palace in 1606-1606 after his father's death. He too stripped "Elizabethan flamboyance in favor of Jacobean restraint," and "decoration became secondary" as James I and his theatrical court became the chief occupants of the house.[12]

5.2.2 The Earl of Shrewsbury's will

Gilbert Talbot's death in 1616 resulted in much confusion for his family. His will was written on 4th May, probate was granted on 14th, and William was among the bearers of Gilbert's "representation" or clothed wooden effigy in his funeral procession in Sheffield on 12th August.[13] Gilbert appointed his nephew William and Sir Raphe Winwood as his executors.[14] The presence of the "representation" at the funeral meant that the living still had to react as if to the presence of the earl, and his influence endured over his relatives. Gossip soon noted the difficulties with the will. Gilbert had "left no land to Edward Talbot, now Earl, [Gilbert's brother] but many tenants return to

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9 Quoted in Airs, (1995), p.19.

10 Helen Hughes, English Heritage, pers. comm.

11 ibid.

12 Sutton, James M., 'The Decorative Progam at Elizabethan Theobalds: Educating an Heir and Promoting a Dynasty,' in *Bard Institute: Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Fall-Winter, 1999-2000, Vol.7, No.1, pp.58-59.

13 BL Harleian MS 1368, p.37.

14 NA DD4P.46.6

him, so that a great suit at law between him and the Countess Dowager is likely."[15] Gilbert also left great debts, and particularly significant to William were those owed to his father. Margaret explains how Charles (I) had lent Gilbert "16,000*l.* for which, although afterwards before his death he setled 2000*l.* a year upon him; yet he having injoyed the said Money for many years without paying any use for it, it might have been improved to my Lord's better advantage, had it been in his Fathers own hands ... though the said Earl of *Shrewsbury* made my Lord his Executor, yet my Lord was so far from making any advantage by that Trust, even in what the Law allowed him, that he lost 17000*l.* by it; and afterwards delivered up his Trust to *William* Earl of *Pembrook* and *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*."[16] Although this is an account based on fact, Margaret tells the story in a partial and flattering way. William's own manuscript notes made at the time reveal his sharp anxiety that he would never see his father's money again, being liable, as executor, for Gilbert's debts. William's total annual rental came to c.£11,000, so it was a significant sum.[17] But his notes also show his awareness that he could use the situation to his benefit, for he could prevent Gilbert's daughters and their husbands from receiving anything until the debts were settled to his satisfaction by selling land.

Many years later, William finally handed over the executorship to Gilbert's grandson Henry Howard with the comment that it would cost him many a thousand pounds, "because I [Howard] had a conscience, and that he himself had none."[18] Still, Howard revealed the strength of William's position, for he wrote that the executorship was of "great advantage and convenience to me, espetially in great securety it brought to all our tytle in that great and noble estate."[19] The Howard and Herbert clans must have felt anxious as they watched the executors breaking up and selling off estates in order to pay Gilbert's debts.

William's appointment as executor was widely recognised to be a thankless task. Chamberlain commented in May, 1616, that Winwood had "entered into a great busines of beeing executor (together with young Sir William Candish Sir Charles sonne) to the earle of Shrewsburie ... I

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15 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1611-1618*, London, 1858, p.425, May, 1616, Lord Carew to Thomas Roe.

16 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.95.

17 PW1.331, undated valuation, pre-1634, see also Appendix 1.

18 ibid.

19 NU PW1.148, Henry Howard to William, 13th July, 1676.

conceve yt is but in trust, and so shalbe litle the better for yt, but he will find yt a great toyle to content all parties and a great deale of envie he will bring upon himself as yt were gratis." [20] Chamberlain also noted that William had made sure his aunt Mary Talbot, neé Cavendish, had been freed from the Tower of London in order to benefit. She had been imprisoned for complicity in the unauthorised marriage of Arbella Stuart, and released just in time to take possession of some of her husband's estate which otherwise would have gone to Gilbert's brother Edward, now eighth Earl of Shrewsbury.

To add to William's difficulties, his father and his co-executor Winwood died in 1617, in March and October respectively.[21] During his final illness, Charles (I) had called William to his bedchamber, and gave him "a legacy of fifteene hundred pounds" with a further legacy of a thousand marks to William's brother, Charles (II).[22] Charles (I) left his family short of cash. Katherine, executrix of the will, found herself unable to meet its provisions. On 25th September 1617, presumably with workmen at Bolsover still to be paid, she gave Charles (II) the produce of Welbeck and Gledthorpe for two years instead of the promised cash.[23]

Charles (I) died on 4th April and probate was taken on 19th June 1617. Arundel commented that the news would further distress Mary Talbot: "she kept her bed, ate little, and ... spake somewhat distractedly - the most that I heard was in bitter curses, wherein my sister Ruthin and her Lord had a full part..."[24] Geoffrey Gerrard wrote on the 9th May 1617, that she was "almost out of her mind, with a dread of being poisoned" and that her sons-in-law, Pembroke and Arundel, would "beg the protection of her estate, and will enjoy the fruits of it, if she do not mind."[25] The two earls may have intended this, but William's determination not to give up the executorship hindered them. William did not even make himself available for discussion. Arundel wrote to him in

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20 Chamberlain, (1939), Vol.12.2, p.2, Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 18th May, 1616.

21 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1611-1618*, London, 1858, p.490, 28th October, 1617. Winwood's death is recorded in two letters to Carleton.

22 Public Record Office Prob.11, quire 62, (formerly PPC Weldon 62); NA DD.6P.1.19.10.

23 NA DD6P.1.19.12-13, deed in settlement of the will of Charles (I) Cavendish, 25th September, 1617.

24 HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, at Montagu House, Whitehall*, London, 1899, Vol.1, p.191, Arundel to Winwood, April, 1617.

25 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1611-1618*, London, 1858, p.463.

Northumberland, having heard by chance in London that William had "gone to Bottle Castell."[26] "Wee intreat y^{u}, that y^{u} will take the paynes to come up y^{r} selfe" to court, wrote Pembroke and Arundel in 1620.[27]

The need to commission a monument was another reason for sending John Smithson to London later in 1618; he certainly consulted the funerary carver Thomas Ashby while there.[28] Katherine's figure was also included, even though she was to live for several more years; this, however, was not unusual.[29] The inscription points out that the monument was erected by Katherine, and it must be borne in mind that her son had only received £1500, plus the lands that would inevitably descend to him by law and which were therefore not mentioned in his father's will.[30] In cash terms, William was by no means rich, and Katherine also "kept [William] and his Family at her own charge for several years."[31] She was, perhaps, more involved in the completion of her husband's project at Bolsover than has been realised. This would explain the heraldry on the second floor fireplace: Carnaby and Talbot shields flank Cavendish and Ogle, referring to the marriage of Charles (I) and Katherine, although none of the other multi-coloured marble fireplaces are thought to date from before Charles (I)'s death.

William was married by October 1618, another reason to complete the Little Castle interiors. Margaret, whose source was presumably William's own remembered version of events, explicitly links Charles (I)'s death to William's marriage. "His Mother, being then a Widow," she wrote, "was desirous that My Lord should marry: in obedience to whose Commands, he chose a Wife."[32] This implies that Charles (I) had no hand in the Bassett alliance, and it cannot have been in prospect before October 1616 as Elizabeth was married to someone else until then. William was driven by financial necessity.

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26 BL Add MS 70499, f.106, 4th September, 1620.

27 ibid, f.104, 22nd August, 1620.

28 RIBA Drawings Collection III/7(3); Girouard, (1983), p.249.

29 See, for example, Raphe Wyseman's monument at Rivenhall, discussed in Llewellyn, Nigel, *The Art of Death, Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c.1500-c.1800,* London, 1991, pp.114-120.

30 Erickson, (1993), p.224, makes it clear that this was the normal practice.

31 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.94.

32 ibid, p.4.

The most important documentary indication that William Cavendish was considering the furnishing and decoration of the Little Castle in 1618 is the "note off all [his] busineses att london in Ester Terme next 1618," including "Bolsover furneshinge payntinge & carving."[33] It was argued in Chapter Three that this journey took place in late 1618 or early 1619, with dramatic results for the design of Bolsover Castle. This London trip has long been known from Smithson's drawings, but the impetus of the struggle with the Talbot family and the consequences of making a financially-advantageous marriage are deeper factors driving the design process.

5.2.3 Royal visits to the Midlands

By August 1619, William was back at Welbeck and his building programme, if considered as a means of political climbing, had begun to pay off. James I and Prince Charles stayed at Welbeck in August. Chamberlain mentioned the visit, and also gave some interesting views on the debasing of the currency of the knighthood. "A blunt brother of Secretarie Winwods (one Sir Edward Richardson) was knighted this progress at Sir William Candishes," he wrote on 23rd August. "These and such like knights make baronnetts begin to come in request again, as of late we have had three or fowre."[34] Stone goes so far as to see this inflation of honours as creating a rash of new peers, squandering their capital in unproductive ways in order to bolster up their new status, thereby becoming financially dependent on royal rewards and favours, with inevitable royal penury and unpopularity following on.[35]

This process of bargaining for honours resulted in William's being able to demand a baronetcy for settling the executorship of Gilbert Talbot; his powerful cousins were able to arrange his promotion in return. In this context, the knighting of Edward Richardson in 1619 is interesting, for he was the brother of William's former fellow executor, Winwood. Richardson was closely involved in the legal quagmire that resulted from the payment of debts on Gilbert's estate and received regular and generous payments from Katherine.[36] Perhaps he, too, had received his honour in recognition of his role in smoothing the way for the resolution of the crisis. Nichols gives the further information that

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33 NU PW1.553, ff.1r-2r.

34 Chamberlain, (1939), Vol.12.2, p.260, Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 23rd August, 1619.

35 Stone, (1965), p.123.

36 BL Add MS 70499, f.95, 9th August, 1620; NA DD3P.3.8, 17th May, 1620, three receipts for £25 received from Lady Cavendish by Edward Richardson. The catalogue wrongly notes that Richardson may have been a tutor.

while at Welbeck James I also "knighted Sir Sutton Coney, of Lincolnshire, Sir Charles Cornwallis, brother to his host; Sir Edward Richardson, and Sir William Carnaby."[37] "Cornwallis" is a mistake for William's brother, Charles (II) Cavendish, and it seems that accounts were being settled on a grand scale. Carnaby was another household officer who was still with William in 1644 in exile,[38] and Coney was William's half-cousin through his marriage to the sister of the first Earl of Devonshire's wife.[39] Amidst all these conferrals of knighthood, the prince found time for visiting Derbyshire, where the Earl of Devonshire was one of his hosts at Hardwick.[40] It has been speculated that the money spent on building in 1619 at Hardwick Old Hall was for the construction of a tennis court for Prince Charles to play.[41] Given the nearby new work at Bolsover Castle, it is tempting to imagine that the prince was also invited to visit and give his opinion of it.

This expensive royal hospitality paid off in November 1620, when William was created Viscount Mansfield. Perhaps more surprising is the length of the delay before this happened, but unlike his cousin, William was not able to pay £8,000 in 1618 for becoming an earl.[42] Some writers also suggest that the barony of Ogle in Northumberland, the title of William's maternal grandfather Cuthbert Ogle, was also revived for him at this date.[43] A letter from the Earl of Ruthin, the third of Gilbert's sons-in-law, mentioned the "consideration that the lords have procured his majors conferr [his majesty's conferral of] her honor upon you," with reference to the revival of William's mother's title.[44] This implies that Pembroke and Arundel had also 'arranged' the matter for William. The patent for his viscountcy was dated 3rd November 1620, and it was delivered by "letters patent, without investiture" according to Nichols.[45] Perhaps this less-ceremonious route

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37 Nichols, (1828), Vol.3, p.560.

38 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.53.

39 Coney was married to Sarah, daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, and her sister Elizabeth's second husband was the first Earl of Devonshire.

40 Girouard and Durant, (1996), p.37.

41 Manpower Services Commission, (1985), p.25. Ben Cowell drew my attention to this work and provided further details from the Chatsworth archives.

42 Stone, (1965), p.106.

43 Bickley, (1911), pp.74-5.

44 NU PW1.236, n.d.; see Gazetteer, p.51.

45 Nichols, (1828), Vol.4, p.628.

was chosen because it was widely accepted that the honour was given for services rendered to Arundel and Pembroke rather for merit. In effect, writing off the Shrewsbury debt of £17,000 was the price that William paid for his honour. Sir John Woodford wrote bluntly on 7th November 1620, that "Parliament is now resolved ... for the accommodating for your disputes between the heyrs of the late Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir William Cavendish, a nephew of the Earl of Devonshire ... as an expedient to create the said Sir William, at the request of the heyres above mentioned, Viscount of Mansfield, which is newly done by patent."[46] Even Margaret stated that William's honour was "an encouragement for future Service" as much as "a Reward for past."[47]

William himself became drawn into the sale of further honours. A letter to the Duke of Buckingham survives, detailing William's efforts to get his cousin Robert Pierrepont to buy a title. Pierrepont had heard that "if he woulde be a Baron he might and for 4000*l*. Soone after that creation, he shoulde have the Honor to be a Viscount for 4000*l*. more ... For my parte, I never herde that Baron was under 9 or 10,000*l*." Then William gives the final confirmation of what had happened in his case: "but for my one [own] experience I had little more than the quittinge of an olde debt."[48] As early as 1618 he had been plain that his aim was a viscountcy, writing out for his mother a list of four bargaining positions:

> First to see wether wee can gett the money which I thinke will hardlye bee.
> Secondlye iff nott thatt to gett itt in Lande which I thinke will hardlye bee compased eyther.
> Thirdlye iff neyther off these then the offer your La:ps made them, which is the Honor off A Viscounte, the lande in the west, & Mansfeylde.
> Forthly iff they denye this Latter offer then to quitt Mansfeylde & sticke to the Honor, & the western Lande [lands in Gloucestershire and the West Country].[49]

These demands were based on the assumption that he would not renounce his trust without payment, even though "the Lords will bee wonderfull ernest with mee aboute partinge with the

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46 Longueville, (1910), p.12.

47 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.137.

48 Longueville, (1910), pp.13-15, quotes William to the Duke of Buckingham, 27th February, 1627, in greater detail than Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1627-1628*, London, 1858, pp.68-9.

49 NU PW1 554, f.1.

Exseqetorship."[50] It was a clearly a house fit for a viscount that William set about furnishing in 1618, although he had to wait another two years before agreement was reached. By 1620, when the Pillar Parlour fireplace was completed with a viscount's coronets, William's actual status matched his projected status as it was expressed through his house.

William's other building projects are much harder to pin down in terms of their dates and progress. The new work at Welbeck and the expansion of Bolsover certainly belonged to the period of intense activity at court culminating in William's appointment as the Prince's governor. William fully understood the importance of spending money on ephemera in order to win status, but he felt that the system had failed in that he was not receiving the rewards expected for his outlay. This is how he summed it up in a light-hearted poem addressed to his wife:

> A Countrie Lorde shoulde throwe a waye his rente,
> And all his Lande, In full Careere to spende,
> Bearinge his motto thus *This was my ende,*
> A simple one, to waste all oute in prancinge,
> In Tilte-yarde, or att maskes, in Christmas dancinge...[51]

It is possible that William's caretaker appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire in 1628 led to the decision to return to Bolsover and add the state rooms there after several years of concentrating on Welbeck.[52] Mr Aglionby's undated poem mentions William as "the Leiutenant heere" in connection with "whatever shall be added" to the building.[53] It also seems clear that one of the functions of the new range from its inception was to provide royal hospitality. It is certainly unlikely that the announcement of a royal visit to Nottinghamshire, first heard of in December, 1632, could have directly heralded the start of the building project for there simply would not have been time, and the dated stones 1629 and 1630 appear on the building.[54] William himself was not

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50 NU PW1 553

51 NU PWV.25, f.17v.

52 Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1625-26*, London, 1858, p.359.

53 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.188v. Mr Aglionby was later tutor to William's charge the second Duke of Buckingham.

54 'The Scottish jorney certaineleye houldeth in May next, and your neighbor the Earle of Newcastle is one of the six appointed to attend,' William Fuller to Sir Gervase Clifton, 8th December, 1632, HMC, *Report 55 on*

told until the week before Christmas, when he heard from Lord Cottington: "You are appointed to attend the King into Scotland which I conceive might be a good motive for your friends to put [the question of a court appointment] to a period."[55] However, the minor works connecting the Terrace Range to the wall walk, for example, with the doorcase dated 1633, might be directly related to the royal visit to Welbeck of that year. William was the Governor to the young Prince by November 1638, and his household accounts were sent to him at the Palace of Richmond.[56] Any building activity in the country must have been curtailed from November 1638 when William was made a Privy Councillor, and from April 1639 he was excused his attendance at the House of Lords, as he was "with the Prince and will be present as often as he may."[57]

The final period of intense building activity was in the 1660s, for which we have fairly detailed records. But in contrast to the earlier years, William was not active at court, and many considered that he had retired to the country in high dudgeon at not being given more responsibility, something he had often threatened to do in the 1630s. Although he was made Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire[58] and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber[59] in 1660, he did not attend his installation as Knight of the Garter at Windsor in 1661. Why was William still building in his old age? He was repairing his estates and recovering his financial situation: it was a time of strain, and as in 1618-20 he turned to building. But in this case he probably had little hope of making progress in court life. The theme of rural retirement discussed in Chapter Four is most clearly illustrated in this period. William's chaplain preached on "the sweet *privacy* and *retirement*" William enjoyed "here in the *Country,*"[60] and the citation for William's Garter said that he "now pleaseth himself in his old age in a private life, in his country, honoured and esteemed by all men."[61]

Manuscripts in Various Collections, London, 1914, Vol.7, 'Additional Manuscripts of Sir Hervey Juckes Lloyd Bruce,' p.401; see Gazetteer, p.41.

55 Trease, (1979), p.67, quoting Lord Cottington to William, 13th December, 1632.

56 BL Add MS 70499, f.237.

57 Trease, (1979), p.84, quoting roll of the House of Lords, 18th April, 1640.

58 NA DD6P.1.27.8

59 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1667-8*, London, 1893, p.570.

60 Ellis, (1661), Prefatory letter.

61 Bod. Ashmole 1110, f.171.

However, the creation of William's dukedom in 1665 was certainly reflected in the new work at Bolsover: the "creast exsteriordinarie"[62] with his new arms was erected over the entrance to the new state suite, which had, however, been begun previously. This situation is reminiscent of the completion of Bolsover Castle in expectation of being made Viscount Mansfield, but cannot explain the decision to build Nottingham Castle, which was begun after William's request for a final accolade - permission to be buried in Westminster Abbey - had been granted. "I am glad to see the King do that which is so decent and worthy of him, as to order your Grace a Tomb among the Kings," wrote the dean of Westminster Abbey.[63]

So certainly building in the earlier period *can* be seen as a means to achieving the end of power at court, and William's architecture, with its intention to delight and impress, can be considered alongside his more ephemeral entertainments. Anne Barton, for example, boldly claims that Charles I "in 1638 finally gave Newcastle the court appointment, as Governor to the future Charles II, for which these costly entertainments were angling,"[64] similarly William's contemporary Prince Henry's court culture was seen by Wilks as "at the service of, essentially, political needs."[65] But this is too simplistic an explanation for the length and diversity of William's patronage. What was it that encouraged him to try to gain power at court in the first place? The next section will argue that it was a feeling of powerlessness in his role as head of a household and a regional magnate from a supposedly-powerful family. This concept of the failure of patronage also appears in Adams' study of the Earl of Leicester's regional influence. Adams found that "as a patron, Leicester suffered from a major weakness ... he was unable to organise his patronage systematically amid the pressure of greater issues. As a result his regional impact was a series of responses to pressures from below."[66]

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62 NU PW1.624c

63 Anon., *A Collection of Letters and Poems: Written by several Persons of Honour and Learning, Upon divers Important Subjects, to the Late Duke and Dutchess of Newcastle,* London, 1678, p.107.

64 Barton, (1984), p.300.

65 Wilks, (1987), p.A1.

66 Adams, (1995), p.51.

5.3 Building to keep the household in check

5.3.1 Disorder in the household of the Prince of Wales

What were the pressures from below with which William Cavendish had to deal? The surviving documents of the period give a misleading impression of harmony in the household because of the convention of expressing any form of political agreement through the terms of deeply personal loyalty. It is difficult to distinguish service from the rhetoric of loyalty; political affiliations at court, for example, were expressed as personal loyalty rather than as ideology. This emphasis on personal service was taken to the highest levels as the top courtiers were the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, who served the king in the most intimate space in the palace. A sense of personal service comes over in a bailiff's letter to William, accusing himself of being "a knave or foole or both," in failing to provide the promised revenue for William, and saying he "had Rather give £100 then to have been soe disappointed."[67]

Service had its pitfalls. William's cook William Yates, on retiring from the household, was leased a farm "for good and faithful service," but still had to be always ready "to do his best personal service in such kind" as William should appoint. His lease was therefore open to any interpretation William chose.[68] Dissatisfaction with leases was also expressed in terms of loyalty. "His Grace will not allow Mr Huttons lease," complained William Meynell in 1669, "and truly it comonly soe as the world rules, yt strangers and forrayners ffayre better than faythfull servants as I know I was."[69] William himself, however, seems to have believed the rhetoric of loyalty, in the same way that Charles I can be argued to have confused ceremony with power. In exile, William complained to a friend that he had "kindred Greate Enough, & Rich enough & in the time off my better freindes trewly oblidge to the power I have ... butt ... they are freindes onlye to prosperetye, butt nott to miserye."[70] The supposed 'ingratitude' of Charles II rankled in his old age.

William served as an upper servant himself in the household of Prince Charles, and his time there is informative. The 1638 book detailing the rules and the punishments within the prince's household was discussed in Chapter Four, but its origins are interesting. A letter to Sir John Bankes, the

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67 NU PW1.513, 1664.

68 NA DDP.106.1

69 NU PW1.471

70 NU PW1.537

Attorney General, shows that William's commission was exactly the same as that drawn up for the household of Prince Henry thirty years before.[71] One of Greenblatt's arguments for the existence of 'self-fashioning' in Renaissance society was the urge to subdue the 'other' - the alien, strange or hostile - and the greatest fear was the absence of order.[72] The format of the household rules, owing more to precedent than reality, also aimed to create an image of a hierarchical, well-ordered organisation, although the rules themselves seem to pre-empt wrongdoing in the description of so many punishments.

But in addition to stealing among the lower servants, there were discords among the upper officers that are not revealed by the rulebook. The Bishop of Chichester, the Prince's tutor, mentioned disagreements between William and himself; a "cloud has been untowardly raised between us,"[73] he wrote in November 1639. Then there were perpetual complaints involving subordinate members of the household. William's old enemy, the Earl of Pembroke, became involved in one dispute concerning the unfair treatment of the pages. He wrote to William in 1639 that one of the pages of the Prince's Bedchamber should "share in all the ffees & Advantages of that Place ... in an ample & beneficiall a manner, as any of the rest of the sayd Pages."[74] William was the focus of all such complaints, and in some ways his position as the senior officer of the household was unenviable. He received letters from its members as well as from outsiders criticising his handling of the sensitive issues of patronage and reward. A letter from 1641 recorded a dispute among the wardrobe staff - the 'rockers' employed to rock the younger children of the royal family and the Prince's tailor - about who was to receive the Prince's cast-offs. The rockers claimed "they should be remembered with cloathes of the princes," while the tailor "suits your Lo^{pp} promised him a sute every yeare..."[75]

Such complaints can have been only the tip of an iceberg of similar disputes on a daily basis that arose from the running of the household, and must have arisen in every royal residence. However, William Cavendish had to retire shortly afterwards. The reasons given are multifarious. Margaret

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71 Bod. Bankes MS 54, p.101.

72 Greenblatt, (1980), p.9.

73 Hamilton, W. D., ed., *CSPD, 1639*, London, 1877, p.69, 2nd November, 1639, Richmond.

74 BL Add MS 70499, f.242.

75 ibid, f.252.

alleged that he was informed privately of the jealousies of some in Parliament, and left before he could be pushed.[76] Clarendon says it was the resentment of the Earls of Holland and Essex that forced him to go, whereas modern historians say that it was his implication, however marginal, in the Army Plot, revealed to the House of Commons on 5th May 1641.[77] Although there is no direct evidence for it, one is left wondering whether William's removal from office was made easier by the knowledge that he had not been particularly effective or judicial in his fulfilling of it, whether he had been vanquished by his failure to control a household. Clarendon, at least, admitted that William's success was mixed. "As he excelled in some [presumably equestrian], so he wanted other, qualifications" for the office.[78]

5.3.2 William, Henry and Nottingham Castle

These discords in the household of the prince can also be traced in William's own household in later life. This section will argue there was a pattern throughout the last twenty years of William's life that suggests that his son Henry was excluded, deliberately, from William's building projects, implying that the process of building itself could perhaps have been used to manipulate family members.

William purchased the medieval castle of Nottingham in 1662 and the new castle was begun in 1674 when he was eighty-one. He was concerned enough with its progress to put money aside in his will: £2000 was to be spent yearly until completion. In fact he died when it was only "raised about a yard above the ground"[79] and the project was finished by Henry: or, at least, so it is claimed by the several later writers on the subject. According to Nottingham's historian, Charles Deering, the trustees for the completion of the work were Samuel Marsh, Richard Neale, Richard Mason and Thomas Farr.[80] T.C. Hine repeated this inaccurate list in the nineteenth century, as did Geoffrey Trease in the twentieth.[81] Despite the assumption that they were involved, William's original will

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76 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.9.

77 Clarendon, (1888), Book IV, Chapter 293, Vol.1, pp.562-3; Trease, (1979), p.85; Russell, Conrad, 'The First Army Plot of 1641,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 5, Vol.38, 1988, pp.85-106.

78 Clarendon, (1888), Book VIII, Chapter 83, Vol.3, p.381.

79 Deering, (1751), p.186.

80 ibid.

81 Hine, Thomas Chambers, *Nottingham, its Castle. A military Fortress, a Royal Palace, A Ducal Mansion, Blackened Ruin, A Museum and Gallery of Art*, London, 1876, Vol.1, p.20; Trease, (1979), p.211.

mentions neither Marsh, nor Thomas Farr, who was Henry's steward and a member of Henry's household. Dated 4th October 1676, only three months before William's death, the will specifies the sum of "Two Thousand pounds a yeare by even and equall Quarterly payments be paid out of my Personall Estate into the hands of my Trusty Servants Richard Mason of Newark and Richard Neale of Mansfield Woodhouse ... to be ... imployed and disposed in the carrying out of the said worke, and the paying and defraying of and for materialls, workmens charges..."[82] The will also makes provision for what would happen if Henry, as executor of the estate, should fail to hand over the money; in that case, the trustees would be entitled to certain of his lands. Thomas Farr was only a witness to the will, not a trustee, and it is couched in a way that implies that Henry was not to take an active part in the completion of the building, except to supply the necessary money under pain of penalty. William was in fact spending his son's inheritance on the project.

Furthermore, Deering also described the now-missing plaque commemorating the project's completion. It was "an oblong square of white marble table, in the wall over the back-door, now not legible, but preserved and communicated to [him] by the late mr Jonathon Paramour, once a servant in that most noble family." Jonathan "Parramour" and his wife were indeed servants in Henry's household,[83] and the tablet read "This house was begun by William Duke of Newcastle in the year 1674 and according to his appointment by his last will and by the model he left, was finished in the year 1679."[84] But who erected the plaque? Henry was the obvious candidate, and erected a similar one at Slingsby Castle, in memory of Charles (II): "this is placed here by order of his nephew, Henry, Duke of Newcastle, in the year 1691."[85] Yet the record of the inscription at Nottingham does not mention Henry or his involvement. Perhaps the plaque was a suggestion from the trustees, William's former servants Neale and Mason, or perhaps it was done unwillingly by Henry. The impression is again given of Henry's being in some way sidelined.

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82 Public Record Office Prob. 11, quire 22, (formerly PCC Hale, quire 22); a copy exists at NA DD.6P.1.19.30.

83 eg. NA DD6P. 58.75a.

84 Deering, (1751), p.186.

85 Eastmead, Rev. W., *Historia Rievallensis: containing the history of Kirkby Moorside*, London, 1824, p.251.

Possibly Nottingham Castle was intended as a house for William's grandson Harry (1662-1680), ensuring the Cavendish family line and missing out his slightly unreliable son Henry. "Sweet Harry," William called the younger Henry, and in 1670 boasted that although his own children disliked Margaret, "Harye loves my wife bettere then anye bodye, & shee him I thinke."[86] Nottingham Castle is innovative as a boxy Italian *palazzo*, but is very slightly provincial, or - more correctly - individual. The designer was Samuel Marsh, who had worked with John Webb at Belvoir Castle shortly before, as well as on the state rooms at Bolsover. But as discussed in the Gazetteer, Nottingham, unlike Belvoir, still has a medieval-type hall entered from the long side, rather than a centrally-positioned one on the Renaissance model, a feature seen in Derbyshire as long ago as the 1590s at Hardwick.[87] Why did William chose a provincial architect like Marsh? Partly it was shortage of money - his estates were in some confusion - but if that were an over-riding consideration, he would not have built at all. Partly, he was disgusted with the world, and retired to the Midlands to please himself. His wife's 'Oration against those that lay an Aspersion upon the Retirement of Noble men' stated that only "Find-faults" through "Envy and Ambition" could criticise the retirement of those who had "Serv'd their Prince to the last of their Power."[88] Her anxiety to impress upon the reader that her husband was not discontented rather hints at the opposite case; she protests too much. In fact, Nottingham Castle was not intended to be innovative or striking. It was a second attempt to achieve perfection of a design - for a Capitoline palace - that had already been tried at Bolsover in the 1630s, where Marsh had already made improvements. The two buildings shared giant pilasters, staircases, and battlemented skylines, similarities that are obscured by their dissimilar styling.[89]

This idea of continuity and the continued refinement of a design certainly had something to do with William's father. Margaret wrote that William bought the castle of Nottingham, because "it being a seat which had pleased his Father very much, he would not leave it since it was offer'd to be sold."[90] It is as if the Cavendishes, having achieved worldly success, could simply refer to themselves, looking forward and back along the generations instead of having to concern

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86 BL Add MS 70500, f.53.

87 See illustrations 9.2 and 9.5.

88 Cavendish, Margaret, (1662), pp.67-68.

89 See Gazetteer, p.94.

90 eadem, (1667), p.91.

themselves with the court. Charles II himself made the importance of breeding clear in his letters to William. Charles II duly weighed "the greate & extraordinary services pformed by" William with "the noblenes of [his] Birth & Family" when awarding the Garter.[91] Similarly, William partly 'earned' his dukedom by his loyalty, but additionally, "his Virtues are accompanied with a Noble Blood, being of a Family by each Stock equally adorn'd and endow'd with great Honours and Riches."[92] So his family and blood were significant enough to be rewarded in their own right. This self-referential note came across extremely strongly in the patronage of William's great-granddaughter, Henrietta Cavendish-Holles. Horace Walpole visited Welbeck Abbey shortly after her death, and wrote that "it is impossible to describe the bales of Cavendishes: every chamber is tapestried with them; all their arms, crests, devices; sculptures on chimneys of various English marbles in ancient forms (and, to say truth, most of them ugly.)" Her 'ugly' fireplaces were in fact copies of these originals in the Little Castle, made 130 years earlier, and an unusual model in the 1740s when Henrietta commanded John James to copy them.[93]

Margaret's vigorous protests about the absence of ire in William's departure from court point to an area of sensitivity. If re-stating a belief in the importance of his family had become necessary to William in his old age, perhaps this points to an area of sensitivity too, and in fact the tensions between William and Henry emerge clearly from the last sixteen years of William's life. Henry's elder brother Charles (III) died in 1659 and Henry suddenly found he had to take on his brother's title and role as Viscount Mansfield. He was ordered by his absent father to move from his rented house at Thorpe Salvin to Bolsover and Welbeck as a caretaker while their real owner was still in exile.[94] In later years, Henry looked back on his occupancy of Thorpe Salvin, before he became William's chief heir, as a happy time. On his deathbed, he "fell into discourse a bout Thorpe Salvin & [said] ... he never lived so well & contentedly as hee did there..."[95]

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91 Bod. Ashmole MS 1112, f.47r.

92 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), 'A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for *DUKE*, Englished,' p.129.

93 Worsley, Lucy, 'Bolsover Castle in the Eighteenth Century,' *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol.11, 2001, pp.169-184.

94 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

95 NU PW1.292.6c; see Gazetteer, p.117.

Given the political situation, Henry could have expected to enjoy his new houses for the rest of his life. However, perhaps he should have taken warning from William's overly defensive tone in discussing the furnishings for Bolsover. "My intention is but to save them for you - for I protest that is all the design my wife and I have in that business," William wrote.[96] He also said, of the goods, that he and Margaret "give all our Intereste Upp unto you, wholeye & totaleye lookinge for nothinge of them att all - onlye the use iff I chance to coume to you duringe life so theye are all yours..."[97] However, when Henry wanted to make alterations, William put him off, kindly saying that "For the altering of the chimneys doors and windows I should be very willing to any thing you desire but only entreat you to let it alone for a while..."[98] This, contrary to expectation, was only a year before William's return and his reclamation of his houses. So by 1666, Henry found himself living in a rented house once again, having moved out of Welbeck to Glentworth, Lincolnshire. The Gazetteer describes this sizeable but old-fashioned and architecturally-unadventurous house.[99] It was three storeys high and built around a courtyard, but was presumably less than satisfactory to a member of a family that could find even Thorpe Salvin to be "not Large Enuffe for [his] Inclinations."[100] Henry's letters show a transitory life-style between Glentworth, Welbeck, and an inn called The Flower Pot in Lincoln's Inn Fields.[101]

Money, unsurprisingly, was another point of contention between father and son. Henry lived on an allowance from his father. An extraordinary letter survives from c.1674, Henry's petition to be allowed to return to Welbeck. He argued that it would save money, since William "would now be pleased upon your giving us leave to live with you to take away wt part & proportion of it [the allowance] you shall please..."[102] In 1663, Henry's financial situation had become so parlous that he had to give William "a brief account how [he] came to be eight thousand pounds in debt." He

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96 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

97 ibid, f.353.

98 ibid, f.356.

99 See Gazetteer, pp.64-67 and illustrations 6.4 and 6.5.

100 NU PW1.89, Jane Cheyne to Charles Mansfield at Welbeck, 7th May, 1656.

101 For example, NU PW1.374; 'I had not ... congratulated yo welcom to Glentworth Ere this, but the truth is I heard yo were at Welbecke at my Dukes,' PW1.40, Henry Brabant to Henry, 23rd August, 1667.

102 NU PW1.74

claimed that £6000 had been spent in the last three years since he had been forced to move into rented houses again.[103] So the blame for the debt is laid on his father.

Henry wanted to live at Welbeck in order to protect his family's financial interests.[104] He listed all the conditions he and his wife were prepared to accept: keeping their guests away from the house, "only coming to see your horses or in the afternoon," entertaining William's guests for him, and never having "above four dishes besides beef and one dish at supper."[105] This humiliating self-abasement by Henry, now Earl of Ogle, shows the powerful grip that his aged father still had over his living space. Henry's notes made in 1665 about arrangements in the event of his death show how he resented his dependency: "I would lay down my life for my deare Wife and my Children at any time to Establish ym in a great and Plentiful estate,"[106] he wrote.

Although Henry complained of his financial treatment, William had acted with foresight in settling much of his estate on his younger children. Clarendon in 1657 explained that William had "conveyed his lands for the payment of debts and raising younger children's portions ... the whole business ... [is] intricate and perplexed and ridiculous."[107] William himself explained his actions to Henry: "I devised two parts off my estate for the payenge of my debts, & the providinge off my younger children ... withoute loss to you." If this had not been done and William had died before Henry had reached the age of twenty-two, William wrote, "you had been a warde & a Courtier woulde have undon you."[108] But as it turned out, the estate was tied up and William's heir was left without financial independence. Although Henry must sometimes have longed for his father's death, his luck did not improve after it. The male line of the Cavendishes ended with Harry's premature death in 1680. Henry therefore regretted his son's marriage, a gamble connecting the Cavendishes to the powerful Percy family that turned out to be an expensive mistake. As Frances wrote, Henry had "lost his fammyly by the loss of his only sonn and a sonn of such hopes and deserts," but also "10000*l.* in gifts and revenue the loss of 2000*l.* a yeare in joynture out of his

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103 BL Add MS 70500, f.13.

104 NU PW1.74

105 ibid.

106 BL Add MS 70500, f.26.

107 Clarendon to Nicholas, 1st November, 1657, quoted by Firth, (1886), pp.107-8.

108 NU PW1.78

esstate for the life of a lady but 14 yeares of age."[109] This was a heavy blow for Henry because he too certainly appreciated his family heritage. "I esteemed it my duty to keep up ye memory of my Father and Grandfather for they made their family," wrote Henry in his considerations on making his will, "I would keepe my estate as much together as I could. I am in Great Greif seeing my Wife endeavour to have my estate devided amongst my daughters,"[110] an intention which resulted in the lengthy court case over Henry's inheritance in the 1690s. There is, therefore, a considerable body of evidence for Henry's financial and familial insecurity, and for his aged father's domestic tyranny. An old man's relationship with his son and heir was obviously important. Yet William jeopardised it by tying up money in building projects, suggesting that these two preoccupations were in some way linked. In building Nottingham Castle, William was perhaps attempting to make a concrete and long-term statement about Cavendish greatness before his unsatisfactory son took over. Another area of family discord was created when William tied up a good deal of money in his wife's jointure.

5.3.3 Margaret

"I am very mallencholy," wrote Henry to a friend in 1671, "finding my Father more perswaded by his Wife then I could thinke it possible."[111] Margaret, whom William had married in Paris, created a deep division in the family. The sorest point was William's perpetual enlargement of her inheritance at Henry's expense. One letter from John Hutton, a lawyer, described how he had questioned William, on Henry's prompting, on the reversion of her settlement. William's response was that "he wondered his son should trouble himself with nothing,"[112] and wrote back to Henry, saying "wee are all honeste folkes heer & have no uniuste subtle designs, - for jeloseyes, doubtts, feares & whispers are too womanishe for mee to trouble my selfe with."[113] His actions, in repeatedly increasing Margaret's jointure, belied this.

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109 NU PW1.410

110 NU PW1.285.5e

111 Strong, (1903), p.63.

112 BL Add MS 70500, f.33.

113 ibid, f.37.

Margaret's own writings too show hostility towards her step-sons. "When a *Second Wife* comes into a Family," she wrote, "all the former Children or old Servants, are apt to be Factious, and do foment Suspicions against her; making ill Constructions of all her actions."[114] She aroused hostility through her role in managing the estates; it was said, for example, that she "was very severe in punishing those of the Forest in Nottinghamshire, taking away all the cattle that were not branded."[115] Margaret was also connected with some unpopular household members: her maid Elizabeth had married Francis Topp, a merchant, in Antwerp. The family considered Topp, who obtained a baronetcy, jumped-up and dishonest. It "wilbe much to yr satisfactione," wrote Lady Mary Armyne to her niece Frances in c.1669, "that ladey Tope & her daur, is gone from Welbecke, I hope never to retorne thither any more, I hope ye lady^{pp} my hon Lorde & all youres will stilbe more firmly fixed in my Lord Duckes favour & afacione..."[116] Topp, who moved out of Welbeck to Tomarton Manor in Gloucestershire, was an unpopular steward, and there were complaints from the tenants at Markham who "suffered much through ye crossness ... of Mr Top."[117] Topp, though, was astute enough to cultivate Henry, and tried to reassure him about his inheritance. "As to ye maine thing that I hope will remove all doubts in the ffamily I know that wilbe done out of hand," he wrote reassuringly, "it being more my Lord Dukes and my Lady Duchess desires then it can be your Honors..."[118]

William's daughter Jane considered that Topp's "vanity [had] got the better of covetiousnes" in 1668. They met accidentally while he was showing off his coach in Hyde Park, and Jane reported that "I beelive hee could have wished I had not seene him there, hee reports the thousand pound, my father was pleased to give mee, is not yet due, truly I expect nothing, hee can keepe from mee ... Hee inttends non of my Lord Chilldern any good," she concluded in a letter to Frances, "and am very sory, hee should so much wast the Estate as you mention, meethinks there might bee sume meanes contrived to hinder him, I would assist in any thing I could."[119] One reason for Topp's

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114 Cavendish, Margaret, (1671), p.167.

115 Blackburne Daniell, F.H., ed., *CSPD, 1671*, London, 1895 and 1968, p.426, William Fuller to Joseph Williamson, 12th August, 1671.

116 BL Add MS 70500, f.50.

117 NA DDP.121.4; NU PW1.510.

118 NU PW1.256, 1666.

119 NU PW1.90

success, and possibly for William's children's resentment, was his skill at operating the mechanisms of obtaining access to William. Luke Killingworth wrote to Henry in Glentworth in 1667, saying that Topp had advised him in an application to William, and that Topp himself, who "well knowes his Graces humor and when to time his motions," would work on the business further.[120]

William's children also suffered from their father's pragmatic views on the future of his dynasty. Once it was known that Charles (I)'s widow was not pregnant, William wrote to Henry that he could "pretend but little interest in her."[121] This rather casual and ruthless attitude to his daughter-in-law shows a single-minded pursuit of the family line at the expense of the individual. Also during his exile, Jane, who had spent much of the Interregnum guarding Welbeck, asked permission to marry. William refused, even though she was thirty-seven, explaining that he thought her suitor "made love to her portion, & all the Ill Sonetts & Romanticall love discourses was to that." He decided "to write sharply to her again, and told her though she was in love with him I would never give my consent to a man that I knew nothing of, either of his person, parts or estate."[122]

A niggling and competitive relationship between a duke and his heir is not unusual, and points to the basic contradiction between a generational difference and the necessity of presenting the world with a united front. This tension spilled over into the wider household for the second Earl of Castlehaven, for example, who was successfully accused of rape and sodomy by his son and heir, and beheaded in 1631. His son and his wife, who made the accusations, said he had abused a lord's privileges to cause disorder within the household. They, in turn, were in fact a Roman Catholic and an adulteress respectively, and the earl accused his peers of overturning the natural hierarchy of the household in believing his inferiors at his expense.[123]

Significantly, Herrup argues, one of the reasons that the assembled peers condemned Castlehaven was his reputation of being uninterested in court life, and thereby arousing a suspicion of

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120 NU PW1.165

121 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

122 NU PW1.79

123 Herrup, (1999), pp.25-62.

peculiarity.[124] The arguments in the trial were not about homosexuality, but about the duties and privileges of the head of a family, his responsibilities to the body politic, and his personal status. William Cavendish, the 'Loyall Duke,' on the other hand, was very well-known, and his loyalty to the king was unimpeachable. His heir would, and did, find no audience for any complaints of jealousy about his mother's replacement, or of being kept short of money. But the last section of this chapter will argue that William's poor relationship with his heir was only part of a wider problem. Their quarrels created a portion of the disorder in the household, but the rest was caused, at least in part, by William's own sexual antics.

5.4 Disorder and classicism

At the beginning of 1644, Margaret wrote, William returned from fighting in the north "to *Welbeck* ... to his own House and Garison, in which parts he staid some time, both to refresh his Army, and to settle and reform some disorders he found there, leaving no visible Enemy behind him in *Derbyshire*..."[125] There were disorders and upheavals throughout Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire: the Civil War was in progress. But the passage reads ambiguously, as if Margaret were referring to disorders within William's "own house and garrison," supposedly his citadel, retreat, and to quote Wotton, his "private Princedome." The conflict that seized the whole country is being linked rhetorically with the conflict within William's own home.

It is possible, of course, that the evidence for disorder survives whereas there is no evidence for harmony; letters of complaint and scandal are more likely to be kept than those merely describing the weather. But given the expectation that the household would express loyalty on every occasion, the surviving sources for the household do demonstrate a striking succession of crises. These, in turn, could provide the hither-to missing link in the chain between William's buildings and political power - power on the personal and domestic level. Many such examples of conflicts have already been quoted, but the issue of William's own behaviour when it deviated from the formal courtly model has not yet been discussed. We have seen that his writings on horsemanship unconsciously undermined the hierarchy of man and beast by endowing the horse with understanding and sensitivity, thereby creating a "definition of individual consciousness that [would] ultimately subvert aristocratic claims to special status."[126] Could this also apply to his attitude towards his

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124 ibid, p.24.

125 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.39.

126 Raber, (1999), p.43.

household, combining as it did the contradictory roles of the patriarch and the old-fashioned dispenser of hospitality, with the Renaissance courtier ready to offer a flattering intimacy to inferiors?

Some of the problems which arose in the household included the sacking of a chaplain for carrying out ceremonies of "Clandestine marages" among the servants,"[127] and the sending of an anonymous letter slandering Margaret with accusations of adultery with Topp so that William would turn against her.[128] Adultery must have been an accusation capable of gaining currency in the household, and Margaret was elsewhere known as "Welbeck's illustrous Whore."[129] William himself was hardly straight-laced. As Clarendon wrote, he was so "amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time," that "nothing could have tempted him out of these paths of pleasure" but civil war.[130] In addition, Henry's plea to live with William at Welbeck was inspired, he wrote, by "some young women who being presumptuously and extravagantly ambitious do with their foolish thoughts fill town and country doing what they can to dishonour your Grace..."[131] Sexual misconduct was not unknown in the Cavendish family. Bess of Hardwick effectively disowned William's uncle Henry, the 'common bull of all Derbyshire.' William's daughter Jane gave the family explanation: "Caus Henry wenches lov'd more than his wife."[132] Gilbert Talbot also had at least one illegitimate child, as William paid an allowance to "parson gilbert (whose mother was a by blow of ye sayd Erle of Shrewsburie)."[133]

What were the young women of the household complaining of when they set out to 'dishonour' William with their loose talk? William took a great deal of pride in his manipulation of women, comparing it to his skill at swordsmanship: "I am so greate a Master off the sorde & under stande [that] the strength of the blade is the weake off the female - & the weake of the blade is the strength

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127 NU PW1.171

128 NU PW1.315

129 Bod. Ashmole MS 36, f.187.

130 Clarendon, (1888), Book VIII, Chapter 82, Vol.3, p.381.

131 NU PW1.74

132 Bod. Rawlinson MS Poet 16, 'On my honble Grandmother Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury.'

133 NU PW1.147

of the female."[134] Margaret knew about and excused his amorous behaviour. "He has been a great lover and admirer of the Female Sex," she wrote, "which whether it be so great a crime to condemn him for it, I'le leave to the judgement of young Gallants and beautiful Ladies."[135] As Starkey has pointed out, the division of function between wife and mistress allowed both a role in the early modern period.[136] Stone found it universally agreed among seventeenth-century commentators that sexual desire should not form the basis of a marriage, with adultery the norm among the aristocracy.[137]

Yet despite William's straightforward adherence to aristocratic mores of the early seventeenth century, Chapter One showed that sexual misconduct formed the backbone of the criticism levelled against William by his enemies in the Civil War. "He had a tincture of a Romantick spirit," wrote Warwick, "this inclination of his own and such kind of witty society (to be modest in the expression of it) diverted many counsels, and lost many opportunities."[138] But the severest condemnation came from the Parliamentary propagandists. William, when he should have been fighting, would "be *fornicating* with the *Nine Muses*, or the Deane of *York's* daughters."[139] This was unusually strong language, and not generally applied to William's contemporaries. There had been a general hardening of attitude in the 1630s, through both the sublimation of sexuality at the Neo-Platonic court of Charles I and the rise of Puritanism in wider society. Whether it was mirrored by practice or not, Stone considers that social pressure against extra-marital relations was certainly increasing in the early seventeenth century.[140] Presumably William, just as he maintained old-fashioned ideals of hospitality, also found his sexual behaviour out of step with the times.

There is also evidence from closer to home that William's sexual misconduct was particularly striking. William's daughter Jane freely acknowledged his attraction for women in one of her poems:

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134 NU PW1.79, f.3.

135 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.149-150.

136 Starkey, (1981), p.240.

137 Stone, (1977), p.281.

138 Warwick, (1701), Vol.1, p.235.

139 BL Thomason Tracts E279 (6), *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary*, London, 26th April 1645, p.7.

140 Stone, (1977), p.505.

Mayde, wife or widow, wch beare the grave stile
Newcastle but name him I knowe then shee'l smile
From thence you may follow this track in hir face
Soe read by their Eyes, they will runn Cupitts race...[141]

And William's own poems survive. As well as his amorous poems to his two wives, the young women of the household are described in lewd terms. The poems' subjects include 'a wanton Woeman,'[142] a woman who copulated with a pitch fork,[143] and a "Coy mistress."[144] He described the starcher at work in the laundry:

you're nimble in your Trade, at any hand,
you love to starch to make Itt stiff to stand.[145]

He made a blunt promise in his poem to the chambermaid:

If you will goe with me, I'll tell you true
I'll have a Chambermaid ready for you.[146]

And the "younge Lusteye wenches" of the household who swept the floor had an unusual method of contraception:

You sweepe all cleane, butt Sin, your flesh is wilde,
Butt dares nott dare Leaste you be with childe -
What Shifte doe you make, since fleshe you refuse -
Your Broome staff for a Dildoe then you use.[147]

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141 Bod. Rawlinson MS Poet 16, 'A Songe.'

142 NU PWV.25.f.144v.

143 NU PWV.25.f.140r.

144 NU PWV.26, f.55.

145 NU PWV.25, f.140r; see illustration 16.19.

146 ibid.

147 ibid.

Elsewhere the ageing William wrote of "Loves Colde Olde Crudeties"[148] and of every "Maride Man, butt thought he mighte be free / by his wives death, & so might marie Thee."[149] There is also the striking evidence that survives in the buildings themselves. Bolsover Castle in particular, with its decorative programme based on pleasure, is a celebration of sexual disorder. The painted decoration in the Elysium Closet shows scenes of debauchery, the statues of the fountain throw lustful glances towards Venus, and the unbuilt design for the fountain with defecating female figures showed something even lewder.[150]

Yet William was at pains to stress that he was in control of his household and to rebut accusations that his servants had any influence over him. Another letter responded to Henry's accusations concerning young women. "I ame Confidente you never had an Ill opinion eyther off my love to you & yours, - or thatt I was a foole - or any thatt had taken a lease of Governinge mee I acknowledge none doth itt butt Mr Proctor - for though I ame very olde, I doe nott yett dote," William wrote.[151] When his daughter Jane tried to use servants to win William over to her marriage, William complained that she "thought to worke by Sr Hu & the Captin [Mazine], & I thank God servants could never yett doe anye thinge with mee butt what I pleased my selfe ... & forr truth sake I muste tell you the Captin knewe mee to weel to saye anye thinge..."[152]

In the midst of all this unseemly behaviour, building a house was perhaps a very good signal to send to the world: that the head of the household was caring for his family by providing ever-better accommodation for them, and that the household's energies were concentrated in one direction. This idea of the household as a battlefield, with a general directing a campaign through the means of building, runs parallel to one explanation of Wollaton Hall. Friedmann argues that part of the reason for Sir Francis Willoughby's new house was to provide a new start for his troubled

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148 PWV.26, f.15r.

149 PWV.26, f.21r.

150 See Gazetteer, pp.35, 39, and illustrations 2.6, 2.12, 2.36 and 2.19.

151 BL Add MS 70500, f.37.

152 NU PW1.79, f.2.

household, with its plan "designed to facilitate social contact," and yet with a grand but isolated suite intended to marginalise his quarrelsome wife.[153]

It could even be argued that the arrival of classicism in the architecture of William Cavendish was a metaphor for his attempts to impose order on the household and his connections throughout the region. The household, charged with implementing this programme, rebelliously transmuted the classicism of pattern books drawings from London or Italy into their own local version. Chapter Three shows that no one individual held control over the process of designing and building. William himself, as a patron, was compelled by family history, local expectations and the positive concept of the 'courtesies of place' to incorporate local references into the new ideas he obtained in Italy and London. Wotton's book predicts that some "vulgar Artizans" would find the secrets of proportion "perhaps too subtile, and too sublime."[154] The artisans charged with the building process in William's household rejected classicism's accompanying programme of rigidity and order, order which their master was incapable of implementing consistently. They were too familiar with the local and Northumbrian traditions willingly to reject them wholesale for something new, and their patron was unable, through his practical and ideological weakness, to force them. Hence the strange mannerism of the Terrace Range and Bolsover, and William's second attempt to recreate it to his greater satisfaction at Nottingham Castle.

Of course, the drawback to this interpretation is that there is no direct evidence for William's intentions, and they have to be read from the social situations surrounding his buildings. But William's building programme was so profuse, so diverse and so unnecessary, and occupied so large a proportion of his wealth and energy, that maintaining an orderly household seems to be his only other preoccupation comparable with it throughout the whole length of his very long life.

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153 Friedman, (1989), especially pp.67-70, pp.135-6.

154 Wotton, (1624), p.54.

6 CONCLUSION

The last chapter concluded that William's family, in both senses of the word, was dogged by accusations of sexual impropriety and quarrelling. It could be argued that this was essentially the bawdiness that was characteristic of aristocratic life of the seventeenth century, but the trend was in decline. William's continuing sexual impropriety receives an unusual level of attention, both in terms of criticism from enemies such as Parliamentarian pamphleteers, and of justification from his wife and daughter. Although this interpretation of the household as a cauldron of discontent is familiar from the household of the second Earl of Castlehaven, for example, it has not previously been applied to the building process.

Classicism and privacy, those two aristocratic attributes, were subverted and sometimes overturned in William's houses. At Bolsover, for example, the household's collaborative efforts to design useable spaces led to various contradictions. Their ionic pilasters, it has been argued, looked more like medieval cannons.[1] The Renaissance *pissatori* of the fountain were complemented by an bawdy scheme featuring defecating women.[2] At Nottingham Castle a classical façade hid a medievally-planned Great Hall.[3] It has been suggested that these contradictions ultimately resulted from the fact that this supposedly monolithic and well-regulated household in fact saw its head in constant disagreement with his heir, and accused of lustful and inappropriate behaviour with its lowest members, the young women.

This inappropriate behaviour, although it also fits into the old-fashioned tradition of aristocratic adultery, can be explained by William's dissatisfaction with, yet the inevitability of, his traditional role as a Midlands magnate. Far from lacking the ability to act as a fashionable court aristocrat, possessor of classical knowledge and a sophisticated desire for privacy, William found that he could not put his knowledge into action. This was partly because of the importance to himself of his local role as a regional magnate, but also because his agency to fashion himself an image was constantly challenged by his riotous household. In this situation, predatory sexual behaviour and architecture are linked as two areas where he could still try to assert control. Still, the buildings resulting from this confused, conflicting situation were triumphant, arousing awe, wonder, curiosity and a sense of

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1 See Gazetteer, p.41.

2 See Gazetteer, p.39.

3 See illustration 9.1.

energy in the viewer then as now. They are misunderstood as botched attempts at classicism, or even as flawed attempts at medieval nostalgia debased by foreign influences. The buildings spoke to a local audience, but also to a courtly one in the sense that 'courtesies of place' formed a vital part of a locality's welcome to visiting royalty. William's role in the design process as the provider of new classical ideas (seen through his travels in Italy with Henry Wotton, for example, or his sending John Smithson down to London to collect designs), set up a creative contradiction against his own, as well as his household's, essential conservatism.

William's houses, therefore, should be seen not as symbols of power, but of power struggles. This thesis took as its starting point the premise that architecture and politics were in some way connected, and the assumption that William's building programme was intended to have had 'political' effects as the representation of his own power. As Chartier argues, representations are successful only to the extent that they inspire people to act differently, and William's projects were intended to command actions.[4] But, as we have seen, these buildings did not have the effects that historians might conventionally expect. The buildings were ultimately failures in the sense that a court appointment should have followed as a result of each project, as William spent much of his life disappointed by and estranged from the court. Because of the limits of William's agency, he was unable to control the process of fashioning himself a court-orientated representation through architecture: too many other people and interests were involved for him to dominate. However, his buildings did, it has been argued, successfully act as a lightning conductor for the tensions that arose from the micro-politics of his household. This explanation may well have a wider application to seventeenth-century architectural patronage, but the surviving Cavendish buildings are particularly striking in the richness and complexity of their style and function, and the surviving evidence for the Cavendish household illuminates a series of particularly intense disputes.

Chapter One explained the sense of disappointment and political failure that colours William's life despite his overt successes: obtaining the confidence of two kings and advancement up the peerage. The chapter drew out his sense of disgruntlement at the supposed ingratitude of the Stuarts, which, in its turn, implied royal toleration of the pointed criticism frequently levelled at him during his lifetime. At a time when honour and credit counted for so much, William's loss of his estates during the Civil War was hardly more important than his loss of reputation by his actions after the defeat at Marston Moor in deserting Charles I and going into exile. The contemporary sources

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4 Chartier, (1988), p.9.

show, furthermore, that biting criticism was levelled against William's conduct even by those at the heart of his household and family.

Chapter Two describes the building process and reveals that it was in the hands of the household, driven by the ideas of the patron but sometimes far from them in execution. Artists and designers were treated in the period with a frank utilitarianism; their work had the purpose of supporting their patron's magnificence, they were menials working in his service and as such were members of the household.[5] Despite William's undoubted interest and involvement, the process was ultimately in the control of a body by no means secure in its identity, and with a continually-changing hierarchy as different members fought for status. William's building programme was a means of employment and social advancement for many members of the household and estate families, and they, therefore, had an interest in continuing it as much as he did.

Chapter Three described the medieval and classical influences that met in the Cavendish buildings, and sought to define their fusion and the resulting tensions. The Northumbrian barony of Ogle was the only one of William's many titles that was inherited, and in this situation, references to the chivalric past in the north were bound to be an important part of Charles (I) and William's architectural patronage. At the same time, William was earning himself a viscountcy through politicking at court, and his patronage also had to take account of this strand of fashion - hence the application of classical motifs onto the medieval-inspired exterior of the Little Castle. And yet the fusion of the two elements, although illustrating two discordant influences, became a new paradigm, an individual and characteristic style that reflected the personal situation of the patron as mediated through his household. This 'Cavendish' style can be read as a statement capturing the complex relationship between court and country, the contrasting courtly and local influences working within the patron himself, and also the tensions between him and his household. It is, therefore, far more complex than Mowl and Earnshaw's reading of it, for example, as a "diametrically opposite stylistic direction to the Palladianism ... of the monarchy."[6]

Chapter Four attempted to recreate the use of the buildings and to explain how the physical constrictions of a house attempted to pin down the fluid household hierarchy. The survival of the details about the operation of the household of the Prince of Wales, in which William performed the

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5 Starkey, (1981), p.247.

6 Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), p.169.

role of governor, amplifies some of the familiar struggles in household politics. These have previously been drawn out by Mertes and Orlin, the latter finding that the household was "restless, conflicted, shape-shifting, imperfectly defended and unsusceptible of repose."[7] The evidence for the working of the Cavendish household is less formal but in some ways more illuminating, as complaints, shopping lists and petitions reflect real life rather than the orderly aspirations of contemporary books of rules. There was a constant turnover of staff, and the actions of the conspirators against William's wife show the power and volume of the grudges that household members held against their lord while the fiction was maintained that they were good and loyal servants. Meanwhile, William was trapped into another contradiction. His traditional role involved maintaining the manpower to support his status and supplying cripplingly expensive hospitality, but at the same time he felt an urge to introduce the more fashionable behaviours of intimacy and the bending of the hierarchical rules that constituted the art of *cortesia*. Building, then, was a way of avoiding the issue, and of uniting the household in an absorbing task.

Chapter Five outlined the more conventional story of how William built the houses necessary to obtain court advancement, and added some new evidence to fill in the gaps in the pattern. It began by suggesting a re-interpretation of the Little Castle building programme, linking it to William's 'political' situation: his problems as executor of the Earl of Shrewsbury, his shortage of money, his marriage and his successful attempt to bluff his way to a viscountcy. But a sense of dissatisfaction with this explanation for the later part of his patronage, when he was no longer engaged in court politics, led to an examination of the micro-politics of his immediate family. William's competitive relationship with his son and the unpopularity within the household of his second wife, Margaret, provides an underlying explanation for his architectural patronage. His son's complaints about William's sexual misconduct are symptomatic of the disputed balance of power in the household, and the example of Nottingham Castle shows William isolating his son by spending Henry's inheritance on building.[8]

William Cavendish's buildings have traditionally been seen as in some way marginal to the story of architectural history: outmoded and distorted, a misunderstood version of classicism revealing how archaic English building practice was compared to the continent. This thesis has shown that that is only part of the story, misleadingly told. Classicism and Italy were not the most important referents in the Cavendish buildings; a mixture of courtly styles and 'courtesies of place' were used to

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7 Mertes (1988), Orlin, (1994), p.269.

express the balance of power in the household. Far from being an autonomous patron, William Cavendish was driven into his building programme, by his relationships with his intimates, the Talbot family, his grandmother, his father, his quarrelsome children, and his unreliable, unwieldy, old-fashioned yet indispensable household.

8 See pp.95-6.

APPENDIX ONE: TOTALS SPENT ON BUILDING ON AN ANNUAL BASIS

This table compares the totals of William's building expenditure from year to year with the four surviving snap-shot valuations of his whole estate. These date from before 1634,[9] from 1641,[10] 1642[11] and 1667.[12] The expenditure on building was calculated by adding up every single documentary reference to a payment related to building located in the archives. Figures in normal type are taken from surviving seventeenth-century documents. Figures in *italic* type are extrapolated from the surviving fragments and Margaret's totals. The table is discussed in Chapter Two, p.85.

Year	House	Amount	Comments	Estate valuations
1597	Kirkby	£300	gift from Charles (I)'s mother	
1599	Kirkby	£100	gift from Charles (I)'s mother	
1612	Bolsover	£15. 03. 03		
1613	Bolsover	£520. 11. 02		
1614	Bolsover *Bolsover*	£122. 16. 00 *£400*		
1615	*Bolsover*	*£500*		
1616	*Bolsover*	*£500*		
1618	*Monument in St Mary's church, Bolsover*	*£500*		Eliz. Basset brings £3200 per annum.[13]
1619	*Fitting out Little Castle*	*£500*		
1620	*Fitting out Little Castle*	*£400*		
1621	*Fitting out Little Castle*	*£300*		
1620s	Sheffield Hospital	£400	not built	
1622	*Welbeck Riding House*	*£1000*		

9 NU PW1.331, undated valuation, pre-1634 from internal evidence, William's own handwriting.

10 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.97-8.

11 NUPW1.600, 'Breefe note of what I have hard my Fathers stewards say he receves from his Northumberland lands ye rest of ye summs fixed here to ye Names are upon my owne knowledge if they are not more,' Henry's own handwriting, 18th January, 1667.

12 NU PW1.600

13 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.94; NU PW1.553; NU PW1.331.

1623	*Welbeck Riding House*	*£1000*		
1624	Slingsby	£3000	gift from Charles (II)'s mother	
1620s	*Welbeck Stables*	*£5000*		
1630s	*Bolsover Terrace Range*	*£11,300*		pre-1634 £11,000 at least[14]
1630s	*Bolsover Riding House Range*	*£5,000*		
1640s	*Partial rebuilding of Welbeck*	*£5,000*		
1617 - 1640	All buildings	£31,000	Margaret's calculation	
1641			Margaret's calculation	£22,393[15] minus western lands £19,509
1642			Henry's caluculation, not including western lands	£15,702[16]
1655	Bolsover	£00. 02. 06		
1656	Bolsover	£15. 15. 04		
1660s	Riding House	£63. 09. 00		
1661	*Welbeck / Bolsover*	*£2000*		
1662	*Welbeck / Bolsover*	*£2000*		
1663	Bolsover *Welbeck*	£599. 00. 03 *£1000*		
1664	Bolsover *Bolsover*	£965. 09. 06 *£1000*		
1665	Bolsover Great Tosson Total: *Bolsover / Welbeck*	£66. 10. 00 £10 £76. 10. 00 *£2000*	extra work only new roof	
1666	Bolsover *Bolsover*	£127. 12. 00 *£2000*	extra charges	
summer 1661 – 1667	All buildings	£12,000		
1667	Bolsover and Welbeck	£681		£14,147[17]

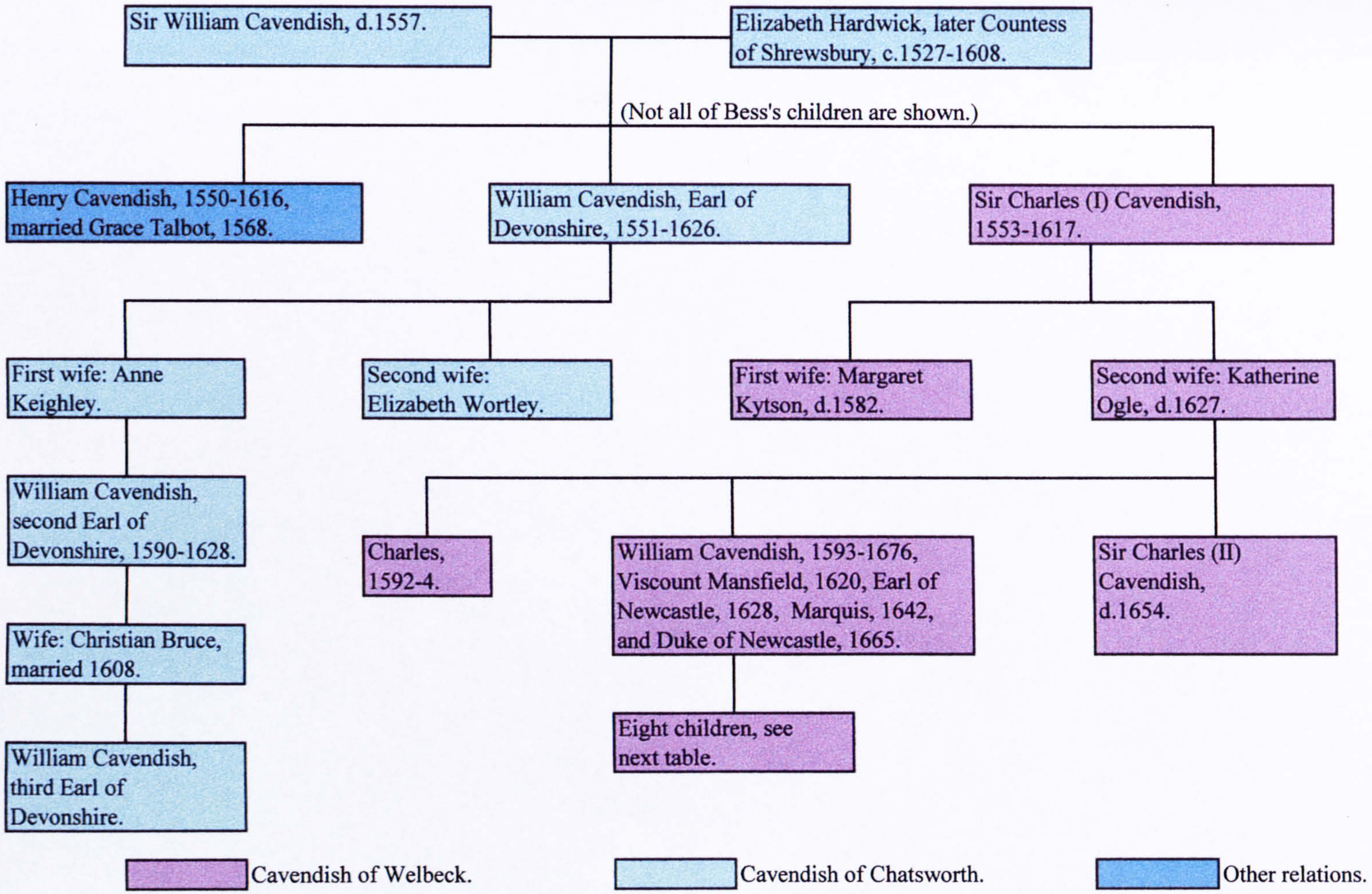
14 PW1.331

15 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.98.

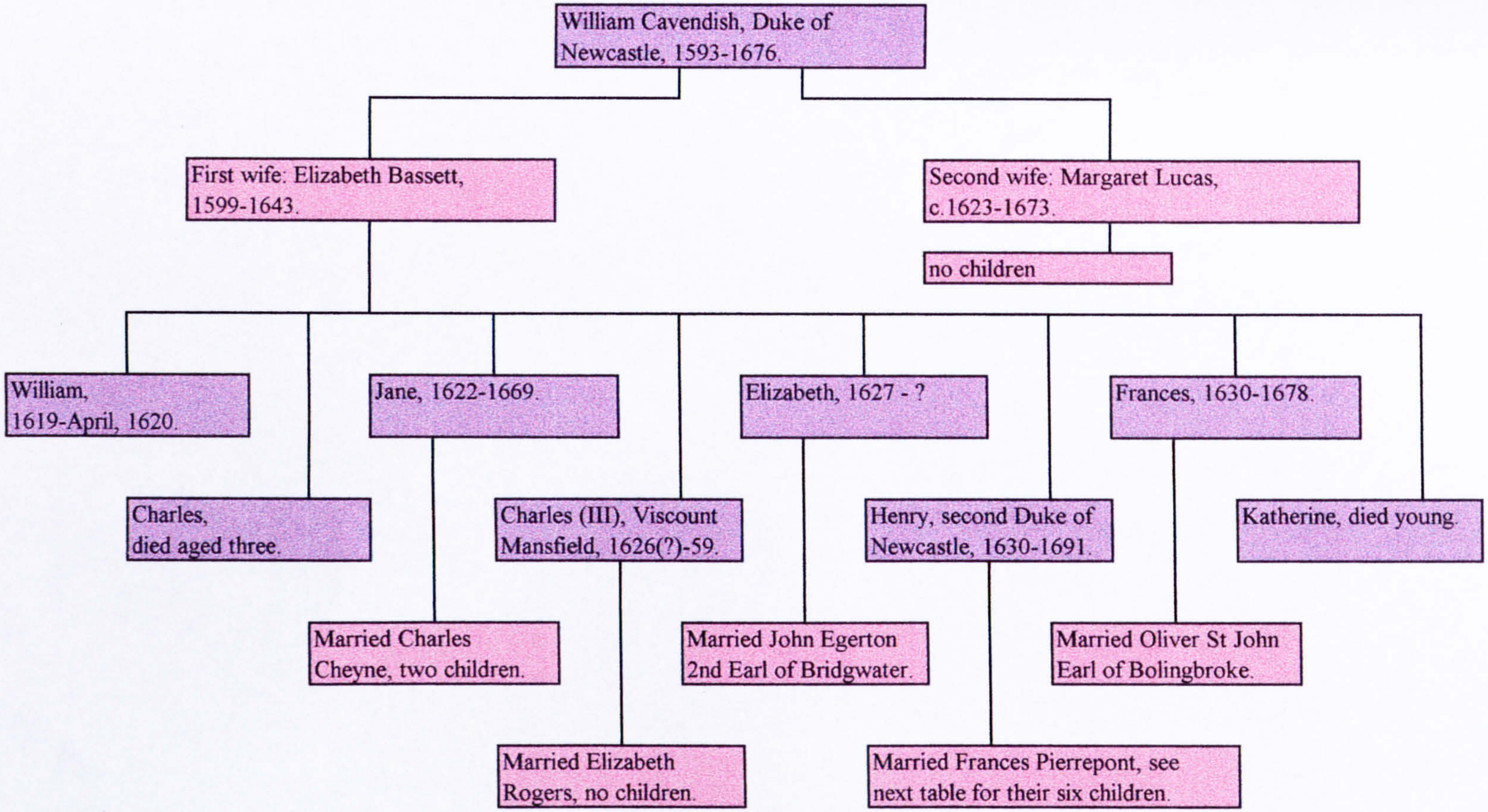
16 PW1.600

1668	Bolsover and Welbeck	£155		
1670	Bolsover Clipstone Wellingore Blore Total:	£01. 16. 7½ £16. 15. 02 £15. 16. 00 £03 £37. 07. 09½	park and lodge 2 years' repairs house repairs	
1674 -	*Nottingham Castle*	*£2000 per year*		
1677	Welbeck Nottingham Castle Total:	£06. 19. 07 £606. 16. 00 £613. 15. 7		
1678	Nottingham Castle Bolsover church Total:	£2375. 09. 10 £11. 00. 00 £2386. 00. 00		
1679	Bolsover Nottingham Castle Total:	£00. 08. 00 £996. 11. 00 £996. 19. 00		
1680	Nottingham Castle Nottingham Castle Bolsover Total:	£4831. 11. 05 £804. 04. 05 £04. 08. 03 £808. 12. 08	running total? current year	
1681	Welbeck Nottingham Castle Bolsover Total:	£1069. 04. 01 £2690. 06. 08 £03. 16. 09 £3763. 07. 06		
1682	Welbeck Nottingham Castle Bolsover Total:	£545. 12. 06 £668. 12. 00 £36. 09. 05 £1250. 13. 11		
1683	Welbeck Nottingham Castle Bolsover Total:	£05. 04. 09 £1192. 15. 10½ £13. 19. 06 £1212. 00. 1½		

THE CAVENDISH FAMILY TREE: PART ONE



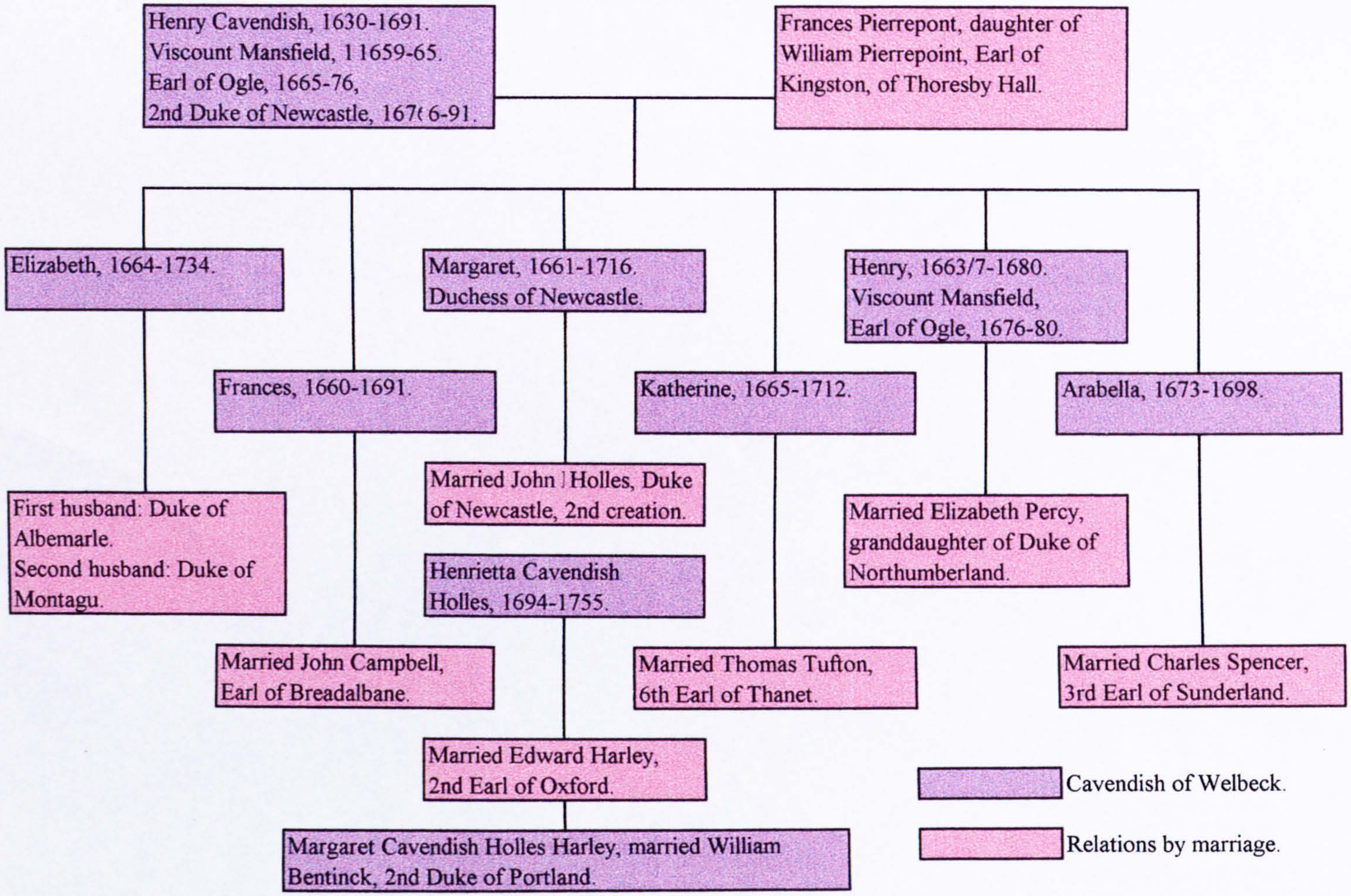
THE CAVENDISH FAMILY THREE: PART TWO



Cavendish of Welbeck.

Relations by marriage.

THE CAVENDISH FAMILY TREE: PART THREE



APPENDIX THREE: A NOTE ON SOURCES

The main body of the Cavendish family papers descended through the female line three times in the eighteenth century.[1] William's granddaughter Margaret Cavendish-Holles (1661-1716) inherited the bulk of the Cavendish estates and married John Holles (1662-1711) for whom her father's title of the Duke of Newcastle was revived. Her only child, Henrietta Cavendish-Holles (1694-1755), was married in 1713 to Edward Harley, later second Earl of Oxford. Their only surviving child was another daughter, Margaret, who married William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland. The Dukes of Portland continued to hold Bolsover Castle until in 1945 when it was given to the nation. Welbeck Abbey remains in the Cavendish-Bentinck family, although the Dukedom is extinct. The family's documentary archive was given to the nation in several batches over the course of the twentieth century. Many volumes of political and personal papers were given to the British Museum, and are now to be found as additional manuscripts in the British Library. Of particular relevance are volumes 70499 and 70500, which were partially transcribed in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *13th Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Appendix II. They contain letters and estate papers from William's lifetime. However, a far greater body of estate papers was given in several batches to the Nottinghamshire Record Office, now known as the Nottinghamshire Archives, while further personal and literary papers were given to University of Nottingham.

Letters to, from or about William Cavendish obviously survive in other archives, and have been searched for both personal and household information. His correspondence with Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford survives in the Sheffield City Archives and papers relating to his family's connection with the Earls of Shrewsbury are in the Talbot Papers at Lambeth Palace Library. His correspondence with Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, in the British Library, is supplemented by the archive of the College of Arms. The Civil War is the best known part of William's life and many documents relating to his role survive in the Thomason Tracts, Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, the surviving royal letters of the period, and in contemporary memoirs. Information about William's role in public life obviously survives in the state papers at the Public Record Office, and can be supplemented, for example, by Sir Henry Wotton's letters in the Bodleian Library, or through official correspondence with friends such as Strafford.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

College Deeds, St James, Clerkenwell, MS B21.18-23: letters about dispute over the use of the churchyard of St James, Clerkenwell, which was adjoined by houses belonging to Balliol College, Oxford, 1639-1669; MS B.21.24, plan of a house, stable and *manège* yard; MS B23.11-15: leases of the College's property in Clerkenwell, 1614-1694.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD (abbreviated in the text to 'Bod.')

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1 Olney, R.J., 'The Portland Papers' *Archives*, Vol.19, 1989, pp.78-87.

Ashmole 36, f.187, No.185, a disrespectful epitaph on 'the Dutches of Newcastle,' thought to be by John Stainsby.

Ashmole MS 1112, f.47r, William's citation for the Order of the Garter.

Ashmole 1514, 'Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I,' especially ff.45, 47.

Ashmole MS 1729, ff.220-221, Wotton to the Earl of Salisbury, Luniburge, probably the 9th May, 1612, describing William's journey through France.

Bankes MS 54, p.101, order for the drawing up of William's commission as Prince Charles' governor, 1638.

Clarendon MSS, especially those relating to William Cavendish: Clarendon MS 23, f.230, notes on events in the north, in Clarendon's own hand; MS 40, f.11, Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, Madrid, 4th June, 1650.

Clarendon MS 109, The Earl of Newcastle's Advice to Charles II, 1658/9.

Gough Maps, eighteenth-century sketches of Bolsover and Welbeck.

Rawlinson MS POET16, 'Poems, Songs and a Pastorall (and a play) by the rt. hon. the lady Jane Cavendish and lady Elizabeth Brackley,' c.1670.

Rawlinson MS D.49, 'The Jesse of the progresse to Scotland with other observations in the journey,' 1633.

University of Oxford Archives, *Register, 1606-1615*, NEP.Supra.K, f.27r, 'Convocatio habita 8 die mense July 1608,' 'Insp: clarriss. Invenis Gul. Candish ...'

THE BRITISH LIBRARY (abbreviated in the text to BL)

Add MS 12514, ff.98-101, funeral certificate and correspondence relating to the death of William Cavendish; f.282/f.290, 'Fees for the Direction & attendance of ffower officers of Armes at the ffunerall of her Grace Margaret Dutchess of Newcastle the 7th of January 1674.'

Add MS 15391-2, transcripts from Papal Registers, Vol. XLI-XLII.

Add MS 15545, Samuel Grimm's drawings made in Nottinghamshire, 1780s, especially ff.64-69.

Add MS 23073, f.41v, notes by George Vertue on William Cavendish's patronage of van Diepenbeke.

Add MS 32464, 'Sir John Holles Lord Haughton Letter-Book 1598-1617,' especially ff.46-49.

Add MS 37998, correspondence with Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, especially ff.82, 241.

Add MS 64903, Coke Papers, Vol.34, especially f.50.

Add MS 70499, letters, mainly relating to estate business of the Cavendish family, 1604-1659.

Add MS 70500, letters, mainly relating to estate business of the Cavendish family, 1661-95, ff.110r-111v 'A particular of the Goods at Boielsouer Castle,' c.1676.

Add MS 70503, papers of the Cavendish family of Welbeck, Dukes of Newcastle, 1613-1692. These are not included in the HMC report and are not transcribed. There are 106 folios of mainly estate and legal papers, nearly all relevant to Cavendish estates, f.53 is a 'Copie of the charges against Mr William Clayton extra. Out of writings and agreemts between him and Wm Duke of Newcastle.'

Birch MS 4278, ff.205, 241, 273, 213, and MS 4280, correspondence between Dr John Pell and Charles (II) Cavendish, 1644-50.

Egerton MS 607, 'True Coppies of certaine Loose Papers left by ye Right hoble Elizabeth Countesse of Bridgewater Collected and Trancribed together here since Her Death Anno Dm 1663.'

Egerton MS 2005, 'The Elements of Law Naturall and Politique by Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury,' dedicated 'To the right honourable William Earle of Newcastle Governour to the Prince his Highnesse.'

Harleian MS 1368, pp.35-39, 'The pceedinge of the funerall of the Right honorable Gilbert E: of Salop at Sheffield on mondaye the 12th of August, 1616.'

Harleian MS 4206, 'The truth off the sorde' by William Cavendish.

Harleian MS 4955, 'The Newcastle Manuscript,' poems by Ben Jonson, Richard Andrews and others, for William Cavendish.

Harleian MS 6288, f.2b, survey by John Norden of 'certaine parcells of lande, meadow, pasture, and drowned grounde, called North Inges" held by Charles Cavendish (II), 1624.

Harleian MS 6988, especially ff.95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 125-132, 166, 173, royal letters to and from William Cavendish, especially f.111, 'The Earl of Newcastle's Letter of Instructions to Prince Charles for His Studies, Conduct and Behaviour.'

Harleian MS 7180, large vellum folio volume prepared for Cavendish estate surveys, containing 'A perfect map of the mannor of Slingsby' by Edmund Browne, 1656.

Harleian MS 7367, 'The Humorous Lovers,' by William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.

Harleian MS 7623, 'A Copie of The Booke (assigned by his Maiestie,) of Dietts, Wages, &c. For Prince Charles.'

Harleian MS 7650, 'The Country Captain,' by William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.

Harleian MS 32497, 'The Phanseys of the Marquesse of Newcastle sett by him in Verse in Paris,' by William Cavendish.

Stowe MS 172, f.224, Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Thomas Edmondes, 'Amiens, this 28th of our March, 1612,' while passing through France with William Cavendish.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, PRINT ROOM

Fanelli, Francesco, *Dessins de Grottes*, Paris, 1660; *Fontaines et Iet d'eau*, Paris, 1660, 161.c.18.

The 'Crole Pennant,' the collector's edition of Thomas Pennant's *Some Account of London, Westminster and Southwark*, London, 1790, with inserted plates.

CASTLE HOWARD, YORKSHIRE

Papers relating to Slingsby Castle, MS A2.5.13.

CHATSWORTH HOUSE, DERBYSHIRE

David Durant's personal archive in the Manuscripts and Special Collections Department of the Hallward Library, University of Nottingham, includes transcripts of Hardwick MS 7 and 8, a card index of all letters written to/by Bess and much other material.

Hardwick MS 8, household accounts 15th April 1598 - August 1601.

THE COLLEGE OF ARMS

MS RR.19E.A, 'Derbyshire Church Notes,' c.1710, compiled by Richard/Francis Bassano, heraldic painter.

Archive of Garter King of Arms, *Order of the Garter*, (No.50), pp.105-116; *Garter Letters, Warrants, etc.*, (No.54), f.84r, 10th April, 1661; f.86r; *Garters Register*, (No.1), 'An Historical Accompt of the Elections ... Collected & Methodised BY Sr Edward Walker Knight Garter Principall King of Armes', especially ff.47v-49v, an account of William's installation.

THE DERBYSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Parish Registers of Bolsover, MS46, 'Aprill, 1620. Infant Sr Willim Cavendish, mar. none die sepult:'; April 1643, 'domina Elizabeth uxor prenobila Gulielm Com. Newcastle...sepultus...'

FINSBURY LIBRARY LOCAL STUDIES COLLECTION, THE LONDON BOROUGH OF ISLINGTON

St James' Church, Clerkenwell, *Vestry Minutes Books,* 1590-1673; *Poor Rate Books*, 1661-92.

Eighteenth and nineteenth newspaper cuttings from *The London Evening Post, Daily Advertiser*, mentioning Newcastle House, Clerkenwell.

THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY, LONDON

Copies of the 'Agas' map of London, 1562; Norden, John, drawing of 'Blackfryars stayre' in the '*description of the moste Famous Citty LONDON...* ' 1600; Visscher, C.J., 'Blankfryers Staires,' in his view of London, 1616.

MS 4508.1, parish register of St Anne's, Blackfriars.

HOVINGHAM HALL, YORKSHIRE

Drawings and plans relating to Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

Shrewsbury Papers:

MS 694, f.2, 'provisions ... at worsopp against the kinges cominge hereafter,' 1603; f.63, 'A Note of such Cookes & others thatt weare Imployed att the entertaynmentt of the Queenes Maiesty att ... worsopp Mannor in June 1603'; f.80, 'A breefe note of the Clarke his bills ... 1602'; f.90, Charles Cavendish to Henry Butler, 16th February, 1610; f.107, note to the Earl of Shrewsbury about building works, 'yo^r^ hon^r^ would gladlie have the stare inlarged which goeth into your grete chamber'; f.152, payment 'To Sr Charles Candeshs man that mad the sider'; MS 697, f.71, notes about expenses of Charles Cavendish and Gilbert Talbot in Italy; MS 702, f.47, expenses of Thomas Coke, 1604, including 'foiles for mr Wm: Cavendish'; MS 704, f.189, about the audit at Welbeck, 1600; MS 709, f.9, money spent in Rome,1573-4, f.33, about Charles (I)'s wound, 1599.

Talbot Papers:

MS 3190, f.263, Thomas Stryngar to the Earl of Shrewsbury, from Wingfield, 15th November, 1584; MS 3199, p.219, Henry Unton from Torrington to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 8th December, 1590; MS 3199, f.499, The Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, 29th November, 1592, the bearer was Charles (I) Cavendish; MS 3203, f.378, Charles (I) to Bess of Hardwick, from Oatlands, 1592; f.380, examination of John Dakin, 8th January, 1605-6, mentioning schemes of Charles (I) and Gilbert Talbot; f.566, case involving Charles (I); f.582, Gilbert Talbot's household, 1609; f.588, Charles Cavendysshe to Henry Butler, Welbeck, 19th June, 1611.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES

Lind. Dep. 53.2, title deeds, Wellingore, Rowe family, 1612-57.

Misc. Dep. 487.3.3, notes for a history of Glentworth, collected by Miss Gibbons.

Ordnance Survey 25" map, 1887, Navenby Par. Co. 2/1, Wellingore.

Tithe Award Map, 1813, f.253, 'Sketch of the Parish of Glentworth, 1813, Edward Gee Surveyor.'

LINCOLN CITY LIBRARY

Ross Manuscripts, Vol.4, p.164, sketch of Glentworth House, n.d., before 1752.

Banks, Vol.2, drawings by Claude Natte, p.131, 'north side of Glentworth House, 1793' and p.133, 'south west view of Glentworth House, 1793.'

THE LONDON METROPOLITAN RECORD CENTRE

MS P76.JS.1.001, Parish Registers of St James, Clerkenwell.

THE MUSEUM OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE

Sloane, Barney, et al., *St Mary's, Clerkenwell*, publication draft 1, Museum of London Archaeology Service, April, 1997. Barney Sloane allowed me to examine his unpublished report, illustrations and plans.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND RECORD OFFICE

NRO 2024.30, 'the Account of Bothall parish as it was given to the late Geographer Mr Adams,' late seventeenth century.

ZAN M15.A.23, pp.64a-66, nineteenth-century transcription of correspondence between Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton and Henry, Earl of Ogle, 1667-73.

ZAN M15.A.38, pp.73-75, sketches by John Hodgson, in his notebook, 1827.

ZM1 B12.XXVII.1, 'Particulars and conditions of sale of a Valuable Freehold Estates ... the Remains of the Castle of Ogle, 1830.'

ZSA 51.33, nineteenth-century plan and sections of Bothal Castle by Andrew Oliver.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, HALLWARD LIBRARY, DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (abbreviated in the text to NU)

Clifton MS, Clc.231, Sir Gervase Clifton to Mr Hughes, 4th July, 1639.

NeD 3850, 'Duke of Buckingham his Aquittance for 4400*l.* beinge the Consideration paid by the Marq. of NewCastle for Nottingham Castle &c.'; NeD 3851, 'The Marquis of Newcastles Ltr of Attorney unto Wm Clayton,' 15th April, 1663.

The Portland Collection:

PW1 consists of 673 items, mainly personal papers of the family dating from the seventeenth century. Notable items include:
PW1.250, petition of Barbara Stanley of Slingsby, n.d., 1660s.
PW1.367, 'A Note or Inventory of such Plate of my Lord of Newcastle as was by to putt into two hogsheads & placed & layd deep in the ground wthin the Brewhouse att Welbeck.'
PW1.425 onwards, letters to Andrew Clayton.

PW1.595, 'The perticuler of what Bedding is Within Welbeck Taken May the 12th 1662.'
PW1.624, accounts and notes concerning repairs effected at Bolsover Castle by Joseph Jackson, 1666-7.
PW1.669, draft letter from Andrew Clayton to William Cavendish about building work at Welbeck and Bolsover, c.1665.
PW1.315, 'A true Narrative and Confession of that horrid Consperacie, against her Grace Margarett Duchees of Newcastle acted at Welbeck, October the 31st last past...' 1671.
PW1.629, Charles (III)'s testimony to the Committee for Confiscated Estates on his right to his mother's estates at Blore.

PW2 consists of later papers, some of which are of interest, such as:
PW2.651, agreement between John, Duke of Newcastle and John Watts for keeping Welbeck gardens, 10th October, 1704.

PWV consists of literary papers. There are 487 items by William Cavendish.
PWV.10, 'A Note of the Landes Leases Annueties and possibylities of Charles Cavendysshe and his wyfe.'
PWV.21-22, William Cavendish, manuscript for his horsemanship book.
PWV.23, 'The King's Entertainment' by the Duke of Newcastle, a masque intended for royal performance in the 1660s.
PWV.24, 25, 26, manuscript books of poems and notes by William Cavendish.

THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ARCHIVES (abbreviated in the text to NA)

'Direct Deposit Portland' (DDP) consists of papers from Welbeck given to the nation. It is divided into six main sections.

DD.P Newcastle Maps: copies of plans of estates 1629-40 by Senior and a few by Huntingdon Smithson. These complement the maps of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.

DD.P: title deeds of estates in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and other counties, in general before 1700.
DDP.50.69, 20th December, 1608; DDP.50.70, 19th August, 1613, papers relating to Charles (I)'s purchase of Bolsover Castle.

DD2P/DD3P: leases of the Duke of Portland or his predecessor to tenants in the estates in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, etc., plus additional title deeds and some legal estate papers. DD.2P/DD.3P consists of 3,615 documents

DD4P: a further deposit indexed in 1968, including additional medieval material, mainly relating to the Ogle estates in Northumberland. Listed in two parts, firstly, deeds of title and cognate papers, and secondly, settlements, wills, titles and papers including pedigrees.
DD.4P.22.113-204, papers connected with the Clayton dispute.
DD.4P.35.25-30, legal papers re. debts of 1st Duke of Newcastle, 1664-1672.
DD.4P.70.1-25, Bolsover Castle papers, c.1660.
DD.4P.70.1, statement of timber and tiles carried from Welbeck to Bolsover for building the Riding House, etc, with carriers' names and charges, c.1600.
DD.4P.70.2-16, accounts for the Countess of Oxford for repairs and alterations, Bolsover Castle.
DD.4P.70.17, dimensions of mason's work done by William Birch at Bolsover, 1752.
DD.4P.70.18-25, vouchers of John Carter for the Dowager Duchess of Portland's Bolsover accounts, 1769-71.
DD.4P.39.55, inventory of valuation of goods of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717. This includes Welbeck, Bolsover and Nottingham Castle, but rooms are not named.

DD.5P: A further deposit made in 1966 and indexed in 1969. One large volume is about the changes made to Welbeck between 1741 and 1771.

DD.6P: This is the greatest part of the collection, indexed in 1985. It is split into 15 sections.
DD.6P.1.19.25, testatory letter, Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Newcastle, 14th May, 1633.
DD.6P.1.19.26, the will of Elizabeth Cavendish, Countess of Newcastle, 22nd November, 1642.
DD.6P.1.25.3, 'A Booke of the Buyldinge Charges At Boulsover the yeare of oure Lorde God : 1613 :

Begininge the : 2 : of November : 1612 :'
DD.6P.1.27.1-23, deeds of title and office re. William, Duke of Newcastle, 1617-1685.
DD.6P.4.1.1-4, general lists of lands relating to Cavendish estates in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.
DD.6P.4.1.3, memorandum of (Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle) of 'Lands that are sold after my Father's decease.'
DD.6P.4.1-21, various accounts relating to Nottinghamshire estates, 1670-74.
DD.6P.7.2.237, account book of weekly payments by Frances, Duchess of Newcastle, including the building work at Nottingham Castle and payments to Marsh, and the building of a new dining room at Welbeck. 1669-82.
DD.6P.7.2.238, Thomas Farr's weekly account book for Henry Cavendish, second Duke of Newcastle, including building work carried out at Welbeck and Nottingham Castle, 1676 - 1683.
DD.6P.9.20.1-11, accounts of Francis and Christopher Bassano, painters of shields and escutcheons, for works in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, College of Arms, London, with notes of work done for dead individuals with blazons and heraldic notes, 1707-24.

DD.7P: This consists of 200 boxes, including many vouchers. The index volume is in preparation but the material is mainly eighteenth- and nineteenth-century.

Worksop Priory Registers, 13th August, 1592, birth and baptism of Charles (I)'s eldest son, Charles.

A PRIVATE COLLECTION

Surveys of the estates of William Cavendish by William Senior and Huntingdon Smithson, early seventeenth century.

A series of paintings featuring horses, traditionally by Abraham van Diepenbeke.

A coloured drawing of the south front and garden, including the south-west wing before eighteenth-century remodelling, exhibited in the 'Treasures of Welbeck' exhibition, 1998. Probably the original from which Grimm's drawing of the south front, BL Add MS 15545, f.66, was taken.

Francis Richardson's survey of Welbeck park, 1748.

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (abbreviated in the text to PRO)

Wills of the Cavendish family.

State Papers, Charles I, including SP 16/31/101, 55/1/ i, ii; 73/32; SP 16/36/34; 55/1; 16/33/126; relating to William's administration of Nottinghamshire as Lord Lieutenant in the 1620s.

RENISHAW HALL, DERBYSHIRE

A series of seventeenth-century, pen-and-wash drawings of Bolsover Castle.

THE RIBA DRAWINGS COLLECTION

The Smythson Collection
Nicholas Hawksmoor's sketchbook (for Nottingham Castle)

THE RUBENSHUIS AND RUBENIANUM, ANTWERP, BELGIUM

The director of the *Rubenshuis* consulted the curators' archives and the staff of the *Rubenianum* allowed me access to their library.

THE SHEFFIELD CITY ARCHIVES (abbreviated in the text to SCA)

Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (WWM), Strafford Papers (Str P), correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, especially the letters from William Cavendish to the Earl of Strafford, MS 12/23, 1627; 12/48, 1629; 12/87, 1629; 12/116, 1630; 12/119, 1630; 12/125, 1630; 12/130, 1630; 12/132a, n.d.; 12/151, 1630, about the 'knightinge business'; 12/182, 1630; 12/88, 1631; 12/191, 1637, William expresses disappointment with court hopes; 12/192, 1631; 12/195, 1631, about success in raising fines of knighthood in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire; 12/290, 1631; 12/214, 1631; 12/238, 1632, about 'that place which I so Infenitlye desier'; 12/253, from Bolsouer, 1632; 12/267, from Bolsouer, 1632; 12/287, 1633; 12/300, 1632; 12/304, 1632, 'delayes kill me, & the time is so unserteyne'; 12/308, 1632; 15/6, 1635; 15/65, 1635; 15/112, 1635; 17/285, 1638; 17/293, 1638, 'I dare write you verye Confidently as my opinion, Thatt the Prince will have A Gouernor In the Springe'; 17/306, 1638, 'sertenly hee shall have a Gouerner, Butt whome The Lorde knowes'; 18/30, 1638, 'My Lord I have now the Greate Truste in my handes, God Bless mee with Itt'; 18/57, 1638, 'Ther was a litle Spighte att the first butt Itt soone vanisht'; 18/76, 1638, 'I have made fewe freindships at Courte'; 18/96, 1638, 'I like very well both off my place & my younge master'; 19/104, n.d.

(Parish register of St Mary's Handsworth, near Sheffield, Yorkshire, 16th December, 1593, Thomas Legge, Rector, christened 'Willm Cavendish sonn of Sir Charles Cavendish,' information provided by Martin Ripley, the church archivist.)

THE STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

MS D233.A.PZ.13-18, 1718-1791, leases, bargains and sales, feoffments, quitclaims and fines concerning the manor of Blore, Staffordshire, some concerning Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley.

MS D361.M.1, the grant of Blore Manor by the Trustees of the Committee for Confiscated Estates, 1652.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE ARCHIVES, CAMBRIDGE

D94.113, William Cavendish to the College, 4th April, 1641.

C7.16, *The College Letter Book,* p.388, the Master and Seniors to William Cavendish in reply.
C7.17, *The College Letter Book*, p.8, letter to William; p.10, letter to Margaret, 1670s.

SB4.8, *The Rental, 1666-82*, ff.120v, 121r, expenses concerning the statue of the Countess of Shrewsbury by Thomas Burman paid for by William Cavendish.

WARWICKSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

CR 136.B.2453, a list of fowl served at William's entertainment for Charles I, 1634.

APPENDIX FOUR: BIBLIOGRAPHY

EARLY AND MODERN EDITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY PRINTED MATERIAL

Anon., *A true Relation of HIS MAJESTIES Motion from* Wales *to* Lichfield *in* Staffords*hire ... Also, the Marches of the Scots ... in pursuit of His Majesties Horse to* Welbeck-*House*, London, 20th August, 1645, BL Thomason Tracts E 279(1), No.9.

- *Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle*, London, 1674.

- *A Collection of Letters and Poems: Written by several Persons of Honour and Learning, Upon divers Important Subjects, to the Late Duke and Dutchess of Newcastle*, London, 1678.

- *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte de Grammont, contenant particulièrement l'Histoire Amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre sous la Règne du Roi Charles II*, Cologne, 1713; ed. Hamilton, A., Philadelphia, 1888.

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THE ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, 1593-1676.

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE QUALIFICATION OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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VOLUME TWO, THE GAZETTEER.

THE GAZETTEER
INTRODUCTION

This volume contains a gazetteer of the houses inhabited by the Cavendish family in the seventeenth century. It includes the building projects of William Cavendish, and other relevant sites such as his brother Charles (II) Cavendish's houses. Thorpe Salvin Castle and Glentworth Hall were the temporary homes of his son and heir Henry. These latter categories of house were included because the family lived in them, or work was done to them, during William's adult lifetime. He was probably therefore familiar with them, and consulted upon or otherwise involved in any building work. However, his father's houses at Blackwell or Kirkby in Ashfield are not discussed as they belong the period of William's childhood.

The entries contain factual information that backs up the argument made in the main text. They illuminate the themes of the main text. These include the number and variety of decision-makers involved in the building process discussed in Chapter Two, and the fusion of traditional and innovative impulses such as hospitality and privacy outlined in Chapter Three. The Gazetteer provides examples of the arguments and disorder that characterised the management of the whole household and wider estate described in Chapter Four. The more peripheral houses such as Wellingore Manor, Lincolnshire, or Cockle Park Tower, Northumberland, are included because they illustrate the difficulties of controlling the wider household in the sense of tenants and bailiffs, as well as providing important local and ancestral referents for the new work at other sites.

The houses also illuminate change over time. It would have been more difficult to compare a house built in the 1610s with one built in the 1670s in a larger sample, because some of the differences may be explained simply by the varying family background of the builders. The Cavendish family remains the constant behind these projects, and the changes over time can therefore be explained only by new social practices and by new experiences.

THE GAZETTEER

1 BLORE HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE

GIRD REFERENCE: SK 138 493

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2 OWNERSHIP

Blore Hall, as it is now known, was divided into holiday lets in 1987. It is owned today by the Holiday Property Bond Company.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The Bassett Family

Blore Hall, Staffordshire, was the inheritance of Elizabeth Bassett (1599-1643), William's first wife, whom he married in 1618. Her father was William Bassett of Blore, a Member of Parliament and Sheriff of Staffordshire and Derbyshire. He died in 1601, two years after Elizabeth, his only child, was born.[1] William Bassett is buried at Blore, and is commemorated by a splendid alabaster monument also including the figures of his widow, Judith, his daughter, and Elizabeth's first husband, Henry Howard. Howard, the third son of the first Earl of Suffolk, died in 1616, allowing Elizabeth to marry William two years later. Elizabeth's mother Judith was born an Austen, of Oxley Hall, Staffordshire, although she had previously been married to a Boothby, a family connection which was retained in William Cavendish's business interests.[2]

On William Bassett's death, Elizabeth was taken into the care of the Court of Wards and her wardship eventually sold to Sir Walter Raleigh. Her wardship came to an end when her mother remarried in 1608, to a London lawyer, Sir Richard Corbett.[3] Judith outlived Corbett, her third husband, and finally died at the Langley estate near Blore in 1640. She was

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1 Information kindly provided by David Swinscoe.

2 See, for example, NU PW1.2 and NA DD4P.49.6 for William's dealings with the Boothbys of Marchington.

3 Information from David Swinscoe.

buried, according to her request, in Blore church.[4]

At the time of his marriage to Elizabeth in 1618, the Bassett estates in Staffs, Derbyshire, Oxfordshire and Leicestershire were thought to bring William an income of £2400 per year, and the revenues were still calculated at £2349.17.4 in 1641.[5] This money must have been useful, if not vital, for William in his straitened financial position at the time of his marriage. Elizabeth was described by the letter-writer John Chamberlain as "Henry Howard's widow, a great heir, that was much sought and pursued for Christofer Villiers."[6]

During the Commonwealth, Charles Cavendish (III) claimed the sequestered Bassett estates in Staffordshire on the grounds that they were inherited directly from his mother, and therefore not part of his father's possessions. He challenged the trustees for the sale of lands forfeited to the Commonwealth when they tried to take possession. The Committee of Parliament responsible was told that the "Earle of Newcastle" had no interest in the Staffordshire estates "other then, by the marriage of the said Elizabeth his wife, in her right during her life & later her decease as Tenent by Curtesy."[7] Old Thomas Bamford, a long-lived family servant who had served Sir William Bassett until his death, supported Charles (III)'s testimony. He "continewed Servant to [Bassett's] Daughter & heire duringe her life, duringe w^{ch} tyme hee was employ'd by both of them in the manageinge & orderinge that Estate" as well as working at Welbeck.[8] After the Restoration, Blore was once again by managed by through bailiffs for William as part of his wider estate.

3.2 The house in the seventeenth century

The house today has a Tudor core in red brick, with evidence of alterations in the eighteenth century. It was described by Sampson Erdeswick in Elizabethan times as "a goodly antient house and parke, now the seate of the Basetts."[9] Architecturally incoherent, the house is a low and rambling building, and had fourteen hearths in 1670.[10] The northern range of the main house retains its mullioned and transomed windows and is flanked to the south by an additional eighteenth-century block. The original doorway must have lead from a northern entrance court into the low end of a Hall running west to east; a long window lighting the stairs to the east shows that they rose from the high end of the Hall to a private chamber above.[11] This was probably the "chamber over the house" mentioned in an inventory of 1689.[12] The stairs originally climbed the external wall of the original Hall, and were later swallowed up by additions. The Hall today is split in two by an inserted floor. Near the Hall's secondary southern entrance, in the yard, can be seen a section of sixteenth-century diapered blue brickwork and the remains of a pointed arch-headed sixteenth-century window,

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4 ibid.

5 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.94, 98.

6 Chamberlain, (1939), Vol.12.2, p.174, John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, 24th October, 1618.

7 NU PW1.629, f.2.

8 ibid; 'Thomas Bowmfort of Welbeck was buried July the 14th,' 1655, NA, transcription of the registers of the parish of Norton Cuckney.

9 Quoted in Swinscoe, (1998), p.129.

10 NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.72.

11 Illustration 1.1.

12 Swinscoe, (1998), p.133.

indicating the prosperous but conservative character of the Bassett family home.[13]

Extensive outbuildings and a large stable yard can be seen in the Senior survey of 1631.[14] The outbuildings have probably been modified from the more elaborate structures shown by Senior, rather than the whole demolished and rebuilt as Swinscoe suggests.[15] The large barn or stable to the east of the yard has a round-headed carriageway puncturing it half way along, but the outbuildings are of unambitious rough-hewn stone construction. There is no evidence of any significant changes in or surviving features from the seventeenth-century, apart from in the church where William's involvement in the design of William Bassett's tomb seems more than likely. Swinscoe suggests that a gatehouse was brought from the abbey of Croxton in another example of the re-use of monastic materials.[16]

During the Commonwealth, the manor of Blore was granted to John Goringe of Kingston and Richard Mellor of Blore. The grant listed the constituent parts of the property, including the manor house called "Bloore Hall," two courts, one brewhouse, three gardens, one barn and one stable in its vicinity. Also mentioned were two lead cauldrons used for brewing, "being in the brewhouse and court of the manor house."[17] The park at Blore was particularly valuable. It contained ninety-seven acres, according to the grant made by the Commonwealth in 1652.[18] Mentioned by Margaret as having "some few Deer left" in it after the Restoration, in contrast to some of William's other parks, improvement work was underway there in 1671 with expenditure on pales, gates for the beasts and grass for the park keeper's horse.[19] By 1685, it was thought that the park would, "if Cleared of ye Deare," be worth £100 a year.[20] Meanwhile, £3 was spent on repairing Blore Hall, implying that it never fell into grave disrepair as some other Cavendish properties did.[21]
The steward of Blore and the other Staffordshire estates in 1671 was James Yates, who was from Blore but rented a farm in nearby Meynell Langley in 1666.[22] He probably came from the same Blore family that provided Elizabeth Bassett with a cook. William Yates, of "Blowre," was leased a farm in the neighbouring village of Thorpe in 1633 for "good and faithful service" as a cook to the Earl and Countess of Newcastle,[23] and another William Yates was resident in the house itself in 1689.[24]

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13 Illustration 1.2.

14 Illustration 1.3.

15 Swinscoe, (1998), p.129.

16 ibid, p.130.

17 Staffordshire Record Office MS D361.M.1.

18 ibid.

19 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.92; NA DDP6.4.4.1, ff.75-77.

20 PW1.400, account of the revenue of Henry Cavendish, in the handwriting of Thomas Farr, 4th March, 1685.

21 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.77.

22 NA DD.4P.52.24

23 NA DDP.106.1

24 Swinscoe, (1998), p.133.

4 LATER HISTORY

The house remained the centre of a farm and was extended in the eighteenth century. John Byng visited Blore on his Midland tour of 1789. "We came into the hilly country where stands Blore church," he wrote, but made no comment on the house. He described the church as "a dismal place" that "might be productive of curiosity," but as it was locked he "cou'd only peep thro' the windows, and get a look at one old monument."[25] In the twentieth century, Blore Hall was converted into holiday flats. This makes access difficult and it was not possible to examine the interior of the building.

5 ST BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH

Byng's "old monument" was the resplendent tomb of William's father-in-law in the church of St Bartholomew, neighbouring the house, complete with an alabaster effigy of William Bassett's heiress, Elizabeth. The monument was commissioned by Judith Corbet c.1630 and David Swinscoe has attributed its design to Jasper Hollemans.[26] Like Charles (I)'s tomb at Bolsover, some of the figures were commissioned while the subjects were still alive. In addition to William Bassett and Elizabeth, the effigies include Judith herself, and her first son-in-law, Henry Howard, third son of the first Earl of Suffolk. At their feet are Henry and Elizabeth's first two children, one stillborn, one having died very young.[27]

At Judith's head kneels Catherine, the only Howard child to survive infancy. She later married Sir John Harpur of Swarkestone, one of the wealthiest men in Derbyshire. This marriage provides a possible family link between the seventeenth-century Cavendish buildings and the innovative mock-chivalric building called Swarkestone Stand. This is a banqueting house, described in accounts as the "Bowl-alley house," constructed for Harpur by the mason Richard Sheppard.[28] The ambitious statement by Mowl and Earnshaw that Richard Sheppard "learnt his trade at Bolsover Castle" is merely based on the similarity of masons' marks between the garden wall at Bolsover and at Snitterton Hall, where Sheppard is also thought to have worked.[29] Unfortunately, no one has located documentary evidence for Richard Sheppard's having worked for William Cavendish, although the name Sheppard does appear in several contexts. Edward Shepherd was a churchwarden at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, the centre of a community of masons, in 1609. "Mr Sheppard" was a prospective purchaser of land at Sutton in 1665, Hugh Sheppard was involved in estate business in 1669, and a Thomas Sheppard received an annuity in Henry's will.[30]

However, William Cavendish himself certainly had a hand in the creation of the Blore monument. A poem is inscribed on the monument's western end, reminiscent of Mr Lukin's tribute to Charles Cavendish (I) at Bolsover, beginning: "HERE LYES A COURTIER, SOULDIER, HANDSOME, GOOD / WITTY, WISE, VALIANT, AND OF PURE BLOOD... " It is in a familiar style, places great importance on William Bassett's blood and ancestry, and was not surprisingly written by William Cavendish. A draft in his own handwriting survives at Nottingham University, which continues:

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25 Byng, (1935), Vol.2, p.53.

26 Swinscoe, (1998), p.24.

27 Illustration 1.6.

28 Colvin, (1995), p.865.

29 Mowl and Earnshaw, (1995), p.221; Woodhouse, Adrian, pers. comm.

30 Clay-Dove, (1985), p.30; NU PW1.463; NU PW1.492-3; NU PW1.285.5e.

Frome Williams Conqueste & his potent Sorde
In the same line many a Noble Lord
That time hath loste in payenge thus deaths debt
As this unparalelde William Bassett
Butt thy hye virtues with thy Antiente name
Shall ever swell the Cheeks off Glorius fame.[31]

William Bassett also made an appearance in his granddaughter Jane Cavendish's family poems.[32] But there are also connections between the tomb and other Cavendish family monuments that make it likely that William contributed designers if not labourers to the construction process. Although clearly later than the tomb of Charles (I) at Bolsover, for example, the tomb shares features with John Smithson's design for the Countess of Devonshire's tomb at Ault Hucknall, which itself was inspired by a plate from Vredeman de Vries.[33] Also, the top of the tower at Blore church shares the same battlemented rebuilding in the seventeenth-century style familiar from Bolsover that can be seen across many of the Cavendish estates.[34]

Elizabeth Bassett asked to be buried herself at Blore in her will: "I wood have my body goe hole in to the grave and lie at Blore whit my father if not then att Bosour whith my Children..."[35] In the event, she ended up at Bolsover. Margaret recorded that Elizabeth died at Bolsover on 17th April 1643, and the parish register confirms that she was buried there on 19th April.[36] William's presence at the ceremony was mentioned in Henrietta Maria's letter of 23rd April 1643, stating that William had "gone to bury his wife, who has died, and is not yet returned ... he has been there eight days."[37] The absence of a monument for Elizabeth in the church at Bolsover is surprising, but can perhaps be explained by the fact that she had already been commemorated on the monument at Blore. In another act of filial piety, Elizabeth also asked for payments to be made on her death to the poor in all of her father's Staffordshire manors, including Blore, rather than at her husband's properties in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.[38] This attachment to the family and place of her birth, rather than of her marriage, hints at another possible area of discord within the family.

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31 NU PWV.25, f.31r.

32 Bod. Rawlinson MS Poet 16, 'On my Grandfather Mr Basset.'

33 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection III/27, reproduced in Girouard, (1983), p.270, the Countess of Devonshire's tomb is also illustrated.

34 See also Screveton and Church Warsop churches, Nottinghamshire, illustrations 16.10 and 16.12.

35 NA DD.P6.1.19.26, will of Elizabeth Cavendish, 22nd November, 1642.

36 Derbyshire Record Office, Bolsover Parish Registers, (M46), April, 1643.

37 Green, M.A.E., ed., *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, London, 1857, p.188.

38 NA DD.P6.1.19.25, testatory letter, Elizabeth, Countess of Newcastle, 14th May, 1633.

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ORIGINAL

2 BOLSOVER CASTLE, DERBYSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 471 707

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2 OWNERSHIP

In 1945, the Duke of Portland passed Bolsover Castle to Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for preservation. Repairs throughout the 1960s were organised by Patrick Faulkner, who wrote the 1975 guidebook to the Castle.[2] The Castle is now in the guardianship of English Heritage. The years 1998-2000 saw a redevelopment project carried out and the provision of new visitor facilities.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The medieval castle

At the time of the Domesday Book, "Belisoure" consisted of three carucates of land to be taxed.[3] The manor of Bolsover, along with the rest of the honour of Peverel, was given by William the Conqueror to William Peverel (I), bailiff of the royal manors in Derbyshire. The castle at Bolsover dates from at least the twelfth century when William Peverel (II) built the first stone fortifications defending the tip of the spur.[4] Pottery dating from this period was found during the archaeological investigation of the Outer Court that preceded the building of the new visitor centre in 1999.

The defences at Bolsover were probably contemporary with the stone curtain wall that Peverel (II) added to Peveril Castle, a site similarly situated at the end of a steep promontory.[5] It can be assumed that the castle at Bolsover was something like the existing remains at Peveril, with the square keep also hinted it at the seventeenth-century design of the Little Castle. Peverel (II)'s son unsuccessfully sided with Stephen and Bolsover Castle was confiscated by the Henry of Anjou and let to tenants. In 1173-4, during or after the Barons' Rebellion, £116 was spent on the two castles at Bolsover and Peveril.[6] Enid Cox gives details from the Pipe Rolls: Bolsover was provisioned and forty shillings were

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2 Faulkner, (1975), p.41.

3 Glover, (1829), Vol.2, p.114.

4 Faulkner, (1985), p.3.

5 ibid, p.35.

6 ibid, p.35.

also spent on repairs.[7] In 1174, £70 was spent on twenty knights and sixty servants at Nottingham, Bolsover and Peak Castles.[8] John visited Bolsover twice, dating charters from the Castle on 30th March 1200 and again in 1201.[9] During his reign, about £26 was spent on work on the "Turris" or turrets.[10] In 1223, a new tower was built to repair the breach made "when the Earl Ferrars besieged the castle." Five years later, a second tower was built where a section of the curtain had collapsed. It is possible that these towers were on the sites of the south and east garden rooms in the curtain wall. The Castle had a chapel at this time, for William de Ferrars settled an annual rent charge of a mark of silver upon the chaplain.[11]

In 1225-8 a new kitchen and barn were built and in 1249-53 money was spent on the upper storeys of the great tower and the roof of the queen's chamber: obviously the Castle had a Hall and royal apartments by this time.[12] The same payment included repairs to the foundations of the bailey wall, possibly along the line of the present Fountain Garden Wall. Although £5 was spent annually on repairs from 1253 to 1257, the Castle's active life was over and it was leased from 1290 onwards. By the fourteenth century, it was said to suffer "waste and strip" by lessees.[13] In 1553, the Castle was granted to Sir George Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, who in 1560 was succeeded by his son, the sixth Earl.[14] The Castle was in a dilapidated condition remarked upon by Leland during his tour.[15] He described "a great building of an olde castelle" and a "praty townelet" at Bolsover.[16]

3.2 'Foundation of the *newe house* at Bolsover,' 1600 onward

Bolsover Castle was inherited by Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, who some years later sold it to Charles (I) Cavendish. Gilbert leased Charles (I) the manor and Castle on 20th December, 1608, ten months after Charles (I)'s mother died, for 1000 years at an annual rent of £10. The trustees for the grant were Gilbert, his wife Mary, William Hammond, gentleman, and Edward Linsell, yeoman, both of London.[17] On 19th August 1613, Charles (I) became the absolute owner of the Castle at Bolsover and six surrounding manors for an undisclosed sum. The deed was enrolled in Chancery on 20th August.[18] It has been claimed that Charles (I) could do no building at Bolsover until after the death

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7 Cox, (1892), p.134.

8 Goulding, (1928), p.7.

9 ibid, p.7.

10 Currey, (1916), p.3.

11 ibid, p.3.

12 Faulkner, (1985), pp.35-6.

13 ibid, p.36.

14 Faulkner, (1985), p.36.

15 Leland, (1964), Vol.2, p.28.

16 Currey, (1916), p.6.

17 NA DDP.50.69

18 NA DDP.50.70; Pegge, (1785) p.16.

of Bess of Hardwick, who jealously guarded her life interest in the coal-pits surrounding it.[19] Further, F.W.C. Gregory suggests that Bess and the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury had done some work to the basement of the northern end of the terrace range in the 1590s, as there are areas of walling that seem earlier in style.[20] Parts of the building do indeed look very like an earlier house re-used, but there is no evidence to connect it to Bess and George.

Work began in 1612 on the rebuilding of Bolsover Castle into the seventeenth-century mansion that exists today. Samuel Pegge, in his history of the Castle written in 1785, quotes an almanac for the year 1613. Then in the possession of John Carter of Bolsover, it contains a marginal manuscript note for 30th March: "Foundation of the *ewe house* at Bolsover begun to be lady."[21] John Carter was the overseer of the repair work carried out in the period 1769-71 at Bolsover Castle.[22]

Building Accounts

The surviving building accounts begin in December 1612, although the purchase of the freehold and adjacent manors was not complete until August 1613.[23] R.W. Goulding claimed that the handwriting of the marginal notes of the Bolsover building accounts was the same as that found on John Smithson's Welbeck plans dated 1622 and 1623, and suggested that it was John Smithson's own.[24] Goulding, author of a guidebook to the Castle, was the Duke of Portland's librarian at Welbeck, and was in the privileged position of having access to the Portland archive when it was intact before being given to the nation in batches. Certainly the hand is very similar, but others have since disagreed with him. Much of the work itemised in the accounts was in preparation for a great building project: setting up mason's lodges, building kilns, and obtaining tools. Stone was brought from Charles (I)'s abandoned house at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, and timber from Scarcliffe Park to the east.[25]

A well was built and provided with a windlass, ropes and buckets, and work started on digging foundation trenches. In April 1613, scaffolding was erected and stone was laid. It is, as Girouard says, an assumption - albeit a reasonable one - that this work was in the Little Castle. The basement of the Terrace Range is so similar that much of the accounting could apply to either building. Six months later new foundations were laid for the Terrace Range. By the end of 1613, the basement larder vaults were being turned as the two buildings rose together. Work was still done to repair "the oulde house," as parts of the medieval castle were still being used for temporary accommodation.[26]

The men paid at a daily wage rose from 20 in January 1613 to over 50 in February 1614, overseen by one "Smithson," thought by Girouard to be John as his designer/mason father Robert was then seventy-seven.[27] His salary would have

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19 Trease, (1979), p.21.

20 Gregory, (1947), p.9.

21 Pegge, (1785), p.17.

22 See, for example, NA DD.4P.70.25.

23 NA DD6P.1.25.3; NA DDP.50.70.

24 Goulding, (1928), p.11.

25 eg. NA DD6P.1.25.3, unnumbered period, 11th December - 25th December, 1613; Period 8, 2nd - 17th April, 1613.

26 ibid, unnumbered period, 26th February - 12th March, 1614.

27 Girouard, (1983), p.234.

appeared in the household accounts, but the building accounts record his expenses of fourpence a day for a meal and roughly a shilling a day for his horse. He was sometimes accompanied, apparently in his supervisory role, by one Kellam and also Henry Luken, high-ranking servants / surveyors in the Cavendish household at Welbeck.[28]

In January 1615, a churchwarden from Youlgreave recorded "the greatest snow which ever fell upon the earth, within man's memorye," which must have hindered the building. The drifts "were very deep; so that passengers both horse and foot, passed over gates, hedges and walles" and they remained until 28th May.[29] However, the dated fireplace had been erected in the Hall by 1616. The Pillar Parlour fireplace can also be dated as it features Viscount's coronets, and William became Viscount Mansfield in 1620. The date 1621 appears on a panel in the Star Chamber. This implies that the Little Castle was built in a leisurely fashion between 1613 and 1621, the interiors being completed by William after he inherited in 1617.

In 1618-19, John Smithson made drawings of the latest ideas on a trip to London. His drawings include panelling at Theobalds, rustication, windows opening onto balconies, the new curved gables, and gateways and chimneypieces from Arundel House. He spent some time at Arundel House, not surprising in the light of the close connection between Arundel and William and their shared concern over Gilbert's will. All these drawn features can be found at Bolsover, and John Smithson's sketches show how he translated the most up-to-date classicism in an individual manner. A gateway by Inigo Jones, drawn at Arundel House, looks quite different stylistically in Smithson's hand, but it is recognisably the same design.[30] This process of modulation through the medium of drawing accounts for some, but not all, of the peculiarity of Bolsover Castle.

3.3 'Thy Mount, the Muses' Hill,' 1630-1638

Although the main family seat at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire is only seven miles away, William became Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire in 1628, and may therefore have wished to spend more time in the county than was possible in the Little Castle. An obvious comparison for the Little Castle before the Terrace Range was built is Lord Burghley's lodge at Wothorpe, where he only went "while his great house was a sweeping."[31] Girouard suggests a scheme of development for the Terrace Range that would allow for its completion before the Civil War.[32] Much rests on the date of the Renishaw Drawings, which show several differences from the buildings today. For example, there is an arch over the Little Castle's entrance, now missing, and the Great Hall of the Terrace Range lacks its top gabled storey. Because they do not seem to show signs of the damage that was done to the Castle during the Commonwealth, Girouard argues that the drawings date from the 1630s. William is known to have presented Charles I with a work by the painter Alexander Kierincx, who specialised in topographic views, and Kierincx is a possible artist for the Renishaw drawings.[33]

The Terrace Range was probably constructed in four phases. First came the northern end, with the flat-sided gables

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28 See main text, pp.72-3.

29 Moult, Thomas, *Derbyshire in Prose and Verse,* London, 1929, pp.25-6.

30 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/7 (1); see main text, p.135.

31 Girouard, (1978), p.108.

32 Girouard, (1983), pp.298-9.

33 Girouard, (1984), pp.510-518, footnote citing evidence from Geoffrey Trease of a picture sold at Christie's in 1970.

shown in the Renishaw drawings. Then a gallery and a suite of grand rooms was added, apparently to John Smithson's surviving plan. Later, the Hall was given an extra, gabled, storey. Finally, the suite of three state rooms east of the gallery was rebuilt by Samuel Marsh in the 1660s.

In 1634, William, seeking a court position, decided to gamble on producing another impressive royal entertainment. Charles I and Henrietta Maria stayed at Welbeck, and came over to Bolsover for the day. Clarendon described how William provided an even "more stupendous entertainment, which (God be thanked) though possibly it might too much whet the appetites of others to excess, no man ever in those days imitated."[34] Ben Jonson wrote the masque performed at Bolsover on 30th July. The text survives both in manuscript and a slightly-different printed copy, enabling reconstruction and interpretation of its neo-Platonic themes.[35] But there are certain oddities about the masque which seem contrary to its supposed purpose of improving William's status with Charles I.[36] The references to building work suggest that the Castle was still under construction, and William seems to have allowed Jonson to berate the court audience for preferring his successful rival, Inigo Jones. It would, though, have been a successful theme in local terms. The occasion, though, was sumptuous. Margaret mentioned a set of tablecloths, sideboard cloths and napkins originally bought for the feast at Bolsover costing £160, and the list of fowl served shows a prodigious amount of food was provided.[37] Margaret also records that William "sent for all the Gentry of the Country to come and wait on their Majesties" on the day of the masque, and gives the overall expenditure as "between Fourteen and Fifteen thousand pounds."[38]

Richard Andrewes had the highest terms of praise for Bolsover Castle in his poem comparing the houses of the Cavendish family: "Bolser for sight ... Bolser to feast in ... Bolser good sleepinge ... Bolser new built ... Bolser is prettie ... Bolser divine ... Bolser a pearl ... Bolser a pendant of the ear." It is praised in terms newness, richess and rareness, while Welbeck, the main family house, is, in contrast, "for use," "well-mended," and a "saddle."[39] Mr Aglionby, another of William's literary protegés, also praised Bolsover in panegyric terms. He makes the literary yet local pretensions of William's circle clear, they will perform:

> ...cheeflie to [their] worthy Lord
> Such rites of homely Poetry
> As the Countrie will afford
> And express our ready will
> To make thy mount the Muses hill.

He also describes the Little Castle's neat planning:

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34 Clarendon, (1888), Book I, Chapter 167, Vol.1, pp.104-105.

35 BL Harleian MS 4955, ff.199r-f.202, 'The King and Queene's Entertainment at Boulsouer, July 1634'; the title 'Love's Welcome' only appeared in the printed edition in Jonson, Ben, *Vnderwoods*, London, 1640; see Brown, (1994), p.158.

36 See Brown, (1994).

37 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.105; Warwickshire Record Office, CR 136.B.2453.

38 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.140.

39 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.67b.

Yet, Bolzor, 'tis thy greatest grace,
To have such perfect symmetry,
And so much room in so small space.[40]

Richard Andrewes also linked the new building at the Castle with William's new title of Earl of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which he received in 1628.

When Bolser Castle I doe name,
Mee thinkes Newcastle is the same:
Bolser a Castle is, and newe,
Which shewes Newcastle is your dewe.[41]

3.4 'The taking of *BOZER* Castle': the Civil War

During the early stages of the Civil War, William Cavendish returned home briefly as his wife Elizabeth died on 17th April 1643 and was buried at Bolsover.[42] In December William was again in Derbyshire, setting up a garrison at Bolsover under Colonel Muschamp.[43] The Castle had still not fallen in 1644, despite William's exile following his defeat in Yorkshire.

Royalist Bolsover finally surrendered on the 14th August 1644, ten days after Welbeck Abbey. A report given in Rushworth's *Historical Collections* states that Major Crawford "drew his Forces before *Balsover-Castle* and began to erect his Batteries, but was prevented by the coming of a Drum from the Castle for a Parley which concluded in Articles of Surrender: That Major *Edward Muschamp* the Governour should the next day *Surrender the Castle, with all Fire-arms, Ordnance, Ammunition, Furniture of War, and Provisions: The Governour, Officers, and Gentlemen to march out with Drums and Colours* ... In this Castle were found six Pieces of Ordnance, three hundred Fire-Arms, ten Barrels of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, but little Provision."[44] An alternative, but again Parliamentarian, account of the event was given in John Vicars' *The Burning Bush Not Consumed*: Crawford "advanced towards Bowzan, alias Bolsover Castle, about eight miles from Sheffield. It being another strong house of Marquesse Newcastle's, in Derbyshire, which was well manned with soldiers, and strengthened with great guns, one whereof carried eighteen pound bullets, others nine pound, and it had strong works about it; yet this Castle also, upon summons, was soon rendered up to my Lord's forces..."[45] The copy of Grose's *Antiquities* in Derbyshire Local Studies Library has an unreferenced manuscript note that "the Parliamentary cannon were planted at the foot of the castle hill and between the Castle and Carr Vale in a small copse near the cricket field."[46]

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40 ibid, f.188, 'On Bolsouer Castle,' by Mr Aglionby.

41 ibid, f.82, by Dr Andrews.

42 Derbyshire Record Office, Bolsover Parish Register, MS46, April, 1643.

43 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.39, 115.

44 Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, Part III, 1691, Vol.2, p.644.

45 Quoted by Grose, (1785-7), Vol.8, p.50.

46 Derbyshire Local Studies Library, shelfmark 942.51GROSE.

Later in 1644, parliamentary soldier George Hancock asked for a pension from the government for having been present at "the scaling of the manor-yard at York," the taking of Welbeck House and of "*BOZER* Castle."[47] Soon the abandonment of the Castle was being discussed. In December, the Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered that a letter be written to the Committee of Derby, asking for "their reasons why Bolsover Castle should not be kept up as a garrison, and in the meantime to desire them to provide for it."[48] Confusion reigned. The letter stated that "some of your county have petitioned us for the maintenance of a garrison in Bolsover Castle, while others have decided that it should be demolished."[49] The response from the Derbyshire Committee concerned a shortage of money. Bolsover Castle "is a place very considerable, and necessary, as we conceive, to be maintained and kept as a garrison, being a frontier to the county; yet, notwithstanding, Sir John Gell, in disposing of the money of the county, has not thought fit to give any allowance during this time."[50] Finally, the dis-garrisoning of Welbeck, Bolsover and Tickhill" was agreed in November 1645, and the garrison of Bolsover was ordered to march against Newark.[51]

Despite this there was still a Governor of the Castle in 1648,[52] and in 1649, the Trustees for Delinquents' Estates gave the Derbyshire Committee an order worth quoting in some detail. In order "to avoid the charge of a garrison in Bolsover Castle, and yet to prevent danger if it should be surprised and kept by an enemy," they were told that "the House itself, as it relates to private habitation, may be as little prejudiced as may be; but let the outworks abroad, and garden walls, with the turrets and walls of the frontier court that are of strength be demolished, and all the doors of the house be taken away and slight ones set in their place; as also the iron bars of the windows, and the materials of the walls that are taken down be improved to the best, and the charge of demolishing defrayed out if the revenue thereof."[53] There is no proof that these orders were actually carried out, and it seems unlikely as a company was sent from Bolsover Castle to Nottingham Castle as late as March 1650.[54] The Committee of Both Kingdoms then decided "to proceed with the demolition of Bolsover Castle, according to the Act of Parliament."[55] The Castle was sold, for the value of its materials, to a certain Robert Thorpe. Goulding identified Thorpe from court rolls giving his name as lord of the manor of Bolsover in 1652.[56] If this is correct, he can perhaps be identified with the speculator Robert Thorpe of Saint Giles, Middlesex, who sold land in Northumberland in 1652,[57] and who appears elsewhere in the estate papers.

Charles (II) and Margaret returned to London in the 1650s in order to try to repossess some of the Cavendish property

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47 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1644*, London, 1888, p.519, 20th September, 1644.

48 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1644-45*, London, 1890, p.183, 10th December, 1644.

49 ibid, 13th December, 1644, p.188.

50 ibid, 31st January, 1645, p.279.

51 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1645-47*, London, 1891, 13th November, 1645, p.227.

52 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1648-19*, London, 1893, 22nd August, 1648.

53 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1649-50,* London, 1875, pp.217-18, 2nd July, 1649.

54 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1650*, London, 1876, p.18, 2nd March, 1650.

55 ibid, p.100, 13th April, 1650.

56 Goulding, (1928), p.20.

57 NA DD6P.1.20.39

that had been confiscated. Charles (II) was allowed to compound and his case was settled in 1652. He paid his fine and debts by selling some land below its value, and according the Margaret, "endeavoured, if possible, to save [William's] two chief Houses, *viz. Welbeck* and *Bolsover*, being resolved rather to part with some more of his Land ... than to let them fall into the Enemies hands."[58] The Commonwealth government had raised £111,593.10.11 from William's estates at five and a half year's purchase.[59] Charles (II) did not keep the manor of Bolsover in his own possession for long. A deed of gift survives dated 1st November 1652, making it over to William Clayton for the use of Henry Cavendish, William's son, subject to the payment of one third of the rents each to Jane and Frances, Henry's sisters, while they remained unmarried.[60]

When Charles (II) bought the Castle in 1652, the lead had been stripped from the gallery roof and part of it pulled down. Bolsover was later described by Margaret as "but a naked House, and uncloath'd of all Furniture."[61] One of her poems fancifully dramatises Charles (II)'s rescue of Bolsover Castle. The personified Castle itself complains of its condition:

O *Noble Sir*, I from your *Stock* was rais'd,
Flourished in plenty, and by all *Men* prais'd:
For your *Most Valiant Father* did me build,
Your *Brother* furnish'd me, my *Neck* did gild:
And *Towers* on my *Head* like *Crownes** were plac'd,
Like to a *Girdle, Walls* went round my *Waste*...

**The crest in the Wainscot gilt.*

Their *Gunnes*, and *Pistols* all about me hung,
And in despight their *Bullets* at me flung:
Which through my *Sides* they passages made out,
Flung downe my *Walls*, that circl'd me about.
And let my *Rubbish* on huge heapes to lye,
With *Dust* am choakt, for want of *Water*, dry.
For those small *Leaden Pipes*, which winding lay,
Under the ground, the *water* to convey:
Were all cut off, the *water* murmuring,
Run back with *Griefe* to tell it to the *Spring*.
My *Windowes* all are broke, the *wind* blowes in,
With *Cold* I shake, with *Agues shivering*.[62]

However imaginative Margaret was being, and she does not seem to have visited Bolsover until after 1660, details in the

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58 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.73.

59 Green, M.A.E., ed., *Calendar of the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643-60*, London, 1891, Part 3, pp.1732-7.

60 NA DDP.50.83

61 Cavendish, Margaret, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy: To which is added, The Description of a New Blazing World*, London, 1668, p.109.

62 Cavendish, Margaret, *Poems, and Fancies*, London, 1653, pp.89-90.

poem do make a strong connection to Bolsover. The reference to the lead waterpipes and gilded wainscot is surprisingly accurate. Charles (II), her possible informant, died shortly after his magnanimous gesture.

William's elder son Charles Cavendish (III), Viscount Mansfield, moved into the Castle, and in 1656 spent £15.15.4 repairing forty-two casements and other windows.[63] He died young, and was soon replaced at Bolsover by his younger brother Henry. "Praye live att your owne houses *We*: & *Bo*," encouraged his father in a letter dated 22nd October 1659, "which will much conduce to your health."[64] Other works were planned for the estate, but William wrote to his son asking him to delay "the alteringe of the Chimneys dors & windowes."[65] A significant event of 1657/8 was the publishing of William's book on horsemanship, *Méthode nouvelle et extraordinaire ... de dresser les chevaux*. It was illustrated with plates engraved after Diepenbeke, and their backgrounds contain seven views of the Castle, apparently worked up from the Renishaw drawings. William's correspondence with Henry throws some light on the furnishings of the Castle at the time and provides a possible connection with Diepenbeke. In his letter of 22nd October, William harangued Henry about the Castle's contents, saying that they "trouble mee very much, that so longe gatheringe by your ancestors should be distroyed in a moment ... first theye must bee praysed - & goods are never praysde att a thirde part of their worth - & then you maye bue them."[66] Two weeks later, William's letters mentioned the "many good pictures, besides Vandykes and Stenwickes,"[67] but there were recriminations about missing items following the departure of Charles (III)'s widow. 'I beleve the servants to your Sister hath much great spoyle and lessninge of the goods," he wrote, "for the paynter told mee the Cases off Crimson velvett for the Cheares In the Parler att Bolsover was there a litle before ... the Gold Lace, & Imbroidereye on the purple Velvett bedd was worth att leaste 300: & the 5 chambers at Bolsouer with very fine hangings att 4£ a stick butt lett it goe."[68] After the Restoration, Margaret complained of "the disfurnishing" of William's houses, "of which the Furniture at *Bolsover* and *Welbeck* was very noble and rich." She and William found, on their return, that "for Pewter, Brass, Bedding, Linnen, and other Household-stuff, there was nothing else left but some few old Feather-beds, and those all spoiled and fit for no use."[69]

William's letter of 22nd October also mentions an offer to send over a painter from Antwerp to Henry, providing a possible connection to the 'Diepenbeke' horse paintings at Welbeck as well as to the plates in William's book. This series of paintings of horses hung in the Hall at Welbeck according to an inventory of 1695, making it look like a Riding House.[70] The "12 Cesars" discussed in Chapter One were still hung with a series of "12 horse pictures" at Welbeck in 1717.[71] They remained in 1747: "12 Pictures big as the life of the managed Horses of W^m^ 1st D. of Newcastle."[72]

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63 NU PW1 152, 'Thomas Slaters bill for Glazeing at Boulsover Castle,' 27th March, 1656.

64 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

65 ibid, f.356.

66 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

67 ibid, f.355v; Charles I possessed 26 perspectives, 12 of which were listed as being by van Steenwijk; see MacGregor, (1989), p.416; see main text p.50.

68 ibid, f.355r.

69 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.106.

70 Goulding, (1936), p.114.

71 Reference to 1695 inventory (location unknown) from Goulding, (1936), p.114.

Apparently they survived the Countess of Oxford's refitting of the room, for in 1783 Bray described how "the hall is fitted up with Gothic arches of plaister or wood-work on the walls, above which are painted in compartments, a number of manege horses in various attitudes."[73] Three of the paintings show buildings in the background - Welbeck Abbey and the north front of Bolsover - in a manner which seems related to the engravings after Diepenbeke of the same subjects which appeared in William's book on horsemanship.

Vertue described how "at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire [he] saw several paintings of those large managd horses remaind still in the Hall - or the manage house. but much torn and decayd - they were done with great Spirit and Mastership - and by some old Servants in the house, reported to be done by Van Dyke - but in the truth appears to be the work of Van Diepenbeck."[74] This is the earliest attribution to Diepenbeke. Pegge in 1785 also assumed that his patron, the Duke of Portland, possessed "a view of [Bolsover Castle] by Diepenbeck."[75] Abraham van Diepenbeke (1596-1675), son and pupil of a glass-painter, spent most of his life in Antwerp. He was living there by 1626, and became a citizen in 1636. He started painting in oils in about 1630, and may well have visited Italy and France.[76] The view that Diepenbeke himself visited England and made the sketches for the engraved illustrations himself again stems from Vertue, who stated that Diepenbeke "drew in England several views of [William's] houses in the Country, in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire also the portraits of himself his lady Duches his children."[77] On the other hand, the transition from sketch to engravings in *Méthode Nouvelle* seems to have been done by someone who had never visited the actual house, because of several obvious mistakes. It has always been assumed, in the absence of further evidence, that Vertue was mistaken. However, William does refer to sending a "painter" who had previously visited Bolsover over to England again in 1659. It was "the painter" who had told him about the crimson velvet for the chairs at Bolsover, and William goes on to say: "The pictures there are most rare, and if you think they are a little spoiled I will send over the painter to you again."[78] The date shows that the engravings published in *Méthode Nouvelle* had already come out, but it is not impossible that this "painter" had made sketches for the book on his earlier trip. Perhaps, though, the damage to the houses - such as the removal of the obelisks and crenellations from the wall walk at Bolsover discussed below - meant that William decided instead to use the 'Renishaw' sketches, made before his exile, recording his houses' prime rather than their current appearance.

In addition, there are some old-fashioned elements of the horse paintings that suggest that they were painted well before Diepenbeke made the illustrations for *Méthode Nouvelle* in the 1650s. The costume of the figures, Goulding suggests, dates from c.1630, and one of the horses has a heraldic device. The arms of Ogle in a lozenge (for a lady) and topped by a baron's coronet were those of Katherine Ogle, William's mother, who was created Baroness Ogle in December 1628 and died the next April.[79] This would preclude the involvement of Diepenbeke, unless they were deliberately nostalgic.

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72 Goulding, (1936), p.114.

73 Bray, (1783), p.340.

74 BL Add MS 23073, f.41v.

75 Pegge, (1785), p.4.

76 See the biographical entry in Stainton and White, (1987), p.41.

77 BL Add MS 23073, f.41v.

78 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Appendix 2, p.143.

79 Goulding, (1936), p.115.

What's more, it has been suggested that the horses without topographical backgrounds are perhaps "rather feeble, and can hardly be by Diepenbeke."[80] Perhaps the horses with topographical backgrounds were done in the 1630s by the artist of the Renishaw drawings, possibly Alexander Kiercinx. The others, with the buildings, possibly are indeed by Diepenbeke, deliberately working from the earlier sketches during William's exile in Antwerp in an act of nostalgia. An image of the south-west wing at Welbeck from *Méthode Nouvelle* re-appears yet again in a tapestry, formerly at Welbeck and now at Leeds Castle. William's pleasure in the illustrations made for his book caused him to have them translated into yet another medium. They were taken either from the Horsemanship book or from preliminary drawings, and the images were reversed as they were pricked onto cartoons. The tapestries were woven by Michael Wauters at Brussels in the late seventeenth century.[81] This Michael was perhaps a relation of the Franz Wouters (1612-1659) who was a pupil of Rubens and who had been made 'painter to the Prince of Wales' in the late 1630s, returning to Antwerp by 1641 and dying there.[82] The tapestries can be seen hanging in the entrance hall at Welbeck in a photograph from the 1880s.[83] According to one writer, they were formerly in the "horsemanship" bedroom, and today they are at Leeds Castle.[84]

3.5 'A naked house': after the Restoration

On 7th August, 1660, a bill was introduced in Parliament "for restoring unto William Marquess of Newcastle all his Honours, Manors, Lands and Tenements, in England."[85] Soon afterwards, William and Margaret retired to their country estates. Margaret described how they found "*Welbeck* and *Bolsover* much out of repair ... no furniture or any necessary Goods were left in them."[86]

Correspondence between William and his steward shows that repairs took place after 1660. In 1665, the gallery roof was still uncovered: Clayton reported that he would buy lead when the price fell below ten pounds per foot.[87] Goulding mentioned building accounts for the years 1663-1666 inclusive, with works amounting to £1,591.18.0. In fact, an examination of all the surviving building accounts suggests a total of £2657 - based on incomplete information - to be spent at both Bolsover and Welbeck in the 1660s. Margaret mentioned in 1667 that "12000*l.* [was] laid out barely for the repair of some Ruines ... there being many of them to repair yet."[88] In 1665, William's new achievement of arms as a Duke was installed over the door to the Great Court. William's son Henry in 1667 calculated that the manor of Bolsover brought in £505 p.a.[89] However, by 1685, Bolsover "wth ye Tithes and Colepitts" was worth £614.03.11

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80 Sir Oliver Millar, pers. comm.

81 Leeds Castle Foundation, *Leeds Castle*, London, 1989, p.53.

82 Waterhouse, Ellis, *Painting in Britain, 1530-1790*, The Pelican History of Art, Harmondsworth, 1953, p.59.

83 Bradbury, David J., *Welbeck Abbey, Treasures*, Mansfield, 1986, p.13.

84 Edwardes, C., 'Welbeck Abbey,' *Historic Houses of the United Kingdom*, 1891, p.13.

85 Trease, (1979), p.182.

86 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.91.

87 NU PW1.669

88 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.107.

89 NU PW1.600, f.2.

yearly.[90]

William distracted himself in his retirement with his poetry. "My Housholde hates to liue att Bolsore," begins a draft of "An epigram on a Cold."[91] Rising expectations of comfort meant that Bolsover began to lose status as a house, just as the Devonshire branch of the family were to prefer the rebuilt Chatsworth to the spectacular but draughty Hardwick Hall. Nevertheless, hearth tax continued to be paid on thirty-six chimneys in 1671.[92] William died on Christmas Day, 1676. An undated inventory is likely to have been made shortly afterwards, and shows that the Little Castle was sumptuously furnished.

Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, used Bolsover as an occasional residence, for example, his wife's account book for the last week in March, 1781, notes "this account taken at Bolsover Castle."[93] Small-scale work continued piecemeal, with a payment in 1682 for wainscot and "repairs" at Bolsover.[94] Shortly before Henry's death, "when he lay very weak in bed at Welbeck, in May 1691, he sent for a young painter named Francis Elliott, and gave him instructions to paint a very large picture of the prospect of Bolsover Castle, which was to be hung up at the Castle."[95] Goulding also reported that the picture was at Welbeck in 1861, and measured 40 inches by 89 inches: its whereabouts is currently unknown. This was presumably the piece for which Henry ordered a frame from carpenter Richard Stanley. Stanley recounted how Henry sent for him "about making a frame for ye great peece of Bolsover Castle, and he tould me yt he would have it set in ye best place of ye Gallery at Bolsover"[96] in yet another 'courtesy of place.'

3.6 The setting

William Senior's survey of the 1630s shows an "aple" orchard to the north-east of the Castle on the slopes, with a stream (rising at the Cundy House) running down through it.[97] He also labels an "Upper Parke" and "Nether Parke." However, none of the early maps show Bolsover with a fully enclosed hunting park like that of Sutton across the valley.[98] There was no attempt to create a more formal landscape for the Castle: the Kip and Knyff view, published in 1707, still shows an informal, albeit managed, rural setting, contrasting with the formal gardens and canals at Welbeck. Some unknown part of the site was known as the "Castle ditch" and provided stone for the building of the Little Castle in 1613.[99] Further ground disturbance was hinted at in yearly payments dating from 1670 in the bailiff's accounts. One tenant received

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90 NU PW1.400

91 NU PWV.25, f.151v.

92 NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.66.

93 NA DD.P6.7.2.237, 'Account book of weekly payments by Frances, Duchess of Newcastle.'

94 ibid.

95 Goulding, (1928), p.22.

96 NU PW1.299.6.j

97 William Senior, estate plan surveyed 'in 1660, 1636 and 1638.'

98 Collection of maps at Derbyshire Local Studies Library, Matlock.

99 Knoop and Jones, (1936), p.29.

compensation for "Spoile of Ground in Cassall by ye Colpitts" and another for "Land Digd upp for ye New Buildings."[100] Knyff and Kip's view shows a well-maintained hillside without scrub. This impression of order is also given by the neatly-delineated trees in the 1739 map, beyond which were still enclosures named "the Upper Park" and "deere(?) Park."[101] In the nineteenth century, Reverend Gray called the west slope of the hill the "Rough Park" and described in it "the remains of a well ... protected by an arched stone roof. On one of the stone inside is the date 1622."[102] A "Dark Well" is shown in the map of 1739, to the north of the viewing platform and therefore to the north-west of the Little Castle.[103] It probably fed the scullery of the Little Castle by means of the turret discussed below. Springs do appear where the limestone of the Bolsover escarpment overlies the marls at its foot, but no sign of this one remains today.

The West Terrace

The Terrace itself, shown by Kip and Knyff, is not in the earlier Renishaw drawings. Either it was constructed later, with great effort, as the viewing platform almost certainly was, or else the lie of the land meant that it was hidden to the artist. The drawings appear to show the main doorways of the Terrace Range leading out into rugged hillside. Joseph Jackson, building contractor for the 1660s state rooms, was working on the "Terrace walk" in 1682.[104] The final turn of the gallery entrance staircase from the terrace is now missing, but its position is marked on an excavation plan of 1955 which also shows the footings of the similar missing staircase leading to the door to the north.[105]

The viewing platform at the northern end of the terrace was a later addition, built out westwards. The battlements (before restoration in 1998) had a shortage of crenels, as if they had been taken down and rebuilt to cover a longer length. Archaeological test pits have revealed that the platform is made ground, not solid rock.[106] The ground formerly fell away steeply directly to the west of the stair to the Little Castle forecourt. A narrow terrace immediately to the west was located by excavation. This was terraced landscaping along the lines of the Villa d'Este or Vatican gardens, which had already reached England at Wimbledon House, for example.[107]

3.7 The Little Castle

The forecourt

The relevant Renishaw drawing shows a different gate design leading into the Little Castle's forecourt: an arch spanned the whole width. Assuming that the drawing dates from before the Civil War, this gate presumably fell prey to demolition during William's exile.[108] The arch appears to have a carved keystone, and it has been suggested that it is the fragment with a face of seventeenth-century design which is currently propped up near the bowling green. The design

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100 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.63.

101 NU J. Colbeck's survey of Oxcroft, 1739.

102 Gray, (1895), p.38.

103 NU J. Colbeck's survey of Oxcroft, 1739.

104 NA DD.P6.7.2.238

105 English Heritage Plans Room, Bolsover Castle drawer, no.593/31.

106 Richard Sheppard, pers. comm.

107 Jung-Inglessis, E.M., *Un giro nei Giardini Vaticani*, Città del Vaticano,1995, pp.50-51; Summerson, (1993), p.70.

108 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1649*, London, 1875, pp.204, 217-18.

was again similar to "An Italyan gate in my Lo: of Arundelles garden" sketched by John Smithson.[109] The ridge of the medieval curtain wall can be seen in the paving of the forecourt, showing that the medieval keep was slightly further east but overlapping the footprint of the existing building. The Renishaw drawings show a further turret or building on the hillside to the north. Close examination shows that there was a beam or pipe linking the turret to the Little Castle. This turret was probably a water tower, which lifted water from the well at the bottom of the hill shown on the map of 1739. A sloping pipe would have allowed water to run into the scullery in the basement of the Little Castle, where the pipe hole still exists.

The figure over the Little Castle's main door, flanked by two lions, is Hercules, who in mythology temporarily took over Atlas's job of supporting the world on his shoulders. The famous original for this image from the Palazzo Farnese was known in Derbyshire, for a copy of it survives in the Devonshire collection.[110] Comparing this image with the surviving fragments, the relevant Renishaw drawing and the Country Life photographs published in 1904, it becomes clear that the sculptors at Bolsover had minimised the mannerist twist of the original and given Hercules the characteristic lumpiness of the other Bolsover carvings. The Bolsover Hercules is poised to drop his burden onto an intruder, in the manner of the medieval stone figures protecting the entrance of Bothal Castle, rather than being shown in movement like the Farnese original.[111] Over his head is a shield, Cavendish impaling Ogle, the arms of Charles (I). The garden front figure, although corroded, is also indisputably Hercules, raising his club to finish off a lion snapping at him from below.

The balconies were copied from Arundel House on John Smithson's trip to London of 1618.[112] The actual form of the opening over the east entrance to the Little Castle was adapted from his sketch of a gateway designed by Inigo Jones in the grounds of Arundel House. However, another possible source of inspiration was the original engraving that Jones himself probably used: an image in Dietterlin's *Architectura*.[113] As discussed further in Chapter Two, it was also used for a gateway at William's friend and patron the Earl of Strafford's house at Wentworth Woodhouse. The iron railings of the balcony, on the other hand, seem to have been copied from another John Smithson sketch of Colonel Cecil's pergola in the Strand, with four twisted and knob-topped uprights. This Strand balcony was in turn copied by Inigo Jones from the Fleming Jean Francquart.[114]

The anteroom

The paintings in the room include a suite of four lunettes, three of them based on engravings by Pieter Jode (1570-1634) after paintings by Marten de Vos (1532-1603), showing the humours of the human body and temperament.[115] The fisherman represents the phlegmatic humour, the soldier and his mistress the choleric, and the old man and the lady the melancholic. It has been suggested that the fourth lunette, with a composition of sea and a building, was left blank as

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109 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/7(2).

110 Chatsworth House Archives, Albani, Francesco, 'An Allegory of Hercules Carrying the Globe assisted by Mercury and Apollo,' illustration 16.1

111 See main text, pp.133-4.

112 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/7(1), III/6(3); illustration 2.4.

113 Dietterlin, Wendel, *Architectura*, Nuremburg, 1598, Plate 67, reproduced in Wells-Cole, (1998), p.29, illustration 2.22.

114 Francquart, Jean, *Premier Livre d'Architecture*, Brussels, 1616, quoted by Girouard, (1983), p.248.

115 Information discovered by Rosalys Coope.

William Cavendish, representative of the sanguine humour, could stand in front of it to complete the sequence.[116] However, the fact that various pertinent details have been omitted from the engraved sources suggests that the images were chosen as much for their decorative as their iconographic qualities.[117] A secondary door between ante-room and Pillar Parlour was opened at a later date and subsequently closed in the twentieth century.

The Hall

The Hall's vaulted ceiling is an example of the "fair vaults" that Charles (I) professed a fondness for.[118] It is also very similar to the monastic undercroft of Gilbert Talbot's house at Rufford Abbey, or Charles (I)'s own undercroft at Welbeck Abbey. This rib vaulting is a method of roofing described by Girouard as an interesting example of a revival of a medieval style, and another Renaissance vault can be seen at Longford Castle (c.1590).[119] The paintings in the lunettes return to the theme of Hercules, taken from unattributed engravings dating from 1608 after the paintings of the Italian Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630).[120] The inference is that William Cavendish, like Hercules, could afford to commit sin, yet redeem himself through his innate *virtù*. The painted finish on the fake ashlar plaster finish was originally a tawny stone colour, now restored, so that the painted background to the paintings provided a sophisticated *trompe l'oeil* continuation of the stone vaults in the ceiling, and the mock stone finish of the plaster.

The Pillar Parlour

The panelling in the room is very closely related to that drawn by John Smithson in the Great Chamber at Theobalds. His sketch even noted the colours, which were reproduced at Bolsover.[121] John Smithson's original "walnuttree" colour, probably a grained finish, has recently been recreated on the basis of the surviving fragment in the north-east corner of the room. The lunettes in the panelling show the five senses: Tactus, Auditus, Gustus, Odoratus and Visus. They are based on engravings by Cornelius Cort (c.1536-77) of paintings by Frans Floris, both Flemings.[122] Tactus shows that the Bolsover painter did not copy the engraving slavishly: he missed out a spider and a fish, animals thought to have a good sense of touch. The stone floor of the Pillar Parlour was laid in a geometric design from Walter Gedde's *Book of Sundry Draughtes*, c.1616.[123]

This room contains perhaps the best-known of John Smithson's fireplaces, which are related to the designs of Serlio but with native gothic influences too. On the fireplace, cherubs support a shield with the arms of Cavendish (three stags' heads caboshed, with a crescent for difference) impaling those of Elizabeth Basset (three piles in point, in a canton a griffin). The shield is accompanied by the Cavendish motto: "*Cavendo tutus*," and the Basset: "*En esperance d'avoir*," abbreviated here to "E: DAVOYR." The Cavendish (snake noué) and Basset (boar's head) crests on the sides of the

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116 Raylor, (1999), p.405.

117 Stephen Paine, pers. comm.

118 HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, London, 1964, Vol.19, pp.129-1

119 Girouard, (1983), p.244.

120 Information discovered by Rosalys Coope.

121 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/13.

122 Information discovered by Rosalys Coope.

123 Well-Cole, Anthony, 'Who was Walter Gedde?' *Furniture History*, Vol.24, 1990, pp.184-5.

fireplace have coronets, suggesting that the fireplace was completed after 1620, the year in which William Cavendish was made Viscount Mansfield. The furnishing of the Pillar Parlour is known from the earliest inventory of c.1676: the lower dining Room contained 12 cloth-of-silver chairs, a table and a grate.[124]

The Star Chamber

This was the equivalent of an upper Great Chamber in houses like Hardwick Hall or Audley End. The fireplace is carved with the arms of Talbot on a shield within a garter, supported by two Talbots (dogs) below, and the Talbot motto, "*Prest d'acomplir*," appears on a band of strapwork. The crest on the helmet has disppeared, but was probably the Talbot lion *currant*. These are the arms of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. The left side panel shows a shield with the arms of Gilbert Talbot impaling those of his wife, Mary Cavendish, and the right Mary's own arms, with her coronet as Countess of Shrewsbury, homage by William to his patrons and relations.

The fireplace contains black touchstones or polished gems, "towch" as carver Thomas Ashby called them in a letter to John Smithson.[125] Gilbert Talbot's letters show that he was engaged in trading touch.[126] Margaret Cavendish, William's second wife, wrote a poem linking architectural features with moral qualities, and described how:

> *Chimnies* with *Touch-Stone* of *Affection* made,
> Where *Beauty*, the *Fuell* of *Love* is laid.
> The *Harth* is innocent *Marble* white...[127]

She seems to hint at the Bolsover fireplaces with their touchstones and white marble, but had not, at the date of the poem, visited Bolsover Castle. The paintings in the Star Chamber belong to a higher sphere than that of the mortals downstairs. The saints in *grisaille* come from largely unidentified engravings. The saints labelled Bonaventure and Josephas are based on engravings by Marco Dent (Marco da Ravenna, d.1527), of drawings by Marcantonio Raimondo (c.1440-1530), although the figures are probably really St James the Greater and St Thomas from their accoutrements. The others include Saints Mary Magdalen, Cecila, Ursula, Katherine, Matthias, Bartholomeas, Matthew, Andreas, Simon, Jude, Philipus and three further unnamed saints. One is Peter with his keys. Ursula and Katherine are modern copies, as the original panels were stolen in the 1970s, along with a panel from the corner showing a boy in a feathered hat holding his cat. The figures of David and Solomon between the windows on the north side of the Star Chamber appear in a "Christmas antimasque" designed for household consumption in the mid-to-late 1630s.[128] The vicar, one of the characters, recounts his descent from the Hebrew Kings and describes events in the lives of David and Solomon. The large easel paintings are from an unidentified source. The panel of Moses with the tablets of the law in the north east corner carries the date 1621. Could the two figures in the north west corner be portraits of William and his brother?

The frieze around the ceiling has twenty-four shields charged with the arms and crests of Cavendish and Bassett, and the

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124 BL Add MS 70500, ff.110r-111v 'A particular of the Goods at Boielsouer Castle,' c.1676.

125 RIBA Drawings Collection, III/7(2).

126 William Hammond to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 4th February, 1608, transcription by David Durant, Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections.

127 Cavendish, Margaret, 'Natures House,' in *Poems, and Fancies*, London, 1653, p.133.

128 NU PWV26.f.146v; Hulse, (1995), p.378, note 53.

arms and badge of Ogle, and therefore dates from after William's marriage in 1618. Their disposition, which does not follow an identifiable pattern, seems to hint at some family relationship. The decorative panelling on the outer two walls contrasts with plain inner walls. The earliest reference to missing decorative panelling being taken to Welbeck dates from 1901,[129] an idea repeated by Pevsner and Girouard, referring more specifically to the Star Chamber panelling.[130] However, no sign of the Star Chamber panelling has been found at Welbeck, although in some first (formerly second) floor rooms, panelling very similar in style to the Little Castle's stencilled designs could quite plausibly have come from Bolsover. In the absence of any evidence that Star Chamber panelling was removed, it can be concluded that it was intended to be covered with tapestries. "4 peces of hangings" were listed in c.1670.[131]

The Marble Closet •

A design by John Smithson for a marble room survives, although it shows the fireplace in a different position and must have been intended for the Elysium Closet.[132] The ceiling void in the Marble Closet has a cornice from an earlier scheme hidden behind it, indicating a change of plan. Smithson's design shows a small room with "Frenche wyndows" and a black-and-white floor and ceiling. The drawing is annotated with calculations of how many ribs and pieces of stone would be needed to build the room. It also has little flaps to show how the windows open to allow access to the balcony. The room was described by a seventeenth-century antiquary as "a famous closet built by Sir Charles Cavendish" with a "chimney piece of black and white marble, the floor also of the same, checky, so is the rare architecture above head."[133] However, the evidence for a previous scheme suggests that the work belongs to William's alterations after his father's death. Mr Aglionby's reference to "such Marble roofes" at Bolsover in his poem describing William as "Leiutenant heere" may date the room to before 1628, when William was made Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire.[134] The windows, along with the Elysium Closet's, were broken in the Civil War, for in March 1656, Thomas Slater sent in a bill for "putting of 12 lights in ye Belconyes."[135] Later, the lower windows were blocked, making the balconies inaccessible. Smithson's drawing also shows the walls covered with hangings, and the inventory of c.1676 confirms that there were indeed "Cremsson taffetie hangings" in the closet.[136] Paint research has revealed that the area behind the hangings was never decorated for display. No evidence for poles or hooks has been found, but a similar closet at Barlborough Hall with almost-identical panelling has long nails to support poles for hangings. The lunette paintings are taken from a series of engravings entitled *The United Virtues*, by Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617).[137] Once again, however, their iconography has been discussed at the expense of their decorative qualities, which are a striking illumination of William's well-known interests.

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129 'The Duke of Portland, the present owner, has taken some of the fine oak wainscoting off the walls to use in Welbeck, a method of robbing Peter to decorate Paul which it is hard to approve...' *The Lady's Realm*, September, 1901. Information from Rosalys Coope.

130 Girouard, (1983), p.316, note 20.

131 BL Add MS 70500, ff.110r-111v.

132 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/1(2).

133 Yeatman, (1894), pp.55-56.

134 BL Harleian 4955, f.188v.

135 NU PW1.152, 'Thomas Slaters bill for Glazeing at Boulsover castle March ye 27th 1656.'

136 BL Add MS 70500, ff.110r-111v.

137 Information discovered by Rosalys Coope.

The Heaven and Elysium Closets

The painted frieze of the Heaven closet contains the date of 1619 over the window, though it is heavily restored and there is some doubt about its accuracy. The closet's panelling is decorated in a Chinese-inspired finish. If it does date from c.1620, it would be a very early example of the style. Contemporary references to similar designs for furniture are known, but not for interior decoration.[138] The panelling in the Heaven and Elysium Closets was cut down after its initial construction to accommodate the painted frieze, again suggesting two decorative phases. In addition, fillets have been added beneath the skirting to lengthen it, suggesting the removal of a tiled or wooden floor. The frieze is made up of cherubs carrying the symbols of the passion, including spear, scourge, sponge, crown of thorns, crowing cock and the cross itself, and cherubs playing musical instruments adorn the ceiling. William Cavendish was an interested patron of music, and an inventory of his musical items dating from 1636 mentions described "Att boulsouer 1 harpsicall."[139] Hulse also points out that the snatches of country dances on the ceiling were taken from Thomas Ravenscroft's *Pammelia*. She reasons that they were included because the tenor voice text was "Robin Hood said little Iohn," and that William was keen to associate himself with the legend of Sherwood Forest.[140] Bucolic junketings are the theme of the earlier *King's entertainment at Welbeck*, while Richard Flecknoe, in his *Heroick Portraits*, characterised William as the "Goodly oak" of Sherwood Forest.[141]

The closest-known parallel for the frieze and ceiling in the Elysium Closet is the ceiling decoration in the *Galerie d'Ulysse* at Fontainebleau, now lost. However, Primaticcio's design drawings survive in Paris, providing a loose inspiration rather than an exact source.[142] This image of profane love contrasts with the heavenly love of the balancing closet, once again presenting a choice between pleasure and virtue. Profane love tips the balance, however, for while the heavenly room appropriately looks east, the Elysium window has the prime position with its balcony looking down on the goddess of love in the garden below. Furthermore, Hercules himself can be seen relaxing in female company in the Elysian closet's frieze.[143]

The top floor

The chimney-piece in the northern-western room of the top floor features the arms of Charles (I) impaling those of his wife, Katherine Ogle. On the left side are the arms of Carnaby and on the right of Talbot.[144] This suggests that the room was fitted out before Charles (I)'s death in 1617, or by his widow.[145] The south-west room's fireplace has the same shell, accompanied by two balls, a device of unknown significance that also appears on Venus's pedestal and in plasterwork at Barlborough Hall. It is not clear why the northern part of the top floor should have been finished off with a low-

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138 From an inventory of Robert Cecil's London house, Susan Bracken, pers. comm.

139 Hulse, (1994), p.239, note 6.

140 ibid, p.231.

141 Flecknoe, Richard, 'The Portrait of William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle,' *Heroick Portraits*, London, 1660. The unusual sight of the dancing figure of Jesus is discussed in the main text, p.52.

142 Béguin, Guilaume and Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse á Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1985, p.129.

143 See illustration 2.12.

144 Goulding, (1928), p.36, notes that Catherine Ogle's mother was Catherine Carnaby, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Reginald Carnaby; ibid, p.34.

145 See main text, p.186.

quality timber frame design, and some areas bricked up instead of being stone. Perhaps this was a consequence of the cash-flow problems following Charles (I)'s death. Unfortunately the timber members are not suitable for dendrochronology.

3.8 The Fountain Garden

The garden at Bolsover was probably made shortly after the building of the Little Castle and the northern part of the Terrace Range. The earliest view, the Renishaw drawing, shows the fountain standing in an area of rough unmade ground; the next, Diepenbeke's plate, shows it in the middle of a plain lawn.[146] Archaeology has shown that three phases of paths existed. The first was a simple circuit. The second was an axial path aligned on the Riding House, presumably made when the new entrance was cut into the curtain wall at the time of the building of the Riding House Range. This creation of a long vista is quite different from the earlier sense of enclosure and more Baroque in character. The third path, leading up to and around the fountain, first appears on a map of 1869. The balance of archaeological evidence suggests that it was new at that date. This means that, somewhat surprisingly, there was no path up to the fountain as originally built. The garden was designed to be seen from above: from the wall walk or from the window of the Elysium closet, the most intimate room of the Castle.

The evidence of the Renishaw drawings suggests that the garden must have been extremely simple in character. This in itself is not unusual: John Smithson's survey of the garden at Arundel house, for example, shows grass platts divided by paths without parterres or knots. Closer to home, a survey of Sheriff Hutton Lodge shows paths dividing grass platts to create a garden containing similar statuary.[147] Charles (II) owned manors adjoining Sheriff Hutton.

There is a striking absence of payments relating to the garden at Bolsover in the accounts of William's time, although the fountain itself was mentioned notes relating to repairs in the 1660s. Henry made a payment of over £3 to "the Gardener" in 1681 for "Bolsover garden."[148] The earliest surviving map of the garden dates from 1739, made for the Earl of Oxford.[149] It shows the path around the perimeter of the garden, and possibly some tree planting.

The Wall Walk

There were other Tudor and Jacobean gardens based on the conceit of a chivalric fortification such as the Elizabethan garden at Kenilworth, Audley End's Mount Garden or the bastioned garden at Hazelbury Manor. But Bolsover Castle's garden went further in its verisimilitude to medieval sources as it retained the roughly circular plan of the medieval inner bailey. This was probably due to the re-use of the line, if not the remains, of the medieval wall, which was taken down in 1612. What was more unusual is the irregular shape of the garden, but it perhaps represented Richard Flecknoe's concept of "Your best of ancient, and of modern mixed."[150] The circular form of the garden, as well as being based on medieval precedent, can also be connected to the up-to-date theories of the Stuart court, particularly the neo-Platonist perfect circle, which could also symbolise the perfection and integrity of the Virgin Mary. A well-known book about

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146 Illustrations 2.28, 2.34.

147 Illustrations 16.13, 16.14 and 16.15.

148 NA DD.P6.7.2.238.

149 NU J. Colbeck, survey of Oxcroft, 1739.

150 Flecknoe, (1666), pp.10-12.

the religious symbolism of gardens, *Partheneia Sacra*,[151] shows a picture of a similar enclosed garden, with a battlemented wall, and a small cubular palace. However, although the garden is similarly centred on a fountain, it has the parterre beds so conspicuously absent at Bolsover. Such parterres, had they existed at Bolsover, would have left no trace because of the Victorian use of the area as a kitchen garden.

The Renishaw drawings show obelisks at intervals around the wall walk, and these were probably lost in the demolitions during the Civil War. An order was certainly given for the "outworks abroad, and garden walls with the turrets" to be demolished.[152] The "stone Walk" was repaired in the 1660s when the arch between it and the Terrace Range was renewed.[153] The "high walke beefore the Sewstonne house" was probably near the building for water storage attached to the garden wall.[154] The letter from Samuel Marsh also mentioned "all the vent and creast about the ffountaine"[155] measuring 3 foot high in the vent and 4 foot 6 inches in the crest. These measurements seem to suggest the battlements around the wall walk were re-built in 1667. However, the view by Kip and Knyff shows no sign of the obelisks, nor do they appear the numerous later views. They were therefore presumably not replaced. Archaeological excavations by Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit near the fountain in early 1999 located a puzzling stone item which appeared to be one of the pedestals from the wall walk, but of a slightly different design to those surviving near the doorway from the Little Castle. This suggests that when the "vent and creast" was restored in the 1660s the design was altered as well as the obelisks being omitted.

It has often been claimed that the wall walk or the south balcony were somehow used in the 1634 masque. The printed text describes a banquet "set down before [the king and queen] from the Cloudes by two Loves," as if lowered from on high. However, it is only the manuscript text that explicitly states that after the opening banquet, they "retir'd into a Garden, and are entertain'd."[156] As Brown points out, further details are simply speculative, although Mowl guesses that the king and queen used the western garden room as a retiring place.[157] However, the latest view is that the 'garden' was represented by scenery within the Great Chamber or Gallery, and that the action did not take place outside at all.[158]

Venus

The female nude figure topping the central element of the fountain is usually interpreted as Venus rising out of her bath. She has the ungainly, lumpy look indicative of a provincial English carver. If she were to stand up straight, her legs would be of different lengths. Her prototype, however, was an etiolated, mannerist figure by Giambologna, in the

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151 Hawkins, Henry, *Partheneia Sacra. Or the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes; Symbolically set forth and enriched with Pious Devises and Emblemes for the entertainement of Devout Soules...*, Rouen, 1633, plate facing p.1, illustration 2.44.

152 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1649-50*, London, 1975, 2nd July, 1649, p.218.

153 NU PW1.669

154 NU PW1.624.c

155 NU PW1.624.c

156 Brown, (1994), p.162.

157 Mowl, (1993), p.185.

158 James Knowles, pers. comm.

Caesarini villa in Rome (now the American Embassy, on the Via Veneto).[159] The composition was reproduced as a bronze statuette, described as one of "*dua femmine che si rasciucano*," which were sent to Henry, Prince of Wales in 1612, by Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who hoped to persuade Henry to marry his sister.[160] This collection of fifteen statuettes was inherited by Charles I and could therefore have been familiar to William Cavendish. The figure survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum today.[161] Gilbert Talbot was also advised by Lord Burghley that "for Statua ... there is a little ould man caled John Bollognia ... who is not inferiour much to Michell Angelo."[162] William, then, seemed to have aimed partially at creating a modern Renaissance sculpture garden along the lines of Arundel's, a link made stronger by the knowledge of William and John Smithson's visit to London early in 1619. At Bolsover, the position of the tank below the ground shows that the fountain and its sculpture was also designed to be seen from above, while walking along the wall walk, and most importantly, from the window of the Elysium Closet. This relationship between the house and its garden was new, and also inspired perhaps by Arundel's gallery in London, from which one looked out specifically at the sculpture in the garden.

The fountain's closet English parallel is the fountain of Arethusa now at Bushey Park, which has, however, been re-arranged in the course of two moves. John Evelyn described it as "a rich & noble fountaine, of Syrens & statues &c: cast in Copper by *Fanelli,* but no plenty of Water."[163] Despite Evelyn's statement, the sculptor of its bronze figures, which include a female figure, nymphs, *putti*, dolphins and shells, has been disputed and Le Sueur proposed as an alternative. The statues of the fountain are significant because the figures *react* to the water in the new Renaissance manner, described by Howarth as the "animation of the fountain." The sirens squeeze water from their breasts, for example, in the same fashion as the mermaids in Giambologna's *Fountain of Neptune* in the Piazza Nettuno, Bologna: a new, theatrical, almost Baroque experience.[164] The *pissatori,* or the ladies with water coming out of their orifices discussed below, seen to incorporate something of the same new spirit at Bolsover. Arethusa herself seems based on one of the statues in the Mantuan Collection purchased by Charles I in 1628, *Venus with a Dolphin*.[165] Francesco Fanelli was also patronised by William, and is also known to have been involved in the design of fountains, producing two books on the subject.

However, the Venus on the fountain today is not Fanelli's work. She is thought to have been made by an English craftsman, and could even have come from the workshop of Nicholas Stone.[166] Stone's Susannah, at Wilton House, is of comparable style.[167] But the statue of Venus possesses a definite and decidedly-local character. As with so many

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159 Charles Avery, pers. comm.

160 Avery, Charles, and Watson, Katherine, 'Medici and Stuart: A Grand Ducal Gift of 'Giovanni Bologna' Bronzes for Henry Prince of Wales (1612),' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.115, August, 1973, p.508.

161 ibid, p.507.

162 Whalley, J. Irene, 'Italian Art and English Taste: An Early Seventeenth Century Letter,' *Apollo*, No.115 (new series), September, 1971, p.184.

163 Evelyn, (1955), Vol.3, p.324.

164 Howarth, David, 'Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors,' in McGregor, (1989), p.87.

165 ibid.

166 Brookes, Anne, 'Bolsover Castle, Venus Fountain. Research Report,' 1998.

167 Susannah is illustrated in Strong, (p.1998), 151.

features of Bolsover Castle, the Derbyshire masons took their continental sources and adapted them to suit the earthy, bawdy character of their patron. Venus is also, significantly, not carved in imported Italian marble, but in a local variety of metamorphic rock.[168] Also, despite this up-to-date classicism, there are features of the fountain that look back into the chivalric past. Its octagonal shape is reminiscent of the monastic cisterns, for example the battlemented, hexagonal one surviving at Newstead Abbey, and it also incorporated heraldic devices.

The Heraldic Beasts, Satyrs and Caesars

The antiquary Major Hayman Rooke described the other features of the fountain in a letter and drawing of 1785, and mentioned the sixteen figures set on or in its outer wall. "Four of these figures resemble griffins standing on semicircular pedestals," he wrote, "they are made of stone, and well executed; in the other four are figures like satyrs sitting astride on birds, probably eagles; but they are now so mutilated, that their precise shape is not to be made out; on the sides are arched niches, in which are busts of eight of the Roman emperors, made of alabaster."[169] Some fragments remained when the Castle was given to the nation, and are currently in English Heritage storage. There are three "heraldic beasts," two of which appear to be later copies and one a badly-worn original, but nevertheless compatible with Rooke's 1785 sketch, and several fragments of satyrs. Rooke's drawing shows busts of the Roman emperors in position in the niches in 1785, but one of the John Smithson design drawings for the fountain hints that something else was originally planned. It shows naked women, three heads-and-torsos, and two complete figures, squirting water from their various orifices. This is certainly in the new spirit of statues reacting to the water discussed above, and if built, would have been extremely bawdy.

White marble busts of Roman Emperors were a feature of other contemporary fountains: at Raglan Castle[170] and at Theobalds, where in 1600 Baron Waldstein commented on an ornamental pool with "white marble statues of the 12 Roman Emperors."[171] The question arises, assuming that Caesars were in fact chosen instead of the planned ladies at Bolsover, of what source the original sculptor could have used. A likely source would have been Justus Sadeler's book of the Caesars, the only known copy of which is now in the Beinecke Rare Books Library, Yale.[172] This book includes some busts in raised pointed helms, as does Rooke's view, rather than the more usual laurel wreathes. It was recorded as being in the library at Welbeck in 1893, and therefore could have been there since the seventeenth century and owned by William Cavendish.[173] This, at present, provides the best visual fit with the extant sources for the Caesars, and has been used for their reconstruction. However, in common with the bawdy twist given to other pieces of continental source material used at Bolsover, the Caesars are taken slightly out of the expected context. They are positioned to peep up at the semi-naked Venus in an undignified and bawdy manner.

Tim Mowl suggests that the fountain was used for swimming and its niches as seats for bathers in a similar arrangement

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168 David Jefferson, pers. comm.

169 Pegge, (1785), pp.27-28.

170 Whittle, Elizabeth, 'The Renaissance Gardens of Raglan Castle,' *Garden History*, Vo.17, No.1, 1989, p.86.

171 Waldstein, (1981), p.87.

172 Sadeler, Justus, *Caesars XII. Caeserum qui prima Rom. imperarunt Effigies; cum Ausonii in eosdem tetratichis*, Venice, 1608.

173 Nicholson, (1893), p.71. There is no other mention of its being at Welbeck either earlier or later, Derek Adlam, pers. comm.

to that in the King's Bath in the town of Bath.[174] It cannot be proved that the busts of the Caesars stood in the niches before 1785. However, it seems unlikely, mechanically, that the fountain floor was ever covered by more than a little water. In favour of the swimming idea, a "bathinge Howse" was being finished, along with the arch between the wall walk and the Terrace Range, in about 1665.[175] Presumably this "bathinge Howse" was one of the garden rooms. "Bathing" in the seventeenth century was not necessarily immersion as we know it today.[176] The use - even if only in imagination - of the fountain in this manner can be imagined by looking at the nymphs bathing in an octagonal fountain in *Hypnerotomachi Poliphili*, a book widely known in England as *The strife of love in a dream.*[177]

The Great Court

This was used in the seventeenth century as a circulation and exercise yard for the horses housed in the stables, like the even grander yard at Welbeck. It probably had a hard metalled finish like the court Philibert de l'Orme's chateau at Anet, France, and possibly also posts and railings like those shown in the plan of the *manège* yard connected with Clerkenwell.[178] At some point - pre- or post-Civil war - a gateway was knocked through the Fountain Garden wall to give a more dramatic well-defined north-south access to the Little Castle, centered on the Riding House entrance. The older gateway, to the west, is shown in the Renishaw drawings and the space was blocked up to create another of the garden rooms set into the wall.[179]

3.9 The Terrace Range

The northern section of the Terrace Range

This part of the Castle was known as the "Ould new buildings" in the 1660s, "new" to distinguish it from the Little Castle, the oldest building, and "ould" to distinguish it from Marsh's newly built state rooms to the south.[180] The northern section is characterised by its 1620s decorative Dutch gables, probably John Smithson's by design copied from Fulke Greville's house in Holborn. The masonry is decorated with square studs projecting from the wall, another unusual decorative feature. Perhaps they mark the position of the putlog holes in order to locate them for later re-use. Some of the Terrace Range's small projecting stones, about 20cm square, are dated. They include: "M.C. 1629, M.W. 1630, and E.L. 1630" on the east side, and "G.D. 1629," "C.D. 1629" and "H.S. 1629" on the west. These are usually taken to be the initials of masons, including Huntingdon Smithson. Their position low down in the walls suggested to Gregory that this was the level down to which the earlier, pre-Cavendish, building was demolished for a rebuilding in 1629, which would fit in with the date of William's Lord Lieutenantship the previous year.

The northern doorway to the wall walk is dated 1633. The arch onto which it opens, linking the upper floors with the

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174 Mowl, (1993), pp.184-5.

175 NU MS PW1 669.

176 Paula Henderson, pers. comm.

177 See illustration 2.45.

178 See Blunt, Anthony, *Philibert de L'Orme,* London, 1958, Plate 4; Balliol College Archives, MS B.21.24; see Gazetteer, p.79.

179 See illustration 2.27.

180 NU PW1.669

wall walk, was rebuilt in the 1660s.[181] Pegge's plan, showing the basement, gives no name to the two rooms at the north end of the building, but he states that "over these was the chapel, with a door to the terrace."[182] It seems that the chapel in John Smithson's plan,[183] at the south of the Terrace Range, was never built - archaeological investigation revealed no traces of its walls - so it would not be surprising to find a chapel elsewhere. As discussed in Chapter Four, the wall walk would have acted as a kind of open-air gallery leading from the private apartments of the Little Castle to the chapel, and, like Arundel's gallery, it provided garden and statuary views.

The "ould new building" also contained a "w.th drawing roome" in 1665 when a new "Chimney Parrell" was provided by Joseph Jackson.[184] Perhaps this was on the *piano nobile* below the chapel mentioned by Pegge. The Renishaw, Diepenbeke and Kip and Knyff views do not show any means of reaching the grand west door into the northern part of the Terrace Range which lead into a corridor to the Hall. However, traces of a bi-directional staircase, like the one to the south, survive in the ground.[185] It must have been a short-lived structure.

The Long Gallery

To the south was the Long Gallery with a grand staircase rising to the doorway in its west wall. A plan exists by John Smithson for this second phase of the Terrace Range, designed to provide more accommodation on a grander scale than the Little Castle, and possibly built in expectation of Charles I and Henrietta Maria's visit that took place in 1634.[186] John Smithson's Gallery façade is in a knobbly Mannerist style with peculiar cylindrical pillars, supporting and resting on nothing, and half submerged into the wall. Pegge was perhaps the first to suggest that they were supposed to be cannon, and takes them as proof that the building was erected after the Civil War.[187] But Chapter Three argued that they are a local interpretation of the classical pilasters to be seen, for example, marching across the front of Michelangelo's *palazzi* on the Capitoline hill in Rome. The Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza, or the Palazzo Valmarana, by Palladio, and the Palazzo del Tè by Giulio Romano, share the same feature. These buildings were known in Derbyshire, but through the misleading medium of engravings that could result in all kinds of creative distortions. Laurus's *Antiquae Urbis Splendour*, for example, depicts ionic capitals from which it is possible to imagine the scrolls becoming three-dimensional in the mason's mind.[188] The broken pediments of the windows and entrances of the Gallery are extremely unusual, and were perhaps inspired by a pattern book of Wendel Dietterlin, which provided more tortuous and extreme versions of the patterns of Serlio and de Vries.[189] The main doorcase is related to the gateway neighbouring the Riding

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181 NU PW1.669

182 Pegge, (1785), p.19.

183 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/1(4).

184 NU PW1.624a, transcribed by Michael Partington.

185 English Heritage Plans Room, Bolsover Castle drawer, 593/31, 'survey of excavated foundations of both flights of steps, 1955.'

186 For the use of the Gallery, see main text, pp.164-165.

187 ibid, p.23.

188 Laurus, (1612), p.37; for a discussion of the cannon motif, see main text, pp.136-8.

189 Dietterlin, Wendel, *Architectura*, Nuremberg, November 1593, quoted by Girouard, (1983), p.266.

House at Welbeck, decorated with skulls, which appears in the Diepenbeke engraving.[190]

This Gallery lost its roof during the Civil War. In an undated letter to his steward Andrew Clayton, probably in the 1660s, William wrote that, "you must bye the Leade for Bolsover, as soone as Ever you see the prise faules."[191] Andrew Clayton reported back that "the gallery is ready for Lead, wch. I shall bye on as soone as ye price falls to Ten pound per ffoothe."[192] The battlements around the Gallery roof were not only for decoration. The pastime of walking on the flat lead roof explains the balcony over the entrance, accessible only from the roof, and a "Dore Going out to the leads" is mentioned in 1751.[193] The stair up to the Gallery may be that mentioned in another letter from Clayton, probably dating from 1665. He praises "the staire into the Castle Court" as "the most noblest that ever I saw."[194] This design of stair was one of Marsh's specialities. Two similar ones were built at Nottingham Castle, and, as with the pilasters discussed above, there are many Italian examples.[195] A similar one with a grotto beneath can be seen at the Campidoglio, while the identical staircase at Cardinal Hippolyto d'Este's villa at Tivoli leads onto a promenading terrace with an expansive view in exactly the same manner.

Samuel Marsh's rebuilding work

Above the Great Court entrance are William's arms topped by a ducal coronet. This was probably the "creast exteriordenarie"[196] which was brought to the site by a special carriage, as were the "great colambes" of the doorway. Girouard notes that this was almost certainly the doorway referred to as it incorporates the only monolithic columns on site.[197] Samuel Marsh, described as "Surveyor of Bolsover buildings," oversaw the re-building of the state rooms after William's return from exile. His letters and accounts describe the construction of a grand suite of entrance hall, withdrawing room and bedchamber. Vertue also confirms that Marsh was "the Architect for these. works."[198]

Pegge labels the entrance room of Marsh's work as the "saloon,"[199] probably an anachronistic eighteenth-century word. Bassano mentions a "Dineing Room," a "drawing Roome" and a "Lodging Roome."[200] The dining room was probably the later version of John Smithson's Great Hall. The 1660s alterations involved a doorway inserted into the "bellavista" at the dining room, possibly the view down the enfilade from the old Hall southwards.[201] A list of inscriptions for

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190 See illustration 14.11.

191 Strong, (1903), p.56, 'A note for Andrew Clayton aboute my Buldinge att Welbeck.'

192 NU PW1.669

193 NA DD.4P.70.8

194 NU PW1.669

195 NU NPE P 4.5.1-4, plans of Nottingham Castle, 1769.

196 NU PW1.624.c

197 Girouard, (1983), p.302.

198 Vertue, George, *Note Books II*, Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.32.

199 Quoted by Currey, (1916), p.19.

200 Bassano, (c.1710), p.37.

201 NU PW1.624.b, 'Work done by Joseph Jackson ... 1666.'

pictures "in ye *2d withdraw=ing roome* at Bolsover" further confuses the issue of the use of the rooms.[202] Written in the hand of Thomas Farr, Henry's steward, it itemises seven family pictures. All seven were still present in c.1710, when Bassano listed ten pictures in the drawing and lodging rooms.

3.10 The Riding House Range

The Smithy, Riding House, Stables and Apartments at the western end appear to be essentially of one build although they have gone subsequent alteration. The Riding House Range can be dated to just before or just after the Civil War - both cases can be argued. Perhaps the most accurate answer is that a pre-Civil War building was heavily repaired and remodelled in the 1660s. The documentary evidence is as follows, based on the summary given by Girouard, with some additional information. A building of some sort stood on the site of the present range in Senior's survey, made "in the yeares 1630, 1636 & 1637." The similar survey of Welbeck clearly picked out the "riding house," but the draftsmen worked inconsistently, for the Bolsover survey does not even show the Little Castle as a separate building.

However, the Riding House Range does not appear on the Renishaw drawings, which probably date from the 1630s. Why would such an important part of the Castle be left out? Possibly because it was not completed - and it was definitely not roofed - until the 1660s. The Nottinghamshire Archives contain a statement listing timber carried from Welbeck to Bolsover "to build the Riding Howse" and then "towards the Building of the Stable."[203] Although undated, it is filed with other papers from the 1660s. Inconclusive attempts have been made to date it from the names of the carriers involved. An Edmund Woodhead has been identified as bailiff of the Bolsover accounts in 1670-71,[204] possibly the carrier "of Clowne" mentioned in the document, but another Edmund Woodhead (his father?) was a yeoman tenant at Clowne in 1624,[205] and is also known to have been at Bolsover in 1651. The document's appearance and position in the archives makes the 1660s date more likely. However, dendrochronological dating of the timbers of the Riding House roof, suggesting a date in the 1660s, appears to settle the question.[206] Still, the roof was adding to a pre-existing building, for NU PW1.624.b refers to the "New ould Building over ye Stables." This suggests that the stable area had existed previous to (ould), but been rebuilt by (new), 1666, the year of the reference. PW1.624.c confirms this as Jackson was to "peece in all needfull places in the new ould Buylding," and piecing-in is a significant alternative to a new build.

Contrary to this, Bassano mentioned the Riding House "amongst other ye Stately buildings [at Bolsover] raised by...William Duke of Newcastle after his returne out of Exile."[207] Also Vertue, who was certainly familiar with members of the family, stated that the Riding House Range was constructed after the Civil War. The view certainly lingered on in Pegge's work of 1785, which also wrongly dated the Terrace Range to after the Civil War on the spurious grounds that the "cannon" pilasters were symbols of the conflict. These writers must have been mistaken, or misled by extent of the works of the 1660s. Girouard argues for the Range's being constructed at the earlier date, and attributes it to Huntingdon Smithson, but only loosely, and on the basis that as a surveyor he probably finished his father's jobs. If so,

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202 NU PW1.289

203 NA DD.4P 70.1

204 ibid.

205 NA DDP.50.54

206 Dating was performed in 2000 by Robert Howard from Nottingham University.

207 College of Arms, RR.19E.A.

this would date it to before 1648, the year of Huntingdon's death, and almost certainly to before the start of the Civil War. The range parallels the similar gabled section of the west wing at Welbeck Abbey, also heavily mannerist in style. The great doorway into the Riding House is connected to a plate in Francini's *Architecture* published in 1631.[208]

The Riding House

The hammer-beam roof of the Riding House was originally intended to be hidden behind a ceiling with the decorative beading along the lower edge of the tie-beams forming a ribbed effect. Traces of white paint remain on the beading and the lower members. However, the roof is otherwise very similar to the open hammer beam roof at the Welbeck Riding House shown in the eighteenth-century view by Grimm.[209] Still, the decorative bosses at Bolsover have been found to be later additions, inserted once the ceiling had been removed, and copying those at Welbeck in an antiquarian gesture. The hammer beam was therefore much plainer in its original form, and hidden away in an attic. A similar roof survives at Condover Church in Shropshire, dated by Pevsner to 1662-79.[210]

The Venetian window through to the viewing chamber is set off-centre within the eastern wall of the Riding House. The explanation is that the stalls in the stables caused its door to be off-set, and the viewing chamber simply balanced it. The similar viewing chamber at Welbeck with a smaller window, shown in Grimm's view of 1789, was probably also a later insertion, for William mentioned his plans to add it in 1665.[211] These chambers were probably needed as William in his old age took "delight in seeing his Horses of Mannage rid by his Escuyers"[212] for Margaret grew "troubled, that her dear Lord and Husband used such a violent exercise ... for fear of overheating himself."[213]

The Stable

The room to the west of the Riding House was known inaccurately as the 'forge' for a long period, originally it was a grand stable. This seems likely because of its shape and similarity to the stable at Welbeck. Welbeck, as discussed below, had a single row of heated stalls supplied with a running trough of water. We would expect to find the remains of stalls under the floor at Bolsover, however none have been located in trenching to date. Smithson's convention for the sides of the stalls - a line ending in a round dot - is the same as the one he uses for a Hall screen on other plans, therefore implying a permanent wooden construction.[214] However, there was much discussion in contemporary texts about whether stalls should be boarded in, or merely separated by more temporary bars: boarding prevented the horses from eating each other's food, but also made them lonely.[215] Another Smithson design survives for a stable at Clifton Hall near Nottingham. It too was laid out similarly, with twenty stalls along the inner wall. Upstairs were the "sadeles"

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208 Girouard, (1983), p.281.

209 See illustration 14.15.

210 Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, Harmondsworth, 1958, p.112.

211 See Gazetteer, p.135.

212 Girouard, (1983), p.302; Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.152.

213 Cavendish, Margaret, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy: To which is added, The Description of a New Blazing World*, London, second edition, 1668, p.110.

214 See illustration 14.5.

215 North, Roger, BL Harleian MS 1760, f.24, quoted by Worsley, Giles, (1989), p.36.

and "the gromes loginge": plausible uses for the upper floor of the stable at Bolsover.[216] The earliest evidence for the use of this room was given by Bassano in 1710. He described the "Stables, Riding House and Smithey" and calculated that "ye Smithey and Shooing House" was 20 yards long, and 8 yards wide,[217] measurements matching the empty rooms on the ground floor at the eastern end. None of the surviving designs for stables show windows on both sides, and those in the south wall at Bolsover are almost certainly eighteenth-century insertions. Gervase Markham, in *Cavelarice or the English Horseman*, wrote that "the windows of your stables must be upon that side which answers to the horses buttocks."[218] The north-facing windows at Bolsover were partially dictated by the constraints of the site, but also followed Palladio's advice, although it was inappropriate in a northern climate. The little door in the south wall was important, because as well as the grand entrance there would have been a side entrance like at Sir Thomas Slingsby's new stable "to throw out the dung and compost."[219] Around the walls are the remains of a deep plaster cornice with a pulvinated frieze. The cornice is similar to the fragment surviving in the dressing room, which can be dated from the accounts to the 1660s. It would be unusual to find a plaster cornice as an original feature in a stable, but this was an exceptionally grand design.

The apartments

The bays between the stable and the Terrace Range are traditionally said to have formed William Cavendish's private apartments. This interpretation seems to have arisen not from documentary sources, but from similar layouts at other houses such as Hampton Court, where a state bedchamber has a private bedchamber/closet leading off it. However, the block actually consists of two discrete apartments: the dressing room and stoolhouse off the State Bedroom in the Terrace Range, and another unconnected apartment. Taking Welbeck as a model, it is quite likely that the latter was the lodging of the master or the "Marechall" of the horses, a job held by the highly-paid Captain Mazine. At Welbeck the Diepenbeke plate shows there was similar provision attached to the Riding House.[220]

The western-most bay of the Riding House Range had a flat roof finished with the battlements or "vent and crest" found on the gallery itself. It therefore dated from Marsh's work in the 1660s, as confirmed by payments in Jackson's accounts. PW1.624a mentions a "Dressing roome and Stoolehouse" which had four windows, rooms over them, a frieze and cornice, vent and crest and four chimney tops. This would mean that the tiny room with fireplace looking into the Great Court was the stoolhouse and larger room behind it, with access into the Marsh range, was the dressing room. Both were part of the Terrace Range and were used by the occupant of the bedchamber there.

There is also a riding school at nearby Thoresby Hall, dating from Salvin's nineteenth century work. The Pierreponts at Thoresby were William's second cousins, and Frances Pierrepont became his daughter-in-law. However, an interesting

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216 RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson Collection, III/2 (1).

217 Bassano, (c.1710), p.37.

218 Markham, Gervase, from *Cavelarice or the English Horseman*, London, 1607, pp.1-2, quoted by Worsley, Giles, (1989), p.33. A Gervas Markham of East Retford makes frequent appearances in William Cavendish's estate papers, eg. NA DD.3P.17.1. Was the horse writer a member of the same Markham family who were clients of William, some serving as trustees, some tenants? Gervase Markham in 1607 made the first English reference to a paved stable floor (Worsley, Giles, (1989), p.22), a feature of theWelbeck stables in the 1620s.

219 Lister, J.L., and Brown, W., 'Seventeenth Century Builders' Contracts,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol.16, 1902, p.112.

220 See illustration 14.11.

estate plan made about 1690 by Thomas Cleer shows an unmarked long building set of the edge of a perfectly circular court, set in the midst of a regular orchard at the end of the garden. It is the size and shape of a Riding House, and the round court could have been the exercise yard like the Great Court at Bolsover. The windows of seventeenth-century Thoresby, as Colvin points out, share detailing with Nottingham Castle and suggest the hand of Samuel Marsh.[221] Could Samuel Marsh have had anything to do with both Riding Houses here and at Bolsover? He is at least a challenger to the tenuous but universal attribution of the design to Huntingdon Smithson, although his letters suggest that he was involved in repairs only.

3.11 The water supply buildings

Five small buildings off the site of the Castle are connected to the provision of its water supply. A wayleave was granted in 1622 for a pipe to bring water from the south. William paid for a trench three feet wide to be dug across Spittle Green Close, south east of the Castle, to house the pipe.[222] It ran through the four surviving conduit houses, often later referred to as "watch towers." They are of dressed ashlar with kneelers at the gable corners. Rooke noted a date of 1622 on one of them, now invisible. Pegge, writing in 1785, claimed that an old man informed him that he had heard his father say that the openings in the roofs of the houses were "conduits to convey water to the castle from a spring at *Spittle-Green*, almost half a mile south of the castle." The old man's father "remembered taking up some of the leaden pipes in one of these small houses."[223] The date of 1622 or 1642 was confirmed in 1860.[224]

The Cundy House, across the valley to the east, contained the spring that supplied the cistern house and the fountain garden. In 1895, Downman explained that the conduit across the valley was "locally called "condy"," and was "still in working order." The house across the valley had contained a lead collecting tank, since taken away to Welbeck.[225]

4 LATER HISTORY

William's son Henry died at Welbeck on 26th July 1691 and was interred in the vault in Bolsover Church on 12th August.[226] On Henry's death, the Dukedom became extinct and the Castle passed to his heiress, his daughter Lady Margaret Cavendish. She married John Holles, fourth earl of Clare, who later became Duke of Newcastle of the second creation. In 1710, Francis, or Richard, Bassano, a heraldic painter, visited Bolsover and made notes on the rooms and pictures.[227] An inventory of all of John Holles' properties shows that Bolsover was sparsely furnished compared with Welbeck and Nottingham Castle.[228] Margaret Cavendish died in 1716, and again the absence of a male heir again meant that the Castle passed to her daughter Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, who had married Edward Harley, later second Earl of Oxford. It was described, in the legal wranglings after his death, as being in an "ill state," with "constant Expenses

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221 NU Ma.4P.19; illustrations 16.16 and 16.17.

222 NA DDP.50.37, 1st July, 1622.

223 Pegge, (1785), p.24.

224 Gray, (1894), p.38.

225 Downman, (1895), p.30.

226 Yeatman, (1887), pp.55-69.

227 Bassano (c.1710).

228 NA DD.4P.39.55, 'inventory of valuation of goods of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717.'

that [would] attend the Repairs of it."[229] In 1742, unspecified demolition took place as stone was taken from Bolsover to Welbeck. The construction of the new Oxford Wing at Welbeck from 1751 meant that the Terrace Range was again stripped of its lead.[230] However, Henrietta did spend upwards of £500 on repairs to other parts of the castle.[231] Payments included £54's worth of sheet lead for a roof, repairing windows and the Riding House roof.[232] In 1755, Bolsover descended by the female line for the third time to Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley. As she had married the Duke of Portland in 1734, it passed to the Bentinck family. The Dukes of Portland retained the Castle until 1945. In 1852, it was described as "a frequent residence of the second duke, but since his death, it has been deserted."[233] William Bentinck, the second Duke of Portland, was in possession of the Castle from 1755 to 1762. However, the accounts show otherwise: horses were stabled there, and family visits made in the 1770s. Samuel Pegge's useful *History of the Bolsover and Peak Castles* was published for the Duke of Portland in 1785. He included engravings of many drawings of the local antiquary Hayman Rooke, including a plan of the Terrace Range. In 1829, Reverend Hamilton Gray, curate-in-charge of Bolsover from 1829, moved into the Little Castle as a tenant. Mrs Gray's *Memoirs and Memorials* were printed with her husband's autobiography and some details of their life at the Castle. On moving in, they "seriously set to work to convert the old, windy, rambling, desolate looking Norman castle into a habitation fit for civilised man."[234] Their alterations included adding a porch to the Little Castle's south side. The doors cut between the Ante-room and Pillar Parlour, and from Elysium to the stair lobby could have been made by the Grays, although there are stylistic arguments for their having been eighteenth-century alterations.

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229 BL Add MS 33054, ff.69v-70r.

230 Faulkner, (1985), p.45.

231 Worsley, Lucy, (2001), pp.169-184.

232 NA DD.4P.70.2

233 Burke, (1852), Vol.1, p.208.

234 Gray, Mrs Hamilton, (n.d.), p.311.

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3 BOTHAL CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND

GRID REFERENCE: NZ 240 867

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2 OWNERSHIP

The castle is still owned by the Portland estate. Their office occupies the ground floor of the Sample wing. The main body of the house is leased to Mr and Mrs Beer. Dawn Beer kindly allowed me access.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The medieval Castle

The name Bothal, or Bottle, means house or a village, and is a common termination for place-names in Northumberland.[1] The fourth Sir Robert Bertram, who had livery of his lands in 1328, built the medieval castle. He was involved in fighting the Scots in the 1330s, and was given a license to crenellate his *mansum* at Bothal by Edward III in 1343.[2] The Great Hall probably already existed in some form but the Gatehouse was a splendid new creation of this period, following the Edwardian fashion for gatehouse-keep rather than a central tower-keep.

Several features of the castle and Bothal church may be significant sources for the chivalric revival buildings of Charles Cavendish (I), whose wife grew up at Bothal. Firstly, the entrance front of the gatehouse presents ranks of carved shields. They are identified individually by Roland Bibby, but in general they commemorate Edward III and the Northumbrian family connections of Sir Robert Bertram (IV), the castle's builder.[3] This statement of family power is made the more sinister by the brooding presence of two stone figures on the roof, one sounding a horn and other about to drop a stone ball on those approaching the Castle below. It has been suggested that the horn was an allusion to the tenure of cornage, or service of winding a horn on the approach of the Scots.[4] The Little Castle at Bolsover similar presents a similar display of family heraldry to visitors. Meanwhile the figure of Hercules threatens to drop the weight of a cartouche down onto a hostile visitor just as the figure at Bothal aims his missile: a similar idea expressed in a more classical mode.[5]

The church at Bothal also contains a display of family heraldry reminiscent of the frieze in the Star Chamber at Bolsover. Its roof still features fourteen fourteenth-century shields, whose devices were recorded by Bates in 1891, but still more striking is the famous alabaster monument to Ralph, Lord Ogle, who died in 1513. Finely carved, it too combines a classical frieze with prominent dentils that almost give the impression of chivalric battlements with stone shields at intervals like those at Bolsover, and is surrounded by small figures of "weepers" in the compartments of its pedestal. The combination of classical and more traditional family references is a reminder of the tomb of Charles (I) at Bolsover, commissioned by his wife, Katherine Ogle.

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1 Bates, (1891), p.283.

2 Bibby, (1973), pp.31, 99.

3 ibid, pp.182-187.

4 Anon., (1812), p.10.

3.2 The Castle in the time of Cuthbert, Baron Ogle

William Cavendish inherited Bothal Castle from his mother, Katherine, second daughter of Cuthbert, the seventh Baron Ogle. Cuthbert became a Member of Parliament in 1563 and had livery of his estates in 1567.[6] He was responsible for commissioning the survey taken in 1575 known as *The Book of Bothool Baronye*. The original has long been lost, but it was transcribed in William Hutchinson in his itinerary of Northumberland.[7]

Cuthbert's wife, Catherine, was one of the heiresses of Sir Reginald Carnaby, and this explains the close connection with the Carnaby family that existed in William's household, and, for example, the heraldry of the Little Castle fireplaces at Bolsover.[8] Cuthbert's lack of a son meant that he decided, in 1583, when his elder daughter Jane married Edward Talbot (later eighth Earl of Shrewsbury), to break the entail which would have meant his estates passing to a more distant relative. Jane was to receive the bulk of the estates, with a few manors reserved for her sister Katherine. At that time Cuthbert's wife Catherine was allocated dower lands for life, including Pegswood and Coney Garth. Cuthbert died in 1597, Catherine in 1623 and Jane Talbot died at Bothal in 1625, leaving Katherine Cavendish in possession of the whole. She was made Baroness Ogle in 1628 by letters patent, reviving a title that had been in abeyance since her father's death. When she died at Bothal on 29th April, 1629, William inherited this title as well as her estates, and it was much more significant to him to be Baron Ogle - a title dating back to the time of Edward IV - than Baron Bolsover, the title he had previously acquired. Ogle became the dominant title taken by his son. A letter from Lord Ruthin, one of the heirs of Gilbert Talbot, suggests that once again William's powerful relations were involved in obtaining the title for him. Ruthin mentioned the "consideration that the lords have procured his majors conferr [his majesty's conferral of] her [Katherine's] honor upon you."[9]

3.3 The Castle in the Seventeenth Century

A survey of the barony was taken on the 20th June 1586 by Cuthbert Carnabie, Robert Maddison and John Lawson, all tenants of the manor. *The Bothoole Book* listed:

> ane Castell, great chaulmer, parler, seven bed chaulmers, one galare, bullerie, pantrie, lardenor, kitchinge, back-house, brewhouse, a stable, an court called the Yethouse wherin there is a prison, a porter loge, and diverse fair chaulmering, an common stable and a towre called Blank Towre, a gardine, ane nurice, chapel, and an towre called Ogle's towre, and pastrie, with many other prittie beauldings here not specified...[10]

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5 See main text, p.133.

6 Bibby, (1973), p.55.

7 Hutchinson, (1778), Vol.2, pp.308-9.

8 See Gazetteer, p.36.

9 NU PW1.236, n.d.

10 ibid.

The "Castell" was the gatehouse, but the description then jumps to main accommodation block behind it: the Great Chamber, bedchambers, Gallery and service rooms. The Yethouse Court was the small court to the north-west of the gatehouse, containing lower-status rooms such as the prison. The Blank Tower and Ogle Tower were set into the curtain wall, and there were in addition "faire gardinges and orchetts, wharin growes all kind of hearbes and flowres, and fine appiles, plumbes of all kynde, peers, damsellis, nuttes, wardens, cherries to the black and reede, wallbutes, and also licores [liquorice] verie fyne."

However, another document survives, of which Bibby was not aware, which adds detail particularly to the layout of the rooms within the west range containing the Great Chamber. It laid down the arrangements for sharing the house between Catherine Ogle and her son-in-law Edward Talbot. An index of "those lodynges and Rowmes as are apourted within the castle of Bothall to the use of Catherine Lady Ogle" lists:

> Imprimis the dining parlour called the lowe parlour Item the chamber called my lordes bedchamber and the chapel within my lordesps Chamber Item the newe Chamber called mistress Catherines chamber Item the lodgings within the gatehouse Item the granare Item Blauche Tower Item the butlery and the wyne seller within in Item the Larder and the kitchin Chamber then the kitchen loft Item the stable called the Lordes stable. The following are to be used belongth the Lady Ogle and wt Edwarde Talbot. Imprimis the Hall Item the kitchin Item the brewehouses Item the barkehouses.[11]

Edward Talbot, then, and his wife Jane, had little claim to the Castle apart from the use of the Hall, kitchen, brewhouse and bakehouses, presumably to accommodate members of their household. The seven bedchambers mentioned in the *Bothoole Book* must have been in the block to the west that included the lord's chamber with its chapel and Mistress Catherine's chamber. The document also makes clear that there was indeed a Great Hall, as expected but not explicitly mentioned in the earlier survey. It also shows that there was building work at Bothal in the later sixteenth century, as Catherine's chamber was "newe."

This was the Castle as William must have inherited it in 1629, and there is no evidence that he carried out any further additions or alterations. In particular, the plate in *Méthode Nouvelle* appears to be nothing more than a fantasy very loosely based in reality, or perhaps on a verbal description of the site.[12] The plate does show a prominent gatehouse, and the building is indeed surrounded by water as the river Wansbeck encircles the peninsula that Bothal Castle stands on. Bothal's interest, though, lies in the influence it had on Charles (I) and William's own new building projects and the castle style they developed in the Midlands. In fact, under William's tenure Bothal's physical condition worsened. In the late seventeenth century, another survey of the parish stated that "here was formerly a large fair Castle ye chief Residence of ye Ld of Ogle ... its almost totally ruined, little thereof standing, except one large high Tower wch still retains ye name of Barhomes Tower."[13]

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11 NA DDP.4P.46.17, wrongly indexed as rooms to be held by Jane Talbot.

12 Illustration 3.6.

13 Northumberland Record Office MS 2024.30

3.4 William's use of the Castle

Roland Bibby quotes from an inventory of Bothal made at the time of Katherine Cavendish's death in 1629, which it has not been possible to locate. Her possessions included "needlework quishons longs and square of silk ... bedes and blanket's ... carpates, cutines, vallances," worth £75.9.8, "chares, deskes ... beadsteads, fether bedes" and £200's worth of plate.[14] The house was well-appointed enough to have accommodated Anne of Denmark and James I. According to Nichols, in 1617, "on the 5th of May, the King ... proceeded to Bothall Castle, the seat of Sir Charles Cavendish, where he remained two nights."[15] This is a slightly misleading statement for Charles (I) had just died and anyway the Castle was still in the possession of Jane Talbot, his sister-in-law.

Bothal was an occasional residence of William's even before it passed into his ownership with the death of his mother. Arundel, for example, wrote on 4th September 1620 that he had heard that William was visiting family at "Bottle Castell in Northumberland."[16] William also made use of Bothal Castle while campaigning in the north, both for the safekeeping of his family, and for the exertion of his family's traditional influence in the county. Sir Marmaduke Longdale wrote on 9th November 1642 that "my lord of Newcastle took this day an opportunity to see his children at Bottell Castle. It may be it was to be further in the county and to be near the danger to prevent the rising of the county..."[17] During the Commonwealth, the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates sold Bothal to Barnabus Tremlett, a merchant of London, and it ended up in the possession of one George Lawson.[18]

3.5 Form and influences

The gatehouse stands on a natural mound, and the bailey follows the irregular shoulder of the hill behind as it slopes down to the river Wansbeck. As at Bolsover, the southern end of the bailey was artificially raised to create a uniformly level court. The gatehouse was originally adjoined to the south-west by a range of accommodation running along the edge of the bluff. The Buck view of 1728 hints at further buildings still standing in the bailey behind the gatehouse, but the most informative view is that made by J. Saunders in 1724, in which the roof of the Great Hall can be seen.[19] The bailey was original cut into two sections, and a view by Hooper dating from 1774 shows a round-headed door going through the wall dividing the two. The Great Hall hugged the curtain wall to the north-west of the bailey, and the double corbels which supported its roof survive in the section wall retained for the purpose of sheltering the garden.

The gatehouse itself was partially refaced during the nineteenth-century restoration, but its construction was excellent and durable. Its northern entrance façade is flanked by two semi-octagonal turrets with a carriageway between them. The battlemented roof has a turret for access in the south-east corner and water is thrown out from the roof in long gargoyle

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14 Bibby, (1973), p.60.

15 Nichols, (1828), Vol.3, p.297.

16 BL Add MS 70499, f.106.

17 HMC, *Portland*, Vol.1, 1891, p.69.

18 Bibby, (1973), p.137.

19 Illustrations 3.8 and 3.7.

spouts like those at Bolsover. The ground floor consists of the carriageway and vaulted spaces to each side, one known as the "prison." Woolnoth, writing in 1825, described how "at the foot of the stairs is a door into the prison, which is not so horrible an enclosure as most of those seen in baronial castles: it is above ground and closely arched..."[20] It is only on examining a section through the building, such as Andrew Oliver's,[21] that it becomes obvious that Bothal shares many similarities with the Little Castle at Bolsover in its planning. The vaulted lower floor, the complicated split levels and the first floor Great Chamber are all familiar, as is the garden enclosed within its bailey wall. Even the long and lower range containing accommodation running away along the bluff to the south is reminiscent of the Terrace Range at Bolsover. The small rooms in the gatehouse turrets utilize the floor-space in the same way that closets are provided at Bolsover, and there are similar square niches for lamps.

The construction of the nineteenth-century wing and associated outbuildings by the Sample family, the Duke of Portland's land agents, replaced an earlier secondary tower and small court to the north-west of the gatehouse - their remains can be seen, for example, in the Saunders view of 1724. The ground floor of the Sample wing is occupied today by the Portland estate office, and the upper floors form part of the Beer's house. Their dining room is on the first floor of the Sample wing.

3.6 Bothal and its woodlands

The geographer Mr Adams, writing in the lifetime of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, noted that at Bothal "formerly a park of Deer was empaled, & a great Quantity of Wood but broke up & dochared in these late rebellious times."[22] The value of the woods at Bothal excepting "the trees aboutt the ye orchard & Gardens" was £440 in April, 1663,[23] but the next year Nicholas Whitehead, bailiff for the sale of the woods in Northumberland, complained of "the Treacherous Deallings of these wood moungers" at Bothal.[24]

William, Lord Widdrington, reported on some further unauthorised felling in 1675. He had come across a heap of wagon wheels, and he wrote that the wood "appeares to mee to have come most out of bottell bancks ... that which Trouble mee the most is, that most of the Trees was but within a bowshot of the house and in the vew of it towards the East..."[25] The audacity of stealing wood from within a bowshot of the house shows the post-Civil War lack of respect now given to woodland expanded upon by Tom Williamson.[26]

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20 Woolnoth, (1825), unpaginated.

21 Northumberland Record Office MS ZSA.51.33, illustration 3.9.

22 Northumberland Record Office MS 2024.30

23 NU PW1.270

24 NU PW1.271

25 BL Add MS 70500, f.72.

26 Williamson, (1995), p.127.

4 LATER HISTORY

Bothal Castle passed with the Cavendish lands to the Holles, Harley and finally the Bentinck family, where it remains. It was not kept in good condition in the later seventeenth century, although the tenant and rector John Booth did make some repairs. He was full of complaints in 1668 when he found the Northumberland men, "loath that an inocent strange should come amongst them," had been trying to have him expelled from his tenancy. This was despite the fact he had "entred upon the Castle and [had] alreadie disbursed above 100£ in the repair of 18 rooms there." This "was never parelled in the world," he wrote, and "the finishing of the house will cost me 180£ wch is more money then all the tents the duke hath in Northumberland did expend this 30 yeeres in repairs."[27] Eighteen rooms must have included a good part of the building, but Booth's grievance was not satisfactorily redressed and with Andrew Clayton he entered upon the conspiracy against Margaret Cavendish which resulted in their downfall.

John Booth was also tried in 1672 for forging coins. Court depositions from York Castle include the evidence of a builder who had made "a fire-hearth for [him] in a corner near a window in a room of the gateway in Bothwell Castle."[28] A deed of 1683 states that Lawrence Saunders of London made a sale to the Tanners' Guild of Morpeth of "all the barque lying in the Great Hall of Bottle,"[29] so it can no longer have been in residential use. William's great-grandaughter Henrietta's husband Edward Harley visited in 1725. His chaplain recorded that "the Castle is all in ruins, a great part of the walls are standing, and the gate into it is still pretty entire, and has several coats of arms at the top, on the out-front. Over this gate my Lord has ordered a room to be repaired, and to have his court kept there."[30] Harley and his chaplain dined with a Mrs Pots at the Castle. The Parish Registers contain three children born to different families living at Bothal Castle between 1727 and 1735, including the baptism of Anne, daughter of William Potts of "Bothall Castle" on 26th January 1727.[31]

When John Hodgson visited in the early nineteenth century, he had found the gateway closed in to form a dwelling.[32] However, in 1830-31, William Sample, the first member of the family to act as agent to the Duke of Portland, removed the dwelling in the entrance and refurbished the gatehouse as a residence.

The Castle was extended in about 1857-59 by Thomas Sample, also an agent to the Duke of Portland. A descendent, Charles Sample, is still the agent to the estate today. Thomas Sample's wing first appears on the Ordnance Survey map of 1859, and was two bays wide and three storeys high. His work also included the bringing of the window and fireplace in main room on the first floor of the gatehouse from Cockle Park nearby. The extension to the west of the gatehouse was raised by another storey, containing bedrooms, in 1909.

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27 NU PW1.25

28 Quoted by Bibby, (1973), p.222.

29 ibid, p.138.

30 HMC, *Portland*, London, Vol.6, 1901, p.107.

31 Ellis, (1901), pp.15, 17, 18.

32 Quoted by Bibby, (1973), p.144.

4 CLIPSTONE PARK AND LODGE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE FOR CLIPSTONE VILLAGE: SK 603 648

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2 OWNERSHIP

No trace remains of William's hunting lodge or stand, though the ditches marking the boundaries of the park can still be seen in places. Cavendish Lodge is owned by Tony and Joy Shaw Brown.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Medieval Clipstone Park and Peel

Clipstone Park, between Mansfield and Edwinstowe, was an ancient royal hunting park visited by each monarch from Henry II to Richard II.[1] The substantial ruins survive of an unfortified royal house, known as King John's Palace, which were ruined by 1525 and investigated in the 1950s by Rahtz and Colvin.[2] James I in 1603 granted the park to Lord Mountjoy, ending centuries of royal possession.[3] After several changes of hands, the manor and park were sold by the Earl of Pembroke and others to William and his brother Charles (II) of Welbeck, on 2nd March, 1631.[4] William's purchase also included several buildings, the most interesting of which was his hunting lodge. This appears, although unnamed, on a survey of 1630. It was the building known as "the lodge at or in Clipstone Park." in the seventeenth

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1 Crook, (1976), p.35.

2 Colvin, (1963), pp.918-921.

3 Crook, (1976), p.41.

century and later as Beeston Lodge, but it had disappeared by the nineteenth century. William had employed his surveyor, William Senior, to make a map of the park in 1630. It shows four gates through the paling and the lodge standing by the River Man.[5] Senior's depictions of buildings are not entirely reliable, but here he shows two blocks with gabled roofs standing next to each other.

The lodge developed out of the gatehouse of a structure known as Clipstone Peel, which was an agricultural but also a defensive enclosure mainly built in wood in the fourteenth century. Quite separate from the royal palace, it was built in the months up to January, 1317, and included a gatehouse, hall, royal chamber, chapel, bakehouse, kitchen, grange and sheds for cattle.[6] Crook argues that its purpose was to guarantee a royal food supply in the time of the famine, bad weather and Scottish attacks of 1315-17. However, it soon fell out of use. One Robert de Clipstone was ordered, in January 1328, to remove all the houses except for the gatehouse, which then took the name of the "Peel" that had formerly been applied to the whole structure. Repairs to the gatehouse were made with plaster, sand and lime, so it was at least partially built in stone, and it appears on a forest map of c.1400 as "the pele."[7] This map shows that it was at the west end of the park and south of the river, on the site of the building shown by Senior.[8]

The other interesting building in the park, still standing, is the house known today as Cavendish Lodge. This building consists of several phases, the most striking of which is the work of the Countess of Oxford. In a letter of 1748, she described her proposal "to build in Clipstone Park a small house, or cottage, with two floors, consisting of a small cubic hall, an octagon-shaped dining-room, a drawing-room, a bed-chamber, and a dressing room."[9] Hardly a cottage, the cube room and octagon room still survive as additions in fine ashlar to a farm house. However, the name "Cavendish Lodge" was chosen by the Countess to replace the building's earlier name of Clipstone Park or "Park Farm,"[10] so it has nothing to do with the lodge that William Cavendish purchased in 1631. No building is shown on the site in the Senior survey.

3.2 Clipstone Park before the Civil War

Margaret Cavendish described Clipstone Park as a source of great pleasure to William as well as of utility. It was of seven miles' compass, "rich of Wood, and containing the greatest and tallest Timber-trees of all the Woods he had; in so much, that onely the Pale-row was valued at 2000*l*. It was water'd by a pleasant River that runs through it, full of Fish and Otters; was well-stock'd with Deer, full of Hares, and had great store of Partriges, Poots, Pheasants &c, besides all sorts of Water-fowl; so that this Park afforded all manner of sports, for Hunting, Hawking, Coursing, Fishing, &c, for which my Lord esteemed it very much."[11] A few months after the purchase, steward and gentleman servant Robert Butler

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4 NA DDP.114.70

5 Illustration 4.1.

6 Crook, (1976), p.40.

7 Crook, (1976), p.46, note 64.

8 Crook, (1976, p.46, note 77.

9 BL Add MS 70432, 21st January, 1748.

10 Joy Shaw Brown, pers. comm.

11 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.92.

wrote to William about the management of the park, arguing that the sale of the wood within the palings and the outwood would pay for the park itself.[12] Soon tenants were found to look after the investment. Mary Markham, widow, leased the unidentified building of Clipstone Hall, probably the manorhouse in the village, and its lands in 1632.[13]

William sought permission for the economic exploitation of the forest, receiving a license in 1641 from Charles I "to fell timber in his woods called Clipstone ... and other woods ... and to convert into [char]coal; also to build furnaces, forges, etc. for iron."[14] Covenants on the license made sure that the permission related to the Forest Laws; the land was to be fenced round for nine years after felling, and only a third felled in each nine year period.

3.3 Clipstone Park after the Civil War

Clipstone, like William's other properties, was both confiscated and damaged during the Commonwealth. It was only in 1655 that Charles (II) was able to buy back the manors of Clipstone and Sookholme, "sometimes inheritance of William, Earl of Newcastle," with a mortgage for £1000.[15]

The verderers, or former royal officials for looking after the royal forests, had complained about the mismanagement of Sherwood Forest to the Commonwealth authorities. They wrote in 1655 to Lord Clare, who had been made Warden in William's place. The restrictions on its exploitation had been relaxed, with disastrous consequences. "The forest is ruined," they claimed, "especially Clipston Woods ... by Mr Clark, on pretence of a grant from the Committee for Sale of Traitors' Estates. He has felled 1000 trees, and daily fells more ... he fells in the heart of the forest, where the deer have their greatest relief."[16] Margaret shows how deeply William was affected by this mismanagement on his return from exile. His parks "were totally defaced and destroyed, both Wood, Pales and Deer," she explained. Among them "was also *Clipston*-Park ... and although his Patience and Wisdom is such, that I never perceived him sad or discontented for his own Losses and Misfortunes, yet when he beheld the ruines of that Park, I observed him troubled, though he did little express it, onely saying, he had been in hopes it would not have been so much defaced as he found it, there being not one Timber-tree in it left."[17] Margaret described how he had ordered a wood adjoining the spoiled park to be cut down to "repale it, and got from several Friends Deer to stock it."[18] In 1665, he received a grant from Charles II of the right to fell trees and enclose land against deer in several manors including Clipstone.[19]

In September 1660 the bill was passed restoring to William all of his manors he had possessed on 23rd October 1642.[20]

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12 BL Add MS 70499, f.13, Robert Butler to the Earl of Newcastle 8th November, 1630.

13 NA DD6P.1.17.44

14 NA DD2P.17.11.1

15 NA DDP.7.9, 18th June, 1655.

16 Green, M.A.E., *CSPD, 1655,* London, 1881, p.137, 22nd April, 1654.

17 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.92.

18 ibid, p.93.

19 NA DD2P.27.12.1

20 Trease, (1979), p.182.

In January 1661, he sold to William Clayton "all rootes-wood, cordwood trees and charcoal from trees in Clipston Park" for 10 years, for the considerable sum of £5000.[21] However, this connection with Wiliam Clayton, of Whitwell, who also sold William lands in Clipstone and Edwinstowe the next year,[22] was to result in much inconvenience and the eventual loss of a lengthy court case against the Cavendish family. Mary Clayton, William Clayton's widow, was later to show that in 1668 she had rented a forge for bar iron and equipment in Clipstone, which was regaining its semi-industrial character it had had before the wars.[23] Her son, William Clayton, a lead merchant, claimed part of Clipstone Woods and a forge he said he had built there, along with other lands and ironworks at Bolsover. He said he had obtained them under sequestration, from William's trustees, but that it had been agreed - like the purchase of Newcastle House, Clerkenwell - that he was to keep them in return for payments of various of William's debts. Clayton also claimed to have helped William Cavendish in exile by sending money. The suit was found against William in 1684, but it was another case of his dodging payment of debts for years: in fact, until his death.[24]

3.4 Work in the 1670s

An account book from 1670 kept by William's steward Richard Neale gives details of some of the work of managing the park. A total of £18.8.3 was spent in February 1670 on repairs: to the park pale, which had been blown down that winter by a great wind, to the gates and pales, and on thatching the stable at Clipstone, where the roof had been blown off.[25] Work also included altering the fencing of the so-called "paddocke cours." This account book also contains an elusive reference to the "Lodge" in the park which was probably the gatehouse of the medieval 'Peel' discussed above. A payment was made "For Mr Goslings bill of repairing his Lodge at or in Clipston Park by his Graces order."

Mr Gosling is an interesting inhabitant of Clipstone Park. He came from a family of forest keepers. Arbella Stuart in 1609 wrote from Whitehall to a Charles Gosling, commanding him to "remember the old buck of sherland and the rosted tench I and other good company eat so savorly at your house," and a Charles Gesling was William's bailiff in his park of Pontefract in about 1634.[26] In the 1660s, Charles Gosling wrote to Andrew Clayton about taking deer to Clipston Park in carts.[27] He lived at Rufford, in a substantial house with six hearths.[28] These keepers of the forests, living in isolated lodges, and those near Rufford in particular, were identified as recusants by Sir John Holles in 1612, when he described how they alerted their masters to the approach of government officials. Behind the catholic Earl of Shrewsbury's abbey lay "y^{e} forrest by his command, wherin under y^{e} King, all y^{e} keeper lodges be as well furnished wth notorious recusants, [who] serve y^{e} for spies, & sentinels against y^{e} Ks seruice..."[29]

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21 NA DDP.42.65

22 NA DDP.7.11, 25th February, 1662.

23 NA DD2P.28.43

24 NA DD4P.22.113-onwards.

25 NA DD.P6.4.4.1, f.11, account of Richard Neale, 20th February, 1670.

26 Stuart, (1994), p.230; NU PW1.331.

27 NU PW1.450

28 Webster, (1988), p.47.

29 BL Add MS 32464, f.47r, 'Sir John Holles Lord Haughton Letter-Book 1598-1617.'

In addition to the lodge in the park, a plan in a late seventeenth-century hand survives for a small building at Clipstone, probably the planned "stand" for hunting.[30] It was a simple two-storey building, with a staircase seven feet wide and rising thirteen feet. The accompanying estimate of cost reveals that it was intended to have a battlemented skyline in the mock-chivalric style, as two and three-quarter roods of stone were allowed "of Battlement wall on either side."[31] The manor, as opposed to the park, had already passed out of William's possession. He had sold it to his son in 1668, with the exception of the park and a building described as Clipstone Manor House, "late in possession of Christopher Elam and now of the Duke."[32] The Manor House was a substantial building, as "Hearthmoney for Clipston House being tenn Chimneys" was paid in 1671 and 1674.[33]

4 LATER HISTORY

By Henry's time, Clipstone Park was once again a paying proposition. In 1685, it was worth £150 a year, even "without any Deare." Meanwhile, the town, warren and forge paid a further £108.15.04.[34] A reference survives to a warrener's lodge in Clipstone Park in 1717. Robert Spencer, warrener, of Clipstone, was leased Coneygrays, the Warren House and warren, along with a building called Robin Hood house. This might have been a later use to which William's hunting lodge was put.[35] It has long since disappeared.

30 Illustration 4.2.

31 NA DD4P.70.43, 'a computation of ye charge of building a Stand at Clipston Parke.'

32 NA DDP.7.14, 15th January, 1668.

33 NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.11; Webster, (1988), p.129.

34 NU PW1.400, account of the revenue of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, in the handwriting of Thomas Farr, 4th March, 1685.

35 NA DD2P.28.71

5 COCKLE PARK TOWER, NORTHUMBERLAND

GRID REFERENCE: SK 603 648

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2 OWNERSHIP

The tower remains part of the Portland Estate. It stands empty and in a dangerous condition surrounded by the buildings of an experimental farm run by the University of Newcastle.

3 DISCUSSION

Cockle Park tower is a medieval strong tower with a machiocolated west front standing three miles north-west of Bothal Castle. The two were once intervisible, though trees today block the view. The northern, medieval part of the structure retains its hefty corner bartizans and machiocolations.[1] Cockle Park's first floor Great Chamber, like Bothal's, contained a mural latrine, a traceried window and decorative fireplace; the two latter features were moved to Bothal itself it the nineteenth century. According to the anonymous writer of the 1812 *Account of the family of Ogle*, "the south part of the building [Cockle Park Tower] was burnt down about 400 years ago, being set on fire by lighning."[2] The southern part of the tower was certainly rebuilt in a more domestic character in the seventeenth century, with the addition of a spiral

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1 Illustration 5.1.

2 Anon., (1812), p.38.

staircase.[3] The north-west corner of the building is decorated with a large carved achievement of arms, described in 1812 as "totally obliterated," but in fact recorded in the engraving of by S. Hooper of a drawing made in 1774. According to Grose's *Antiquities*, the supporters were the collared antelopes of the Ogle family.[4]

Part of the patrimony of the Barons Ogle from the Bertram family, Cockle Park Tower came into the possession of William Cavendish in 1629 on his mother's death. It is mentioned as the dower-house of the widow of the fourth Baron Ogle, who died in 1539, and the fifth Baron's will, made in 1548, left his wife Jane "Cockell Parke and Towre."[5] It was rented out to tenants for the rest of the seventeenth century, when it was described as a "mansion house."[6] Along with Great Tosson, a similar tower to the north-west, now in ruins, it must have also been a useful defensive structure. The latter was described by Mr Carnaby in the 1660s as "Greate Tosson toware nowe out of repare ... the tower has the strong est bulding yor Grace hath in the north,"[7] and the strength rather than the commodity of the house is emphasised. Tosson had been in a poor state for a long time; in 1541 it was mentioned as "a tower of the lorde Ogles Inherytance & not in good reparacions," and only a stub of a ruin remained to be photographed by Bates in 1892.[8] Cockle Park's proximity to Bothal Castle, its unusual form and Mr Carnaby's suggestion that William was familiar with his northern towers give the impression that its design, and its massive fortifications could be significant for the theme of chivalric revival/survival which runs through the Cavendish buildings. But the tower and its park were equally significant in providing the noble attributes of timber and planting.

Some of the tenants of Cockle Park are known from the Cavendish archives. In 1657, Charles (III) leased Thomas Lambton the "mansion house called Cockle Park Tower, with the park" which had previously been in the occupation of Henry Watson.[9] A different tenant - John Rushworth - is mentioned in the same year in a lease for the park. The lease specified that half of the oak trees in it were to be reserved for the use of the tenants of the Barony of Bottle [Bothal] for repairing their houses.[10] The Lambton family, though, fell into the category of William's important Northumberland connections, families of only local significance but a vital part of his and the Talbots' regional influence. Lady Katherine Lambton, in an undated letter, thanked William for agreeing to bestow his "pickter" on her, and wrote that she also wanted the "honble Lady Shrewsburys pickter whoes memmory I hope never to live to forget."[11] However, the tensions and squabbles of the Northumberland tenants once again spilled over in William Milbourne's vindictive letter of 27th April 1668. Milbourne, who acted as a bailiff and businessman for William in the north, was now resident in the Tower, and wrote to Andrew Clayton that "laydie Lampton is buryed the 21 of this month I was very glad of the newes for she

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3 Illustration 5.2.

4 Grose, (1785-7), Vol.4, p.81; illustration 5.3.

5 Hodgson, (1832), Part II, Vol.2, p.141.

6 NA DD4P.21.1

7 NU PW1.51

8 Bates, (1892), p.392.

9 NA DD4P.21.1

10 NA DD3P.21.4

11 NU PW1.169

was always threatening [me]..."[12] There was also some bad feeling between the Lambtons and Welbeck, for in 1674, John Rushworth wrote to William that "all the Arreares the Lady Lambton demanded, whilst your Grace was beyond the seas, are acquitted and discharged by mee."[13] Andrew Clayton was also called upon to arbitrate disputes between the Cockle Park tenants by letter. His isolation from the scene of the quarrels is emphasised by William Milbourne's vain hope that in one instance Major Ogle would be vanquished by Clayton's writing "two lines ... that it is my Lord Comands to have but one Tenant upon that ground, beeing my self, w^{ch} will be a great preservation to the woods" at Cockle Park.[14] Distance precluded the option of obtaining a personal settlement by attending on either Clayton or William himself, and strife was bound to follow.

A valuation from 1663 shows the significant cost of the woods in dispute at Cockle Park. Nicholas Whitehead assessed them at £780,[15] and mentioned again the arrangements for preserving some of them for the future and for repairs.[16] The sale of wood worth over £700 in 1663 was no small addition to the estate's value - nearly a third of the income of £3000 to be expected annually from Northumberland in Henry's calculation.[17] As usual, though, Nicholas Whitehead had been over-optimistic, and was forced to write in May 1664 about the "Treacherous Deallings of these wood moungers..." Milbourne's status locally obviously needed an injection of the glamour of personal attendance at Welbeck, and he promised to bring the rents in person.[18] Cockle Park, then, is typical of some of William's smaller manors, not managed with a firm hand and therefore characterised by dissension and wastefulness. The house itself was not given much attention, but William was probably aware of its military form and former function and had almost certainly visited it in person.

4 LATER HISTORY

Cockle Park's mullioned sixteenth/seventeenth century windows - as shown in Hooper's engraving of 1783 - were gothicised at about the end of the eighteenth century, and it was described in 1812 as "now elegantly repaired, and inhabited by Mr Edward Scarfe, a respectable farmer." The pointed windows are recorded in a print of c.1830.[19]

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12 NU PW1.476

13 BL Add MS 70500, f.70.

14 NU PW1.473

15 NU PW1.268

16 NU PW1.269

17 NU PW1.600

18 NU PW1.271

19 Illustration 5.4.

6 GLENTWORTH HOUSE / HALL, LINCOLNSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 943 883

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2 OWNERSHIP

Only a tiny fragment of the Elizabethan structure remains although the redbrick range designed by Paine survives today as a roofless ruin. The gardens form part of the surrounding farm and the stables have been converted into private houses.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Henry's tenancy

Henry Cavendish rented Glentworth House in Lincolnshire as a home for himself, his wife and daughters during the last years of his father's life. At that time, the property was a large Elizabethan house, of which little trace remains. Henry had moved to Glentworth by April 1666, when Francis Topp addressed a letter to him there.[1] Visits were paid to Welbeck fairly often. Jane Cheyne wrote to Frances, for example, on 2nd July 1668, after a trip to Nottinghamshire: "I hope you came well to welbeck with all your most sweet Children" and that Frances was, in addition, "saffly returned back, with your famely to Glentworth."[2] On 1st December 1668, Francis Topp reported from London that "The Earl of Ogle and Mr Benoist took Coach yesterday for Glentworth."[3] The frequent movements between houses had Dr

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1 NU PW1.256

2 NU PW1.90

3 NU PW1.507

Matthew Boucheret, who frequently prescribed for the family, confused. He wrote in 1666: "I was told last weeke that your Honor was gone to Welbeck" but "the letter of your man I received yesterday [assured] me that you are at Glentworth."[4] Glentworth, of course, acted as the focus for Henry's circle of clients as Welbeck did for his father's. Robert Delaval, for example, although he lived in Sunderland, planned to wait on person on Henry in 1667. He mentioned "the great expectation" of his "attendance at Glentworth."[5] Another client, John Tempest, explained that he should "have cast my self at your feet to give you this account at Glentworth, if I had not bin tyed to the Stage Coach, w^{ch} made it impossible."[6] Henry, however, never seems to have settled down at Glentworth, treating it as a place for occasional residency, as he would rather have been nearer to the centre of family power at Welbeck.

Henry's residence at Glentworth was funded by his father. In a letter, dating probably from 1674, Henry and his wife admitted that "your Grace has been pleased to give us a plentifull allowance wherewith wee have kept house," although they desired to live at Welbeck again.[7] Henry also told his father, perhaps out of tact rather than truth, of his boredom with London and his intention to "bee quiett for a whole Twelve month att Glentworth" in November 1667.[8]

3.2 The Elizabethan house

Sir Christopher Wray (1524-1592), builder of the house, was a Lincolnshire gentleman who became Speaker of the House of Commons and Lord Chief Justice. A member of the class of rising Elizabethan officers like William's grandfather Sir William Cavendish, Wray bought Glentworth in c.1566. He already had links with the manor, as his wife was the widow of Robert Brocklesby of Glentworth. He and his family were inclined toward Puritanism. In his will, made 1579, Christopher enjoined his son William and his heirs to maintain six poor people in the almshouses at Glentworth and that "the said poor people should have their dinners every Sunday in Glentworth Hall as is able to come hither, and a house kept."[9] The date of the building of the house is variously given as "after 1566" and "1573."[10]

Glentworth's appearance is recorded in three eighteenth-century drawings. Firstly, the early eighteenth-century view in the Ross collection of Manuscripts shows the house before the additions made by James Paine. The image is annotated "large square court within Col. Saundersons at Glentworth from Bucke sketches."[11] A five-bay entrance front has projecting gables at either end, where the mullioned windows have been replaced with later seventeenth- or early-eighteenth century sashes. The roofline shows four turrets, one rising from each corner of the central courtyard, and the long entrance range had a flat roof topped with a balustrade. As such, it was not that different from the remodelled south-

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4 NU PW1.28

5 NU PW1.109

6 NU PW1.254

7 NU PW1.74, copy by Frances of part of a letter from Henry and herself to William, c.1674.

8 NU PW1.71

9 Lincolnshire Archives, Misc. Dep. 487.3.3.

10 ibid.

11 Illustration 6.3.

west range at Welbeck, but not nearly as grand. This can be seen more clearly in the later drawings of the house by Claude Natte, then in a ruinous state, also in the Lincoln City Library.[12] The tithe award map of 1815 also shows the footprint of the Tudor house, with projecting corner towers and a projecting entrance on the north front. It also shows a long uneven wing running north, not visible in the eighteenth-century views, which appears to terminate in a building with a plan in the shape of a cross. It looks very like a banqueting house of some description, in the garden at a distance from the house.[13]. The Natte drawings also show the south and west fronts of the house with their rows of gables, and two projecting battlemented square bay windows on the west elevation. It was certainly a sizeable property, built around a courtyard twenty-nine feet square according to the 1813 tithe map. A photograph of the ruins from the 1920s show the house's original construction was of coursed rough stone with dressed stone quoins.[14] Paine's addition is in red brick.

By the 1660s, Wray's descendent Sir John Wray, third Baronet, owed Glentworth. He died in 1664, survived by his second wife Sarah and his daughter Elizabeth. Sarah re-married into the Saunderson family.[15] Elizabeth, whose memorial in Glentworth church faces that of Sir Christopher, was the last of the Wrays to own Glentworth, and it was finally sold to the Saundersons. It is possible to imagine that in the years immediately after Sir John Wray's death, his widow and her infant child would not have a use for the house, and would therefore have been pleased to rent it to Henry Cavendish, who lacked a house of his own.

The Wrays had connections in Derbyshire, which is presumably how Henry Cavendish came to know of Glentworth.[16] One of Sir Christopher Wray's daughters, Isobel, had married Godfrey Foljambe. His descendant Sir Francis was sheriff of Derbyshire, and his letters to William survive.[17] Isobel's second husband was Sir William Bowes, but her third, interestingly, was Lord Darcy of Aston. Lord John and Lady Elizabeth Darcy of Aston were fairly regular correspondents of William in the 1630s.[18] Lord Darcy's first wife had been a daughter of Sir Peter Frecheville of Staveley, another associate of William's.[19]

Meanwhile, another of Sir Christopher Wray's daughters, Frances, had married Sir George St Paule, whose nearby family house at Snarford was probably as grand as Glentworth. Excavations, according to Terence Leach, did not reveal the house drawn by surveyor John Thorpe, but instead a front 120 feet in length, with circular turrets at each end.[20] Frances'

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12 Illustrations 6.4 and 6.5.

13 Illustration 6.2.

14 Leach, (1990), p.74.

15 ibid, p.72.

16 Dalton, (1880), Vol.1, pp.87-96.

17 BL Add MS 70499, f.162.

18 BL Add MS 70499, f.204, Lady Elizabeth Darcy from Aston to William; NU PW1.106-7, undated letters of compliment from Lady Elizabeth Darcy to William.

19 Dalton, (1880), Vol.1, p.96; for the Frecheville, see BL Add 70499, f.332; BL Add MS 70500, f.10; NA DDP.50.54; NU PW1.34-36; NU PW1.132 .

20 Leach, (1990), p.72.

second marriage was to the later first Earl of Warwick, another family with whom William was familiar, as he had travelled to Italy with Warwick's son Sir Robert Rich, who was to become the second Earl and to marry William's cousin Anne Cavendish. These family connections, as well as his uncle Charles (II) having lived for several years at Wellingore, about the same distance from Lincoln as Glentworth is, can explain Henry's acquisition of the property during a time when its owners had no need of it. It is interesting that he found such a sizeable house inadequate, and presumably it was its lack of architectural adventurousness and of family connections that made him long for Welbeck, as well as his father's habit of continually adding further manors to Margaret's jointure at the expense of Henry's inheritance.

4 LATER HISTORY

In 1724, Glentworth passed to Thomas Lumley, the future third Earl of Scarborough (d.1752), of Lumley Castle in County Durham.[21] The third Earl made grand plans for Glentworth and added a new stable range, which survives. His son, the fourth Earl of Scarborough, inherited in 1752, and having completed the stables asked James Paine to remodel the house. According to Peter Leach, "the house was to be completely remodelled or reconstructed and a staircase and chapel built within the courtyard." However, in the event, "all that was done at Glentworth was the reconstruction of the entrance range to a much reduced design, of two storeys instead of three and without the two-storey entrance hall proposed by Paine."[22] Byng passed Glentworth on his tour into Lincolnshire of 1791. He noted that "Ld S[carborough] with *special* taste, and folly of expence, added a new, flaring, red brick, back front, which gives the strangest look of age, and youth united! - The old part has been turreted, inner-courted, &c. - and might part been restored to strength, and comforts, for half the expence."[23] The remaining fragment of the Paine remodelling stands as a ruin in the middle of a farm, although the stables are more complete and have been converted into private houses. The only remains of the earlier house consist of an archway and two or three mullioned windows behind Paine's facade. Shortly after the second World War, the top floor of the Paine house was removed, with the intention of making the house habitable again, but the work was abandoned.[24]

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21 Surtees, (1820), Vol.2, p.164.

22 Leach, (1988), p.186.

23 Byng, (1935), Vol.2, p.398.

24 Thorold, (1999), p.50.

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8 NEWCASTLE HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, MIDDLESEX

GRID REFERENCE: TQ 316 823

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2 DISCUSSION

2.1 The acquisition of St Mary's Nunnery

By 1630, many noblemen were acquiring new town houses in Clerkenwell, a rustic village in the process of becoming a fashionable suburb of London. The spring of Sadler's Well lay in fields just to the north. William's neighbours in Clerkenwell included the Earl of Exeter in 1637 and by 1666 the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Townsend, the Earl of Aylesbury, the Earl of Essex and Lady Crofts.[1]

William's house at Clerkenwell was converted out of the buildings of St Mary's Nunnery. The present church of St James was a late eighteenth-century replacement of the nunnery church, which was about twice its size. To the north of the church lay the cloisters, and the three ranges of the nunnery. It seems likely that the west range, including the prioress's lodgings, became the main range of Newcastle House, and the cloistered courtyard became one of the three gardens. Part of the cloisters remained: several eighteenth-century images survive and some of the fabric of their columns still survives today. The northernmost building of the nunnery, the so-called 'Nuns' Hall,' a former dormitory, remained as a separate building immediately north of Newcastle House and was also drawn in the eighteenth century by the antiquary John Carter among others.

It is not known how or exactly when the site passed into the hands of the Cavendishes. The earliest evidence that William was living in Clerkenwell is in a letter dated 24th June 1630. Writing to the Earl of Strafford, he was disillusioned with town life and confessed that he had "sometimes sweet dreames of the Countrye."[2] It has previously been thought that the earliest mention of Newcastle House was March 1632, when Robert Payne, the chaplain, wrote "from your lordp's house at Clerken-well," mentioning William's "purpose shortly to remove Welbeck to Clerken-well."[3]

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1 Bruce, J., ed., *CSPD, 1637*, London, 1868, p.114; St James' Parish 'Poor Rate Book,' 1666, now at Finsbury Library Local Studies Section.

2 Sheffield City Archives WWM, Str.P.12/116, William to the Earl of Strafford, 24th June, 1630, from 'Clerkenwell.'

3 Trease, (1979), p.62; BL Add MS 70499, f.151.

The drawings of the house made before its demolition in the late eighteenth century suggest a date of about 1630. The obvious assumption is that at least its facade was William's creation, after he purchased the site from "Lady Kidson."

The background to the purchase of the house is hinted at in the notes made on the back of Mr Benoist's letter of 1672 about a stopped conduit pipe. "My Lord Duke purchased Clarkenwell house of my Lady Kidson," he wrote, "& with it the Conduit Leading hereunto, who gave it in her time to another woman wth charge £10 p annum of the wast water, his Grace enjoyed it all his time & then loks it to the Conduit to Sr John Coopley and he enjoyes it all his time and now Sr John loks it again to his Grace wth suche suute loks the same to his Grace wch hath enjoyed the same with the Conduit ever unto till now."[4] Sir John Coopley, or 'Copley' as he is called in the parish Poor Rate Books, was listed, for example, in the Rate Book of 1666 for "Clerkenwell Cloase."[5] But the Copley family had actually owned Newcastle House itself during the Interregnum. A petition survives in the calendar of the House of Lords for 1660 from John Cropley of Clerkenwell.[6] He complained that his father had lent William Cavendish £1,200 in the years before 1642, and as it happens £1200 owed to "Mr Cropley" is clearly listed in a "Schedule of such Principall debts of the Earle of Newcastle's" contracted prior to 1642.[7] Cropley, originally from Yorkshire, had long been involved in business matters with the family for in 1636 he purchased Bollam manor and house from Edmond Hamond with the agreement of William and Arundel.[8] In 1654, William had conveyed his "mansion house and site of the late dissolved monastery of Clerkenwell and the manor of Flawborrow ... in the county of Nottinghamshire," to his son Charles and other trustees, for the payment of his debts. Then Copley, according to his own account, "by the urgent importunity of the trustees, was induced to buy the mansion house and manor." They were accordingly conveyed to Samuel Boardman in trust for the new purchaser. William tried to claim Newcastle House under the Act of Parliament of September 1660 that restored his estate to him as he had enjoyed it before May 1642. Cropley, understandably, refused to release it. The case went to Chancery, and William did not finally regain the house until Michelmas, 1662, when it was mentioned in lawyer's fees. A list of legal expenses presented by John Hutton for the suit against Copley included eight shillings and tenpence "for searching of the Roules for the Deede of Clarken well house."[9]

Henry noted in 1667 that the manor of Sutton was sold in order to raise the necessary money to regain Newcastle House. "Sutton w^{ch} yealded his Grace 144 good rent is sold and wesit towards y^{e} buying of y^{e} House at London,"[10] he wrote. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the case, William Cavendish had finally paid off Copley and reclaimed his mansion. This sequence of events makes sense of Mr Benoist's letter about the conduit quoted above: the purchase from "Lady Kidson" was followed by the time of "his Grace" and then the time of "Sr John," and by 1672 the house was once again "his Grace's." "Lady Kidson," the seller in the late 1620s, was conceivably one of the relations of William's father's first wife, Margaret Kytson, whose family he remained friendly with after her death.

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4 NU PW1.16, f.2.

5 Finsbury Library, Local Studies Collection.

6 HMC, *7th Report, The House of Lords Calendar,* London, 1879, Part 1, Appendix, p.135, 16th November, 1660, petition of John Cropley, of Clerkenwell.

7 NA DD4P.35.14

8 NA DD6P.1.16.43

9 NA DD4P.78.4, f.3r.

10 NU PW1.600, f.2.

2.2 The Form of Newcastle House

Like Welbeck Abbey, therefore, Newcastle House, was converted out of a former religious house. The surviving fabric influenced its plan and some features - such as part of the cloister - even retained their former function. The eastern range of the cloister, probably containing the chapter house, dormitory and sacristy, had been demolished in the sixteenth century. It had still existed in 1551 when it was included within a sale document for the estate, but had probably been lost by 1559 for the Balliol College Deeds record that the north door of the church leading into it had been blocked since that date.[11] However, the south cloister survived into the late eighteenth century, for an engraving of it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in December 1785.[12] It must have provided a place to walk under cover beside the parterre garden illustrated in the cloister court in Ogilby and Morgan's map of London of 1677, and it is shown on the map as an open-sided structure with a lighter hatching than that of the surrounding buildings.[13] Its surface consisted of a sixteenth-century Flemish tile floor sealed by a further plaster floor containing a fragment of seventeenth-century bottle glass, so its use must have continued throughout the seventeenth century.[14] This feature, once again, fell into two categories: as a remnant of antiquity and something that could be used as a more innovative loggia. Even in a forward-looking house such as Kirby Hall, the loggia was known in the seventeenth century as the "cloister."[15]

The other two ranges of the cloister, the west and north, were retained and probably incorporated into the new house built around 1630. The north range, where the refectory would formerly have been situated, had views south over the cloister garden and north over a formal garden in which traces of brick pathways were found. Like at Welbeck Abbey, the most comfortable part of the nunnery - the west range containing the prioress's and guests' private apartments - became the entrance façade and most important or state suite of the new house. The Ogilby and Morgan map of 1677 shows that the main entrance was central to the west façade, but to the east a porch projects into the garden slightly to the north of the range's central axis. This porch perhaps marks the position of a screens passage at the low end of the Hall, as would be expected, with the Hall's body running north to south, a more traditional feature hidden behind the new houses' symmetrical façade. The view of the façade in the Crole Pennant also shows a small door to the south of the main, central opening which perhaps superseded it.[16]

A final important building on the site was the so-called "Nuns' Hall" at the northern end of the demolished eastern claustral range. This was probably originally a dormitory added at a later stage as the nunnery expanded, and it too survived into the late eighteenth century and sketches of it by John Carter exist at Finsbury Library. A jamb of a gothic window from the Nuns' Hall still survived in later housing on Newcastle Street, and was described by Pinks in 1865.[17] Archaeological investigations have revealed that the Hall had formerly contained two large rooms, but that the cellars had been filled in after the Dissolution.[18] Immediately to the north a courtyard with a cobbled surface and drainage was

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11 Sloane, (1997), p.171.

12 Illustration 8.8.

13 Illustration 8.2.

14 Sloane, (1997), p.171.

15 Northamptonshire Record Office, MS Finch Hatton 802.

16 Illustration 8.3.

17 Pinks, (1865), p.97.

18 Sloane, (1997), the 'Nuns' Hall' is Building 9, pp.176-8.

located - perhaps a stable yard, and stables are certainly mentioned in a summary of the property dated 1669.[19] It is at least possible that the Nuns' Hall cellars were filled in for the use of the building as a Riding House, accessed from the yard to its north.

The only elevation of the new house for which a visual record survives is the street front of the main west range. In Trease's opinion, "modern experts" have detected "hints of the artisan or provincial architect, which point to John Smythson or his son Huntingdon."[20] Whether John, Huntingdon, William himself or other members of the household contributed to the design, it certainly shares some of the hallmarks of the 'Cavendish' style, although its classical rather than its chivalric elements were more appropriate to a metropolitan rather than a Midlands audience. The *piano nobile* contains a row of stubby pilasters. Their appearance of having been applied as decoration is similar to the canons on the Terrace Range at Bolsover, but the otherwise simplicity of the elevation also hints at the southern end of the Terrace Range's pared-down style. The house aims at being a *palazzo* - for the high parapet is designed to disguise the hipped roof behind it - like the Terrace Range and later Nottingham Castle, and the only hint of the curving lines familiar from Bolsover's Dutch gables is in the low wall of the forecourt. It is not possible to work out the order of the pilasters. In the 1791 elevation from *The European Magazine* they look like the Corinthian order, while the late eighteenth-century view "drawn by the late James Carr" shows ionic capitals. Both views show the bottom of the pilaster projecting a little below the string course on which they sit in a most unclassical manner which is reminiscent of the way the 'cannons' of the Terrace Range rise up out of a spherical base. The windows, presumably alterations, are shown in two of the three views as sashes rather than the casements to be expected in 1630.

There are a couple of tiny indications that this building was indeed constructed in about 1630, when William was a newcomer to the area. Firstly, the Parish Registers for St James, Clerkenwell, in that year include the birth of children to John Plasterer, Thomas Tyler and John Stayner.[21] It is, of course, quite possible that this was a coincidental configuration of long-term residents of the parish. But the presence of three names connected to the building trade could perhaps be taken to indicate that three craftsmen, newly-arrived in the parish and not yet well-known to the minister, were described by their trades rather than their family names. Perhaps they had come from the family estates in Nottinghamshire, for example, in order to work on the project. Secondly, the church wardens' accounts for 1633, mention that "leave was given to the Earl of Newcastle to erect a gallery in the church for his family."[22] A piece of building work by a new family in a parish church was a device often adopted to trumpet their arrival in a locality and to signal their generosity. By 1633, it can be presumed that the house had been mainly completed and that the church was the next focus of attention. The gallery no longer survives as the church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century, but its remains can be seen in eighteenth-century engravings of the church in the form of socket holes.[23]

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19 NA DD.P6.1.27.16.

20 Trease, (1979), p.62. The "modern expert" was Neil Burton.

21 London Metropolitan Records Centre MS P76.JS.1.001, Parish Registers of St James, Clerkenwell. John, son of John Plasterer and Alice his wife was baptised on 27th December, 1630; ibid, Mary, daugher of Thomas Tyler and Mary his wife was baptised on 31st December, 1630; ibid, Fayth daughter of John Stayner and Cislye his wife was baptised on 16th February, 1631.

22 St James' Parish, 'Vestry Minutes Book,' 1590-1673, Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection, quoted by Cromwell, (1828), p.82.

23 Illustration 8.6.

The possible use of the Nuns' Hall as a Riding House leads onto the discussion of a plan discovered in Balliol College Archives. It is the earliest-known example of a plan of a British *manège* yard.[24] It shows a long yard with a house in one corner and stabling for twenty-four horses in the other, in a seventeenth-century hand, and is filed with papers relating to Balliol College's houses adjoining the church in Clerkenwell, and next door to William's mansion. It is endorsed on the back in a later hand that it has no connection with the College's property. One explanation for its presence in the College's archive is that it could have been given to them by their neighbour, William Cavendish, one of only a handful of people in the country who would be interested in such a project, in order to inform the College of his plans. However, no physical traces of a yard and stables on this scale survive. A stable for twenty-four horses was unusually long, as English writers mentioned the fear of disease when so many horses were together.[25] The posts and rails in the yard are mentioned in documentary sources from Elizabethan times onward, but here are depicted in some detail. There are fences, similar to those shown in images of de Pluvinel's academy at the Palace of the Louvre.[26] It is possible that these fences were used for tilting or jousting, but images of contemporary tiltyards usually show a solid, boarded barrier between the contestants rather than a railing. The Agas map of Whitehall shows a such a solid barrier, although at Greenwich Palace, Van den Wyngaerde's view of 1558 has similar railings to keep the spectators back from the action taking place at a sturdy central barrier.[27] The Balliol plan also shows five individual poles, which horses would be trained to go round, or else tied between. This plan provides firm evidence of the existence of the equipment necessary for the exercises illustrated in William's book on horsemanship, and we can assume that similar arrangements existed in the great courts at Bolsover and Welbeck. The house shown in the plan contained a series of independent suites round a courtyard like a college. Could William have been planning a riding academy for young gentlemen like de Pluvinel's?

2.3 The Gardens

Several traces have survived of Newcastle House's three main areas of garden. Firstly, the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1677 shows the cloister court laid out in a parterre with a central circular path and four quadrants. The date, just a year after William's death, therefore shows the probable arrangement existing in his lifetime. Like the fountain garden at Bolsover, the design of platts and bisecting paths is simple yet bold, designed to be seen from above. Brick paths from the garden were reportedly dug up during the creation of the public park on the site of Newcastle House in 1974,[28] and these are documented by Sloane et al. to the north of the house itself in an area interpreted as a formal garden. The paths were made of unmortared bricks, laid out in a geometric and possible hexagonal pattern.[29] Sloane tentatively dates the paths to the first period of secular ownership in the sixteenth century, but the argument for William's conversion of the northern range into a house - presumably with a first-floor gallery - would fit neatly with the creation of a formal garden below. In fact, a row of first-floor windows looking down into a walled garden can just be glimpsed at the extreme left of the engraving of the west front of Newcastle House reproduced by Thornbury.[30]

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24 Balliol College Archives, MS B.21.24, illustration 8.9.

25 Worsley, Giles, pers. comm.

26 Illustration 8.11.

27 Young, Alan, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments,* London, 1987, pp.91, 108.

28 Sturdy, (1974).

29 Sloane, (1997), p.179. The garden is "Open Area 21."

30 Illustration 8.4.

An archaeological investigation north-east of the church also revealed a brick wall with small round-headed niches in it, reminiscent of the niches in the fountain at Bolsover or the garden feature at Oldcotes although in an entirely different material.[31] This was thought at the time to be a garden wall, and this is now borne out by the bricklayers' bill from 1709 referring to "mending ye Brick Walls in the Garden,"[32] although possibly it is part of the cellars of the Nuns' Hall.[33]

The third area of garden was the nuns' own garden to the east, divided from the cloister by the eastern claustral range. Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677 implies that its outer wall remained to separate the two spaces. This garden was laid out in 1677 in four grass plats, and is still labelled "the Duke of Newcastle" in a map of the parish of 1720. The archives of Balliol College, Oxford, throw a little more light onto its antiquity. The College owned a property to the east of the church, known as the "Sister House," between the garden of Newcastle House to the north and the churchyard to the south. There had been a dispute in the 1630s about the use of the College's land by the curate of St James as a churchyard for burying bodies. The College presented a petition to the Bishop of London in 1639 complaining of the curate's practice of using the land behind the church, formerly a garden, "as his private yard or backside to sett his stacks of bords or timber there for his occasions to build or sell," and, even worse, "leavinge allso severall dead bodies there uncoverd wth earth each for a fortnight togeather to the greate Annoyance of yo^{r} petitioners tenn^{ts} and the infecton of the Aire."[34]

The dispute was never resolved, for Mary Goldsmith, the College's tenant, complained in 1659 that the vicar was still burying bodies in the area or even sometimes leaving them uncovered, and several letters were exchanged on the subject.[35] In one letter asking the College to take a stand against encroachment onto its property, she referred to a neighbouring garden. Belonging to Sir John Copley, digging in it had produced "sculs & bones of dead people, his having been ye Nunnery House."[36] As Newcastle House itself was in the possession of Sir John Copley at the time, the bones must have been discovered on William Cavendish's property and in particular in the large garden to the east of the house. Its wall, also mentioned in connection with the dispute, was brick, and its crumbling remains can be seen in Richardson's engraving of the north-east corner of St James' church.[37] A few knarled trees can be seen in the foreground, possibly the remains of the "orchard" mentioned in 1668. Mary Goldsmith was particularly concerned with the use of the gardens as burial ground, and complained to the College that "I heard say y^{t} M^{r} Baker did, in y^{e} Lady Kidsons time demand a rent," and explains that in "diverse houses" of Clerkenwell Close, "in y^{e} lower floors on shall find dead mens bones."[38] They caused a problem because "y^{e} rotting moisture comeing from y^{e} dead bodies has perished y^{e} foundation

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31 Photograph in local paper, 1980s; photographs taken by David Withey, local studies librarian at Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection.

32 NA DD.4P.70.38

33 Sloane, Barney, pers. comm.

34 Balliol College Archives MS B21.26, 1639, p.4.

35 ibid, MS B21.18-23, 1639-59.

36 ibid, MS B21.20, p.1, c.1659.

37 Hassall, (1940), p.269.

38 Balliol College Archives B.21.20, p.1, c.1659.

of one of [Balliol College's] houses."[39] In fact, as the College's reply makes clear, Mrs Goldsmith was complaining simply to avoid paying her rent.[40]

Two further interesting archaeological features were located in this garden. Firstly, a series of scoops along its northern boundary have been interpreted as possible horticultural features, and secondly, cutting through them on its journey from east to west was a trench, 17.7 metres long, containing a section of a lead conduit.[41] This conduit brought water to the former cloisters from the Queen's cistern in Aylesbury Street, and was possibly the subject of Mr Benoist's correspondence discussed below.

In 1668, William granted the "Mansion house lately erected or built upon the Scite or grounds of or belonging to the late dissolved Monastery of Clerkenwell" to trustees for the use of his wife after his death. The settlement listed his possessions as being the "scite of the said late dissolved monastery together with all the Cloysters and of or in all other the stables coach houses out houses edifitto buildings vaults sellars soyle grounds yards orchards gardens bathfield courts quadrents wayes water watercourses conduits conduit pipes and other casments."[42] These conduits and conduit pipes mentioned caused trouble in 1672, when Mr Benoist wrote to William about the problems that had arisen in trying to remove a blockage. The blockage was under the neighbouring garden of an apothecary, who "is refusing to let us seeck in his Garden to find out where the Pipe of the Conductwater is stopt."[43] Mr Mason, William's solicitor, was requested to look "among the Deeds concerning Newcastlehouse, what he could find there towards your Graces Right to digg in the Apothecaries Garden when the Pipe of your conductwater is in all probabilitie stopt there."[44] A leaden cistern was mentioned at Newcastle house in 1717.[45]

2.4 Newcastle House, 1630-1676

Further letters from before the Civil War addressed from Clerkenwell include Robert Long's from August 1637 about timber sales and the sending of "musk melons," lemons and oranges to Welbeck.[46] In May of that year there was some discussion about the provision of a pest-house for the county of Middlesex in Clerkenwell. The money was provided and the site chosen, but the Earls of Exeter and Newcastle complained that their houses were "very near the place designed for erected the pest-house, and they with divers other persons of quality shall be enforced to forsake their dwellings or become exceedingly endangered." The threat passed, for "the Lords thereupon declared that the place designed is altogether unfit."[47] William himself addressed a letter to Secretary Windebank from Clerkenwell on 27th November 1639,[48] and Francis Jackson on 2nd February 1641, provides another rare reference to William himself being

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39 ibid, B.21.18, c.1659.

40 ibid, B.21.23, 1659.

41 Sloane, (1997), p.180.

42 NA DD.6P.1.27.16

43 NU PW1.16, Mr Benoist to William at Welbeck, 9th July, 1672.

44 NU PW1.16

45 NA DD.4P.39.55, pp.76-7, 'inventory of valuation of goods of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717.'

46 BL Add MS 70499, f.231.

47 Bruce, J., ed., *CSPD, 1637*, London, 1868, p.114.

"at Newcastle House in Clerkenwell" in the address of a letter.[49] William's daughter Elizabeth was married in the adjoining church of St James on 22nd July 1641.[50]

As discussed above, Clerkenwell House was sold in 1654 and repurchased by the family after the Civil War in 1662. "The Duke of Newcastle" appears in the 'Poor Rate Books' for the parish from 1668 to 1675 in the incomplete surviving series.[51] In 1668 and 1669 his house in "Clarkenwell Cloase" was rated at 10 shillings, proving it was a substantial establishment, but none of the usual twelve instalments were ticked off as having been paid. No sum at all is mentioned for subsequent years. On the other hand, Henry's first appearance in 1679 is followed by the note that the sum should be "what his Grace pleaseth." Perhaps William had some special arrangement with the overseer of the poor. Sometimes the wealthy made direct payments to pensioners themselves rather than paying the rate, for example, or perhaps William simply did not pay and because of his status the overseers were unable to make him.

2.5 The Use of Newcastle House

Henry made occasional use of his father's house in Clerkenwell after the Restoration. Before that, it was his custom to stay at "the Two Flowre Potts in ye midle of the Portugall Rowe in Lincolns Inn feilds,"[52] but from 1667 a copy of a letter survives from Henry to his father which reads: "I hope yor Grace will not think itt a presumption in mee to lodge in yor house att London Mr Benoyst incourages mee to beleeve soe ... I thanke hee thinkes much of my convenience there..."[53] Mr Benoist's habits are mentioned in a letter he wrote to Mr Mason in 1673, asking for £20 to be sent to him at Newcastle House, "where I am all mornings till 10: of the clock."[54] Mr Benoist was a servant of many years' standing. He was described by William's granddaughter Arabella's husband as "old Mr Benoist, who had been Governour to [Arabella's] Father, the Duke of Newcastle, & afterwards to her Brother, my Lord Ogle."[55] Henry was certainly at Newcastle House in 1674 when his friend the Earl of Orrery wrote from Syon to him there.[56] Sir Francis Topp also made occasional use of the London house, writing in 1668 from "New Castle House nere Clarkenwell," for example.[57]

The contents of the Clerkenwell house remain mysterious apart from Margaret's mention, within her computation of William's losses in the Civil War, of the set of tableclothes that had disappeared. "Out of his London house at Clerkenwell," she lists, "there were taken, amongst other goods, suits of linen, viz., table-cloths, sideboard-cloths,

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48 Hamilton, William Douglas, ed., *CSPD, 1639*, London, 1877, p.125.

49 BL Add MS 70499, f.246.

50 The volume of the parish register covering the marriages of 1641 is missing from the London Metropolitan Records Centre, but was transcribed by Hovenden, (1885).

51 Now in Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection.

52 eg. NU PW1.374, William Pierrepont to Henry Cavendish, 3rd October, 1657.

53 NU PW1.71

54 NU PW1.20, 30th June, 1673.

55 Lord Spencer, later 3rd Earl of Sunderland, writing in a bible, 1698-9, transcription at Nottingham University.

56 NU PW1.38, 30th June, 1674.

57 NU PW1.25

napkins, &c., whereof one suit cost £160..."[58] Henry, in his letter to William asking permission to lodge in Clerkenwell, mentions that Mr Benoist there has "something towards a bedd of mine att London with a few broken chayres."[59]

Andrew Clayton's accounts show that in 1667 and 1668 William and Margaret made extended trips to London in the early summer, and details of their visits to London and the court survive through the capital's gossip. John Evelyn called on William and Margaret in London on 18th April 1665, when they were "newly come out of the north," and was "much pleasd with the extraordinary fancifull habit, garb, & discourse of the *Dutchesse*."[60] A week later he was delighted when he visited them at home and his host and hostess saw him and his wife down to the courtyard after dinner, they "both would needes bring her to the very Court."[61] Their descent to the courtyard is significant because it confirms that the main reception rooms at Newcastle House, as appears from the surviving images, were on a first floor *piano nobile*. Similarly, instructions given for William's funeral prescribe the hanging with cloth of "y^e^ Hall the Stairs, y^e^ great Dining Rome & y^e^ BedChamber,"[62] presumably in the order in which they were approached by the visitor. On 11th May, Evelyn dined at Newcastle House again, and afterwards "sate discoursing with her Grace in her bed-chamber after dinner, 'til my Lord *Marquis* of *Dorchester* came in with other company, & then home."[63]

Newcastle House was also the final resting place for both Margaret and William before their bodies were taken to Westminster Abbey for burial. Having died at Welbeck, Margaret's embalmed body was sealed in wax, put in a lead coffin moulded to her form and taken to Newcastle House to lie in state.[64] Margaret's funeral at Westminster Abbey took place on the evening of the 7th January 1674, and was attended Sir Edward Walker and "three Heraultes Of Armes."[65] When William himself died, on 25th December 1676, his son made plans for his burial at Westminster Abbey from his house in Clerkenwell. John Mazeen, son of William's old horsemaster, was asked to make the arrangements. The convention, if not the reality, was that the burial would be private and quiet. Henry wrote to Mazeen entreating him to "direct my Servant Mr Hale, what he should do to get y^e^ Hall the Stairs, y^e^ great Dining Rome & y^e^ BedChamber hung with Cloth, the most w^ch^ Bays fit according to what is y^e^ yse as to a prival Buriall, and also I entreat you to see it buried in y^e^ night..."[66]

3 LATER HISTORY

In 1678, Henry Cavendish mortgaged the "site of the dissolved monastery of Clerkenwell, co Middlesex, with mansion house built thereon" to Rev. William Mompesson of Eakring and Roger Jackson of Burton Joyce, together with the

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58 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.105.

59 NU PW1.71

60 Evelyn, (1955), Vol.3, p.478.

61 ibid, p.481.

62 BL Add MS 37998, f.241, undated, probably late 1676 or early 1677.

63 Evelyn, (1955), Vol.3, p.482.

64 BL Add MS 12514, f.290/f.297 (two numbering systems).

65 ibid, f.282/f.290 (two numbering systems), 'fees for the Direction & attendance of ffower officers of Armes at the ffunerall of her Grace Margaret Dutchess of Newcastle the 7th of January 1673/4.'

66 BL Add MS 37998, f.241, undated, probably late 1676 or early 1677.

mansion house at Wellingore, and received £3000 for them.[67] Henry's name has been crossed out in the poor rate book of 1692, and replaced with that of his son-in-law, John Holles, the Earl of Clare, who had married Henry's daughter Margaret in 1690. A bill survives for some carpenter's work at Newcastle House from 1696, which includes two shillings "For tacking douen the belcony And the hachment," presumably the funerary hatchment put up to commemorate Henry's death. A sum was also spent on "raising and mending The great geat,"[68] and a great gate can certainly be seen guarding the forecourt in the surviving engravings. John's daughter Henrietta, later Countess of Oxford and Mortimer and heiress of Welbeck, was baptised at St James' church in 1694.[69]

Newcastle House had passed to John Holles and then in the eighteenth century to Henry's daughter Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle, who had married General Monck's son the second Duke.[70] The best-known facet of her later life was her madness in her widowhood and refusal to marry anyone but the Emperor of China, and the Earl of Montagu supposedly won her hand by impersonating him. She lived at Newcastle House from her second husband's death there in 1709 until her own in 1734, resulting in its sometimes being called Albemarle House. Her "madness" was probably more a result of marital incompatibility. Henrietta, Countess of Oxford, in 1750, wrote of another unfortunate marriage that the "fool has drawn him into ye Marriage for the sake of pres.t Maintenance ... I guess it will end, ye same way as my Aunt Albemarle wth y^{e} Duke of Montagu."[71]

A bill survives for some bricklayers' work in 1709, demolishing a laundry, repairing chimney tops and mending the brick walls in the garden as mentioned above.[72] The inventory of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle's possessions after his death in 1717 included two items still left "At Clerkenwell," a coach "lined with blue Clothing" and a "Leaden Cistern."[73] After Elizabeth's death, Newcastle House fell vacant as the nobility now preferred to live in the West End and the mansion was taken over by William Gomm, a cabinet-maker.[74] He remained until 1776, when an auction was advertised of the "lease of Newcastle House, situated in Clerkenwell Close, with the most compleat and extensive suit of ware-rooms in London, numerous Work-shops, Yards, large Gardens and other Conveniences..."[75] Some of the warehouses were built onto the medieval first storey of the so-called "Nun's Hall" which was sketched by John Carter in the 1780s. The surviving images of the house show a loft-light, possibly for weaving, inserted in the house's second floor over the entrance. The site eventually fell into the hands of James Carr, who demolished the old church and the house.[76] He sold off the materials but retained one lot for his own use, and it is therefore speculated that Newcastle House was the source

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67 NA DDP.30.3

68 NA DD.4P.70.37, carpenter's work at Newcastle House(?), 1697.

69 London Metropolitan Records Centre MS P76.JS1.16

70 Skinner, (1723), p.412.

71 BL Add MS 70432, Henrietta, Countess of Oxford to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 21st June, 1750.

72 NA DD.4P.70.38

73 NA DD.4P.39.55, pp.76-77, 'inventory of valuation of goods of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717.'

74 Boynton, (1980).

75 Newspaper cutting, 19th May, 1776, Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection, L.1.7.

76 Details in the Minute Book of St James' Church Vestry Meetings, Finsbury Library.

of the fine early-eighteenth century panelling which still survives in Carr's own house of 12, Albemarle Street, Clerkenwell.[77] Newcastle House had been replaced, by 1893, by a row of houses by Carr called "Newcastle Row."

The name "Newcastle Row" still survives in Clerkenwell, belonging to buildings just to the north of St James church. The site where Newcastle House stood is partly a public garden and partly housing. The site has been excavated several times over the course of the twentieth century. The first works inside the precinct of the nunnery of St Mary dated from building works connected with the Farringdon Road in 1924, but the first publication connected to the site did not take place until 1940.[78] Excavations from the 1970s onward were undertaken by the Southwark and Lambeth Excavation Committee, the Inner London Archaeological Unity, the Museum of London's Department of Greater London Archaeology (North) and the Museum of London Archaeology Service. The investigations are being in the process of being published by Barney Sloane et al. from the Museum of London Archaeology Service, and he kindly allowed me to see his draft text.[79]

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77 Photographs of obviously-cut down panelling at 12, Albemarle Street, information from David Withey, Finsbury Library.

78 Hassall, (1938-40).

79 Sloane, (1997).

PAGE

MISSING

IN

ORIGINAL

9 NOTTINGHAM CASTLE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 568 394

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3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Acquiring the site

The motte and bailey at Nottingham had been constructed with two years of the battle of Hastings. The Smithson survey from 1617 shows that the Castle had become a considerable structure by the end of the medieval period.[1] About this time, Francis, Earl of Rutland purchased it from James I.[2] In the period before the Civil War, according to Thoroton, "many of [its] goodly buildings were pull'd down, and the Iron and other materials, sold." Yet, Thoroton continues, "there was left enough at the beginning of the late Rebellion" to make the Castle the place chosen by Charles I to erect his standard on Monday, 22nd August 1642.[3]

Nottingham Castle fell to the Parliamentarians and in July 1643 William was expected to launch an attack to regain it. In the event he was diverted to besiege Hull instead, but Nottingham Castle's governor, Colonel Hutchinson carried out

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1 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/10.

2 NA DD4P.22.309

3 Thoroton, (1677), p.490.

some improvements because "knowing the condition of the place, it would have bene yeilded [sic] to a peice of paper."[4] "The Castle was built upon a rock," explained Hutchinson's wife, "and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification; but the buildings were very ruinous and uninhabitable, neither affording roome to lodge soldiers or provisions." To remedy this, Hutchinson "immediately sett upon the fortification of his Castle, made a worke behinde it, another to the Line side, turn'd the Dovecoate into a platforme, and made a Court of Guard in Mortimer's hole."[5] Hutchinson sent forth his defiance to William, refusing "to yield on any terms, to a papistical army led by an atheistical general," and saying that "if my lord would have that poor castle he must wade to it in blood."[6] However, Nottingham Castle was never taken back by the Royalists and was finally slighted by its defenders. It was made indefensible in 1646 and, despite the expenditure of £40 on repairs in 1650,[7] order was given in 1651 that the "outworks and fortifications" were to be "altogether demolished." The then governor, Major Thomas Poulton, was "to have all the materials for his own use."[8]

After the Civil War, Nottingham Castle was put up for sale by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. The Villiers family provide a significant connection to William Cavendish, for William had been one of George's guardians from 1636.[9] George had inherited Nottingham Castle from his mother Katherine, formerly of the Manners family of Belvoir and daughter of the Earl of Rutland. William had already rented the property from her in 1641 for 21 years.[10] Correspondence between William and Katherine survives from the period 1628-43, and connections between the two families must have been close as Katherine's mother, the Countess of Rutland, had been at Welbeck when she fell ill and died in December, 1625.[11]

On 1st August 1660, George, Duke of Buckingham and Sir Robert Pye of Westminster sold the recovery of several manors including Nottingham Castle to a London-based consortium.[12] Sir Robert Pye was one of William's fellow guardians of the young Duke, and possibly William's interests were already being planned for in the tortuous process of handing over property.[13] William finally purchased the site of the Castle outright in 1662, having wanted it so much that he sold land in Derbyshire.[14] Bailey's *Annals of Nottinghamshire* incorrectly says that the purchase was made in

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4 Hutchinson, (1973), p.90

5 ibid, p.83.

6 ibid, p.90

7 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1650*, London, 1876, p.100, 13th April, 1650.

8 Green, M.A.E., ed., *CSPD, 1651*, London, 1877, p.242, 9th June, 1651.

9 Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1635-36*, London, 1866, p.342; Hamilton, W.D., and Lomas, S.C., ed., *CSPD, 1625-49, Addenda*, London, 1897, p.750.

10 This lease has not been located, but is quoted in Foulds, (2000), p.2.

11 For example, NU PW1.258, n.d., Katherine Villiers to the Earl of Newcastle; HMC, *12th Report, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*, London, 1888, Vol.1, p.475.

12 NA DD4P.22.308

13 Bruce, John, ed., *CSPD, 1635-36*, London, 1866, p.342.

14 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.91.

1674: by this time, construction of the new house was well underway.[15] An acquitance dated 6th March 1662, records that the "sume of fower Thousand and fower hundred pownds" was paid to Buckingham.[16] The next year, William Clayton was ordered by William to "take and receive possession and seizen of all the scite of the late demolisht Castle of Nottingham and of all other the lands Tenements and hereditaments..."[17]

The first task for the new owner's household was the making of a survey so that income from the new estate could be levied accurately. In 1663, a survey was made of Nottingham Castle and Park, "exactly agreeing with the plot thereof made by Edmund Browne," the surveyor of Slingsby and Oldcotes. Only three parts of the Castle were actually mentioned: "Casars Tower," "The new Tower yard," and "The Castle yard."[18] The site had been bought at the cost of 14 years' rental income, for Henry in 1667 estimated that "Nottingham Castles Parke and Meadows there" brought in £300 a year.[19] A fourteen-year period for pay-back was a reasonable investment, and William's otherwise surprising decision to sell land - perhaps less productive land - in Derbyshire may have been partly an economically-motivated desire to upgrade his estate. Margaret, however, gives a more emotional reason for the purchase of the Castle: "it being a seat which had pleased his Father very much, he would not leave it since it was offer'd to be sold."[20] It is striking that a survey of the medieval castle by John Smithson survives. Perhaps it was made in the hope of Charles (I) being the successful bidder when James I sold the Castle in the early seventeenth century? If so, William would have felt a good deal of satisfaction at getting it out of the hands of the Earl of Rutland's family at last. Margaret in 1667 wrote that "he has not yet built the Seat at *Nottingham*, yet he hath stock'd and paled a little Park belonging to it,"[21] and her death late in 1673 may have been a possible spur towards the beginning of work on site in 1674.[22]

3.2 The Building of Nottingham Castle

Thoroton continues his account of the Castle with the rebuilding. In 1674, "this present year" when Thoroton wrote, William "though he be above eighty years of age, hath a great number of men at work pulling down and clearing the Foundations of the old Tower that he may build, at least, part of a New Castle there."[23] Thoroton seems to be making the same pun on William's title and his building activities made in the 1630s by Richard Andrews.[24] The date of the commencement of building was also stated in an inscription over the west entrance. Deering, in 1751, noted that the inscription on "an oblong square of white marble table, in the wall over the back-door," was illegible, but it was remembered "by the late mr Jonathon Paramour, once a servant in that most noble family. Viz:

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15 Bailey, (1853), Vol.3, p.971.

16 NU NeD 3850

17 NU NeD 3851

18 NA DD4P.60.17

19 NU PW1.600

20 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.91.

21 ibid, p.93.

22 Foulds, (2000), p.2, also notices this interesting conjuction of dates.

23 Thoroton, (1677), p.490.

24 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.82, 'When Bolser Castle I doe name, / Mee thinkes Newcastle is the same: / Bolser a Castle is, and newe; / which shewes Newcastle is your dewe.'

This house was begun by William duke of Newcastle in the year 1674, (who died in the year 1676) and according to his appointment by his last will and by the model he left, was finished in the year 1679."[25]

This inscription is reminiscent of the plaque put up by Henry at Slingsby Castle honouring his uncle Charles (II)'s work there and his own part in ordering the inscription to be put up.[26] However, the Nottingham plaque was either the work of William's trustees or Henry himself in a more self-effacing mood; either way, he does not seem to be closely associated with the project.[27]

No accounts survive for the early stages of the building, but by 1675 Thomas Baskerville reported that "they have got this building as high as the first storey."[28] According to Deering, who presumably got the information from old Jonathan Parramour, William "lived so long as to see this present fabric raised about a yard above the ground."[29] When Thomas Baskerville, therefore, must have been referring to the lowest storey of the building.[30] Excavations from 1976 onwards, according to Trease, suggested that some of the earlier walls were retained as boundaries and that large quantities of medieval dressed stone were reused. Even the main rooms of the new house were positioned, as the Smithson plan shows, over their medieval predecessors. The fourteenth-century gatehouse was left, as it still remains, facing the town.

William Cavendish made his final will on 4th October 1676. "I have begun," he wrote, "to carry up a considerable Building at Nottingham Castle, w^{ch} I earnestly desire may be finished according to the forme and modell thereof by me layd and designed..." He also specified the means by which this was to be achieved financially, with the spending of £2000 a year.[31] The "model" - though the word could equally mean 'plan' - has often been thought to be identical with the wooden model still at Nottingham Castle today, which was connected to the seventeenth-century period by the tradition of its being known as "Mr March's model" right up to 1925.[32] Hill and Cornforth suggest that this model may be the original one, but "adapted and painted after the fire of 1831 to show the damage done by rioters." However, Trevor Foulds believes that this is *not* the case, for it shows several eighteenth-century alterations: the south porch as it was rebuilt in a central position, and the windows of the east front lengthened so that they cut through the plinth.

Hine, architect for the restoration of the Castle in the 1870s after the fire, considered that the will proved that William himself was the designer of the Castle, but Vertue described the building of "Nottingham Castle. a Noble pile ... Marsh

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25 Deering, (1751), p.186.

26 Eastmead, (1824), p.251.

27 See main text, p.196.

28 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Vol.2, p.309.

29 Deering, (1751), p.186.

30 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Vol.2, p.309.

31 Public Record Office, Prob.11, quire 22, (formerly PCC Hale, quire 22); a copy exists at NA DD.6P.1.19.30.

32 Swarbrick, (1925), p.520.

being the Architect for these. workes."[33] "Mr Marsh" was described as the surveyor of Bolsover buildings" in 1668.[34] He received payment on three occasions between 1679 and 1681, once "in full for ye front Stairs at Nott," once for "Nott Castle," and once for "rayles & terme terras walke £19."[35] This latter reference is likely, but not certain, to be a reference to Nottingham. These payments by steward Thomas Farr are also recorded in Henry's wife Frances' own account book, and she adds the information that on 1st November 1679, he also received wages of £10.[36] As expected, Marsh must therefore have become a regular member of the household, receiving additional extraordinary payments for design work. A letter from William to Andrew Clayton dating from the 1660s shows how Marsh was required to perform. "Gett Mr. Marshe to coume to Welbeck," William wrote, "- & make a draughte, for the makinge off a good stare to my Ridinge house Chamber..."[37] Marsh was active in the Cavendish circle even before 1660, for a Devonshire account book for 1656-60 records a payment to "Mr Marsh ye Archytect" for journeys to view things at Chatsworth, including "oversight of the Balcony work".[38]

Marsh is never given the title of 'architect' in the contemporary documents in connection with his work for William Cavendish. However, Deering insisted that at Nottingham Castle "the Architect was one March, a Lincolnshire man."[39] Colvin also connects him with Lincolnshire, at the quarries at Haydor and Culverthorpe, near Grantham. Samuel Marsh "the elder," described as "gentleman," was living at Culverthorpe in 1666, and Samuel Marsh "the younger," variously recorded as "freemason," "stonecutter" and "architect" is found there between 1670 and 1697.[40] The elder Marsh was the "Mr Marsh" who supplied the stone for building Belton House from a quarry at Haydor in 1684-6 and died in 1686 or the following year.[41] In 1654-5 and 1667, Samuel Marsh is known to have done masonry at Belvoir Castle, Lincolnshire, under John Webb.[42] He may also have worked at Thoresby House, built by Henry's father-in-law William Pierrepont before 1669 though remodelled in the 1680s. The ornamentation of the lower windows as shown by Colen Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is very similar to Marsh's work at Nottingham Castle. These probably survived the 1680s remodelling of the earlier seventeenth century house, and were therefore probably designed by Marsh.[43]

Deering perpetuates the widely-believed myth that Marsh was among the trustees for finishing the work, and Trease explicitly, but wrongly, states that "he appointed March, Mason, his lawyer from Newark, Richard Neale, one of his

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33 Vertue, George, *Note Books, II,* Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.33.

34 NA DD2P.24.73

35 NA DD6P.7.2.238, 1st November, 1679; 11th June, 1681; 12th May, 1683.

36 NA DD6P.7.2.237

37 Strong, (1903), p.56.

38 Chatsworth House Archives, Unclassified 'Brief' Disbursement Book, quoted in Manpower Services Commission 'Survey of Park and Garden at Hardwick,' 1986, p.35.

39 Deering, (1751), p.186.

40 Colvin, (1995), p.640.

41 ibid.

42 Bold, (1989), p.78; Colvin, (1995), p.641.

43 Illustration 16.17; Colvin, (1995), p.951.

stewards from Mansfield Woodhouse and a certain Thomas Farr as joint trustees" for its completion.[44] This is an interesting variation on the real situation as specified by William's will. These later writers have both assumed that Marsh was heavily involved and that Henry's steward Thomas Farr shared the responsibility for the completion. This disguises the impression that a re-examination of the original will gives: that Henry had little involvement in and less choice about the project.

However, William's will obliged Henry to continue the building work. The money spent on the Castle is recorded in some detail by William's daughter-in-law, Frances, Duchess of Newcastle, and by Thomas Farr for her husband. There are large payments recorded by Frances to "Mr Neile," the trustee responsible for finishing the work and making the disbursements. She also describes "cedar wood and marble chimney peeces 6 for Nottingham Castle" costing £172 in February 1681. The entry for 1st-8th October 1681 has the marginal note "this acount taken part of the first weeke my Lord lived at Nottingham Castle," where they stayed until December before returning to Welbeck.[45] The total cost, when the Castle was completed in 1679, was £14,002.17.9.[46] Many of the craftsmen involved in the project are familiar from earlier Cavendish building projects, and the involvement of Neale, Mason and in particular William Kitchen shows a continuity of involvement reaching back into the household's shared history. George Jackson, a member of the extensive family of builders and masons described in Chapter Two, was killed in 1681. The testimony of his gruesome death records that "as he was fetching out a short end of wood, y^{e} s^{d} Arch being built of brick, & y^{e} lime not well sett, it Casualy fell, & p^{t} of y^{e} bricks ... fell upon y^{e} head & boddy of y^{e} s^{d} George, And did soe Crush & bruise y^{e} head & boddy of y^{e} s^{d} George, that he langwisht for about 2 houres And then died."[47]

3.3 Form and Function

3.3.1 General

Pevsner described the main façade of the Castle as "a congestion of features, everything [being] done to increase life and movement in the way [of] the Continental Baroque."[48] Nottingham shares the exuberance, and some of the same features, as earlier work at Bolsover and other Cavendish properties, though cast in a new, more Baroque, mode. Belcher and MacCartney as early as 1901 used measured drawings to describe the relationship between the Castle and Rubens' plates in *Palazzi di Genova*.[49] William, of course, had spent more than ten years in the *Rubenshuis*, and could be expected for that reason alone to take an interest in Rubens' publications. However, Nottingham Castle was not the first English building to use the book. The slightly mysterious Edward Carter had used it to provide the plan for his design at Easthampstead, in Berkshire, for example, before the Civil War.[50] At Nottingham, the finished design is an amalgamation of Rubens' plates, the detail around the attic storey windows and the broken pediments topping the lower windows follows the Villa Cambiaso, for example, and the rhythm of the giant pilasters could have come from Palazzo

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44 Deering, (1751), p.186; Trease, (1979), p.211.

45 NA DDP6.7.2.237; DDP6.7.2.238.

46 Deering, (1751), p.186.

47 NA DDP.65.69

48 Pevsner and Williamson, (1979), p.226.

49 Belcher and Macartney, (1901), Vol.2, pp.114-6.

50 Harris, (1973), p.23.

Spinola.[51]

Yet despite the generalised connection that can be made with Rubens' book, there is no one obvious plate to which the building can be compared. While its detail may well have been inspired by adapting these plates, there is a model much closer to home for the general principles of the building: the Terrace Range at Bolsover. The low boxy outline and rows of pilasters of both buildings could be seen as two attempts - separated by thirty years - at recreating an Italian *palazzo*. Like at Bolsover Terrace Range, the classical exterior disguises a medieval hall arrangement.[52] It is this repetitive element in William's architectural patronage that hints that there were long-term motives for building, rather than a series of ad-hoc reactions to political situations such as court appointments.

3.3.2 Terraces and Landscaping

Thomas Surbey, visiting Nottingham on 29th May 1699, noted that the Castle was "above twenty years standing but the rails and bannisters towards the south, which are to keep one from falling over the rock, are not all finished."[53] As the artists Kip and Knyff had already by this date produced their image of Nottingham Castle, for John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, they must therefore have imagined the completed terrace that they show before the South front.[54] They also show, as might be expected, that the middle bailey of the medieval castle, like Bolsover's, was made into a large walled *manège* yard.[55] Little figures are shown in the yard, and the entry gates with ball finials are similar to the south-west and south-east gates at Bolsover. An Italian precedent for both houses is provided by an engraving of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, the house mentioned by Sir Henry Wotton, with horsemanship being displayed on the dramatically-landscaped terrace carved into the mountain before the house.[56]

3.3.3 East façade

In 1751, Deering described how "over the door of the north east front is placed an equestrian statue of the founder with the face to the north, carved out of one single block of stone ... The statuary's name was Wilson."[57] William Wilson, "Stone Cutter," was given a gift of £10 in 1679, possibly for his work in sculpting this statue.[58] He must have had a close relationship with the family, for he also received an annuity in Henry's will.[59] The leg of the horse was pulled off during the riots during which the Castle was burnt in 1831, and it was reputedly found to be wooden rather than stone. In addition, the fifth Duke of Portland found "the foot of a Duke of Newcastle, which came from Nottingham" by chance in a London antique shop, as a result of the riot and the damage to the Castle.[60] The fabric reveals that the niche was

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51 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622, ed. Schomann, Heinz, Dortmund, 1982, especially pp.39, 66, 101.

52 Illustration 9.1.

53 Hughes, (1996), p.107.

54 NU PW2.572, 1697/8; illustration 9.3.

55 Illustration 9.3.

56 Illustration 9.7.

57 Deering, (1751), pp.186-7.

58 NA DD6P.7.2.238

59 NU PW1.285.5e

60 Hine, (1876), p.20.

originally round-headed, not square.

This eastern front also featured a row of eight busts in the broken pediments between the windows. They are sometimes said - without foundation - to be members of the Cavendish family. A similar set also adorned the front of Thoresby Hall and are shown there by Colen Campbell.[61] They are more likely to be worthies of antiquity or busts of Roman emperors displayed in the manner familiar since the sixteenth century. Eight is an interesting number, for the busts of eight emperors probably based on engravings by Justus Sadeler decorated the fountain at Bolsover Castle.[62] It could be possible that the busts from Nottingham were removed when the Castle passed into another branch of the family, the Pelhams, and that the Cavendishes placed them in the fountain at Bolsover.

3.3.4 Interior

Celia Fiennes described a visit to the Castle in 1697. "You ascend 40 steps to the Court and Hall," she wrote, "the rooms are very lofty and large, 6 or 7 state rooms, and a long gallery hung with fine pictures of the family, the wainscoat is most of cedar..." This wainscot is partially recorded in the accounts from the 1670s. "Some rooms are hung with good tapestry," she notes, "the chamber of state is hung with very rich tapestry, so much silver and gold in it that the 3 pieces that hung the room cost £1500; the bed was rail'd in as the presence chamber used to be - the bed was damask; the floor of the room was inlay'd with ciphers and the coronet."[63] These balustrades separating the room's noble occupant from onlookers were a signal of the old-fashioned, almost royal, formality of the Cavendish household, and can still be seen in the 1769 plan of the Castle.[64]

The main stair in the south-west wing of the Castle was described by Baskerville in 1675 as being a technologically-advanced cantilever. He described "a noble staircase, each stair being made of one large entire stone, brought hither from Mansfield, carried up as to form a large square without any pillars to support it, each stair geometrically depending one upon another."[65] Thomas Surbey noted further the "two pair of openwell stairs of stone ... geometrically built by large tayling in the walls which supports the whole weight after the manner of those at the Royal Exchange, London."[66] Cantilevered staircases were a new feature of post-Civil War architecture, and showed that William's technical advisors were up-to-date.

Thomas Pelham, inheriting the Castle in 1718, found all the windows broken and new sashes required everywhere, but reported to his wife that "the House is in the Main very noble & pritty convenient. The apartment below stairs will be very handsome for to live in every day, That above is very magnificent, but out of Repair but we may shift wth it as it is." He agreed with Celia Fiennes that "the State Bed Chamber is well furnished wth velvet Bed, & good Tapistry. Our Rooms must all be new fitted up & furnished, but they will be very handsome and convenient, above & below there will

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61 Campbell, (1717), Vol.1, Plate 91.

62 See Gazetteer, p.39.

63 Fiennes, (1949), p.72.

64 NU NPE P4.5.1-4.

65 HMC, *Portland*, London, 1893, Vol.2, p.309.

66 Hughes, (1996), p.107.

be great conveniences for serv^{ts} & seven spare apartem^{ts} for Strangers. w^{ch} is more than we expected."[67] He also tells his wife that they will have "the best & snuggest Bed Chamber yt ever I saw ... & you will have a Dressing Room very pleasant wth two large windows & twenty foot square."[68] These seven spare apartments, as Trevor Foulds shows, must have been in the attic storey later added over the double-height state rooms of the southern wing.[69] The Hall and withdrawing room to its south are still shown as double-height in the plans of 1769 at Nottingham University, and the southern staircase has been lengthened to allow access to the apartments in the attic.

3.3.5 Offices

The block set below ground level to the north of the main house has long been known as the 'kitchen block,' and it is shown containing offices in Stretton's plan of 1800.[70] However, its position near the walled courtyard of the Middle Bailey and its form suggests a possible alternative. The whole of the ground floor of the house was available for offices, and the northern block itself is a long rectangular shape with nine windows running along one side. It would not be surprising if it had originally had a central door and been intended as a stable, something that the site otherwise obviously lacked, presumably because Henry never felt the need to provide the facilities for a sport he was much less interested in than his father. For example, on 10th May 1691, Margaret Parramour came to Henry "about a stable and other things concerning Nottingham Castell."[71]

4 LATER HISTORY

Henry's considerations on making his will in 1686 including leaving the use of Nottingham Castle to his wife for life.[72] After William's death and during Henry's absence, the Castle was seized by the Whigs, including the Devonshire Cavendishes, and used as a refuge for Hyde's granddaughter until the Glorious Revolution succeeded.

After the death of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, in 1711, the property was not maintained. His estates were split between Henrietta Cavendish, his daughter, and Thomas Pelham, his nephew. Pelham complained, "seeing the Bare shell of y^{e} House can be of little or no value, but rather an expence,"[73] but his architect, John Vanbrugh, persuaded him to choose "on this Castle for your Northern Seat."[74] Pelham, on examining his new house himself, found all the windows broken but was generally impressed with his new possession. In 1726, Daniel Defoe mentioned that the new owners had "beautified if not enlarged the building, and [had] laid out a plan of the finest gardens that are to be seen in all that part of England; but they are not yet finished."[75]

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67 BL Add MS 33073, f.3, 29th December, 1718.

68 ibid, f.5, 31st December, 1718.

69 Foulds, (2000), p.46.

70 Belcher and Macartney, (1901), Vol.2, p.114.

71 NU PW1.295.6d

72 NU PW1.285.5e

73 BL Add MS 33054, f.70v.

74 Webb, G., *J. Vanbrugh, the Works*, London, 1928, Vol.4, p.105; Downes, Kerry, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, London, 1987, pp.377-8.

75 Defoe, (1989), p.160.

There is some debate about the nature and date of the alterations to the main south staircase in the Castle. The remains of an internal window - or a niche or aedicule - survive behind the current staircase, suggesting that it must have been altered. Adrian Woodhouse argues that this was the work of Vanbrugh for Pelham.[76] Other later changes included the rebuilding of the southern porch from the asymmetrical position in which is shown by Hawksmoor, Sibrechts and others, to its current central position, and the opening up of the room beneath the gallery as an open arcade.[77]

The house was destroyed in fire caused by rioters in 1831 and was rebuilt as a museum in 1868. The changes to the fabric are summarised by the museum's architect, Thomas Chambers Hines.[78] In order to reuse the building as a museum, he rearranged it on only two, higher storeys, added the colonnade to the west, and created the top-lit gallery to the east. It is still used as a museum and art gallery.

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76 Woodhouse, (2000).

77 Foulds, (2000), p.57.

78 Hine, (1876).

10 OGLE CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND

GRID REFERENCE: NZ 141 790

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2 OWNERSHIP

The building and the earthworks are owned by Mr and Mrs John Boanas, who kindly allowed me access.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Early history

The sixteenth-century exterior of Ogle Castle hides a medieval manor house. The castle of Ogle was mentioned in 1180, with Thomas Ogle as its possessor. A licence to crenellate was granted in 1341. In the reign of Edward III, Sir Robert de

Ogle married Eleanor, the daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Bertram, Baron of Bothal, uniting the houses of Ogle and Bothal. According to the writer of *An Account of the Family of Ogle*, he built the castle of Ogle by leave from the crown given in 1346.[1]

The main block of the house contains a Great Hall to the west of the entrance and to the east, beyond the screens passage, a kitchen.[2] Each retains a large medieval fireplace. The tower to the west, now gabled and forming a cross-wing, is later than the main block, surprisingly, according the evidence of a now-internal window in the attic looking outwards from the west end of the main block into what is now the interior of the tower. Peter Ryder suggests that the main block, with its more domestic character, was built when the whole was defended by a curtain wall. The stronger tower to the west could have been added when the curtain wall had decayed or been otherwise lost, leaving the main block otherwise unprotected.[3] The 1632 survey also shows a court before the house.

The remains of a spiral staircase in the angle between the main block and wing survive at first floor level, corbelled out over the passage below. Some remnants of medieval fortifications and machicolations survive on the western exterior wall of the western wing. The whole has been re-faced and gabled, with the addition of sixteenth-century windows, and again altered and restored in the twentieth century. Photographs show that the present mullioned windows were an antiquarian gesture replacing eighteenth-century sashes.[4] None of the windows or surviving doorcases in the house appear to be seventeenth-century in origin, despite the various suggestions that the house was repaired or rebuilt after the Civil War, possibly by William Cavendish for the use of his son Henry.[5]

The house is surrounded to the south and west by the remains of a medieval village. By 1632 the village had been dispersed to two strips of houses along each side of "Ogle grene," and only the southerly row of houses survives to form the present village of Ogle. Huntingdon Smithson's survey of 1632 shows "Ogle Park" to the west beyond the Green.

3.2 Ogle Castle in the seventeenth century

Ogle Castle is shown on Huntingdon Smithson's survey as a much larger building than it is today. The main wing is flanked by two cross wings and the square completed to the north by a wall with a gate into it. The present doorway into the south side of the main range is shown diagrammatically. The moat is shown, but without its distinctive double ditch.[6]

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1 Anon., (1812), p.25.

2 Illustration 10.1.

3 Pevsner et al., (1992), p.534; illustration 10.2.

4 See photograph in Emery, (1996), p.122.

5 See, for example, Ogle, (1902), p.305; 'in due course he modernised Ogle as a suitable home for Henry,' Trease, (1979), p.185; 'this house has disappeared without trace,' Girouard, (1983), p.257.

6 Illustration 10.3.

In 1625, the Castle was in the possession of Jane Ogle, who married Edward, eighth Earl of Shrewsbury. Her sister Katherine married Charles (I) Cavendish. On Jane's death in that year, the Castle passed to Katherine. When she died in 1629, William inherited both the Castle and her title, becoming the ninth Baron Ogle. Sir Henry A. Ogle mentions that a Cuthbert Ogle held a lease on Ogle in 1632, which he left to his son Edward who lived in Staffordshire.[7] Unlike Bothal, there is therefore no evidence that William ever actually stayed at Ogle Castle, and it was mainly in the hands of tenants. However, members of the Ogle family were important in William Cavendish's household, and the plate by Diepenbeke in the book on horsemanship suggests that plans were drawn up for the site. Harry Ogle in particular was a valued servant, and William wrote a poem "to the memory of his most faithfull seruant, and Cosen Mr Henry Ogle who dyed December 23 1635."[8]

During the Civil War, Ogle was finally repurchased by Charles (II) along with William's other estates. By tradition, Scottish soldiers had used the Castle as a barracks during their invasion of Northumberland, and in 1902 a "large upper room" was still called "the Barrack."[9] In 1653, the Castle and lordship were purchased by James Moseley,[10] who acted on other occasions as a trustee for William.[11] Luke Killingworth, a northern tenant, let Charles (III) know on 14th April 1656 that "the Commisonr for serving the poore of this hath charged your estate in Ogle wth £4 a yeare for ye Rents if yo can free yr selfe of delinquency..."[12] Luke Killingworth was himself one of the Commissioners for serving the public purse who had imposed the tax of a tenth part of the estate, but his previous loyalties to the Cavendish family led him to write to John Hutton, recommending the means to "gett itt Taken off." As Killingworth himself wrote, "it will not be pper for me appearly to Appear In itt but yo many assure yr self that what I can doe for his Lordship" would be done.[13] Such connections between the two "sides" show that despite William's exile, his regional network of servants was still looking after his interests.

After the Civil War, the estate of Ogle came once more into William's possession, and the troublesome Northumberland men caused further annoyance. Ogle was leased in 1663 for £200, and according to steward Nicholas Whitehead, it was "in my Judgmt deare lett..."[14] He was correct, for James Bell and William Milbourne wrote to Andrew Clayton in 1667 that they had visited the tenants "in Ogle Barronie Hepple Baronie and throught his whole estate in these parts and cannot gett any money amongst them."[15] They also mention a letter from Clayton himself, describing how he had read out their

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7 Ogle, (1902), p.304.

8 NU PWV.25.31, f.32v.

9 Ogle, (1902), p.305.

10 ibid, p.304.

11 For example, see NU PW1.388.

12 NU PW1.164

13 NU PW1.163

14 NU PW1.512

15 NU PW1.475

previous letter to William, which had put William "in a great passion both with use [us] and the tennants."[16] Nicholas Whitehead began to think himself the subject of a conspiracy in 1668, complaining to Andrew Clayton that he had been cheated over the accounting of the corn at Ogle. "I have evr found ye Great kindnes from his Grace," he wrote, and "his Grace will nevr lett mee suffer by those wch would cutt my throtts upon his Graces account."[17] This, like the situation at Bothal, was one more example of William's being put "in a great passion" by the impossibility of controlling his servants.

The last known seventeenth-century tenants of the Castle of Ogle were the Liddell family. Francis Liddell, esquire, was the tenant in 1667, and his son, another Francis, was living there in 1675.[18] This is confirmed by Francis Liddell's role in the 'Clayton conspiracy' of 1668. Liddell agreed to scheme with Clayton and John Booth to remove Margaret because he wanted Clayton to persuade William to pay off a bond to the late Sir Thomas Liddell, and, additionally, for his rent for the desmesne of Ogle to be reduced. In return, Liddell was to give Clayton two horses, a colt of "Black Barbe," and a share in his quarry at Red Hugh.[19] However, the conspiracy was detected and the conspirators punished.

The most intriguing question about Ogle Castle is whether the scheme shown in the plate in *Méthode Nouvelle* was ever actually built.[20] Girouard suggests that Huntingdon Smithson's presence and making of the survey in 1632 led to plans for a new house being drawn up which were reflected in Diepenbeke's plate. The design shows many familiar features from other Cavendish houses: the pepper-pot towers from the Welbeck stable design and the pedimented windows from Bolsover Terrace Range or Slingsby Castle. The four-square plan with a turret at each corner is reminiscent of Bolsover, although the roundness of the turrets and their curved windows has more in common with Thorpe Salvin, the Yorkshire house which William's son Henry rented during the Commonwealth period. One of the most intriguing features of the plate are the elongated giant pilasters which seem to span three storeys. They are similar to those shown on the Welbeck stables in John Smithson's hand and in the Diepenbeke plate of the Terrace Range at Bolsover. In a Northumbrian context, they are also similar to those at nearby Capheaton Hall, being built in the 1680s by Robert Trollope for Sir John Swinburn, a friend of William's son.[21] Ogle shares features with Nottingham Castle and Capheaton, as well as Slingsby and Welbeck, and as a design, therefore, could date from any time from the 1620s to the 1657/8 when the book came out. The fact that the house is built around a courtyard and surrounded by a moat relates to reality; the existing house was similarly laid out and moated. But the scale of the house is unrealistically enormous, with nine bays along one side.

There is nothing to see today at Ogle Castle which suggests that it was built, but a documentary reference from 1664 survives to a building which was possibly part of the medieval castle or possibly new. Robert Fenwick's account of the antiquities of the Cavendish family is quoted in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, and in Henry Asgill Ogle's family history.

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16 NU PW1.475

17 NU PW1.515

18 Ogle, (1902), p.304.

19 NU PW1.315

20 Illustration 10.4.

21 Illustrations 9.4, 16.3, 12.5 and 14.12.

Ogle records that Fenwick's manuscript was in the possession of the Rev. J.S. Ogle in 1902; no trace of it today can be found. His description read that Ogle was "not large yet it hath a strong and handsome appearance. Several towers were upon it, built in a half round outwardly and a square within surrounded by a double moat and drawbridge before the gate seated in pleasant soil, as the country doth afford." The reference to round towers could relate to the scheme shown in the plate, and the absence of towers in the 1632 survey may suggest that they were built between then and 1664. However, Hutchinson's account of 1778 does record the remains of a circular towe: "Part of a circular tower adjoins to the east of the present farm house, which stands on the scite of the old castle: the windows of the tower are very small, topped with pointed arches, the whole remains carrying a countenance of very remote antiquity."[22] This sounds like a medieval building, or possibly a medievalising seventeenth century building. If this round tower was of medieval construction, it was not shown on Smithson's survey. But in the absence of firmer evidence, it seems wiser to conclude that the design shown by Diepenbeke remained on paper.

Hutchinson in 1778 also records the presence of a "breastwork of mason-work" between the two moats, a wall which had been completely levelled by the time of the anonymous account of the Ogle family given in 1812.[23] The rectangular plan of the moat, like that at Slingsby, was sketched by Hodgson in 1827.[24] However, its regularity, and the sharpness of the small surviving area to the north-west of the house, do suggest a seventeenth-century ornamental design like those of Du Cerceau rather than a truly defensive feature.

4 LATER HISTORY

Ogle Castle, like Bolsover, passed into the inheritance of Henrietta, Countess of Oxford, and then to the Dukes of Portland. It was sold in the early nineteenth century, "by 1815" according to Turberville and "in 1820" according to Sir Henry Ogle, in order to clear debts, to one Thomas Brown of Middlesex, and was inherited by Newton Charles Ogle, proprietor until 1902.[25] A sketch made by John Hodgson in 1827 shows the round-headed windows of the main block before alteration, and he described it then as being "in wretched repair tenanted by a respectable man..."[26] The historians of the family of Ogle include baronet Henry Asgill Ogle and the anonymous writer of the family history published in 1812. The British Library's copy of the latter belonged to Frances Ogle, daughter of General William Ogle, of Causey Park, the later and most important seat of the Ogles, and was inscribed "the gift of Sir Walter Scott," who lived at Abbotsford nearby. The house today has had mullioned windows re-inserted in the place of the later sashes and is used as a private home. The remaining segment of the encircling ditches survives in the garden to the north-west of the house.

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22 Hutchinson, (1778), p.320.

23 ibid.

24 Northumberland Record Office ZAN M15.A 38, pp.73-75.

25 Turberville, (1938), Vol.2, p.346; Ogle, (1902), p.304.

26 Northumberland Record Office ZAN M15.A 38, p.75.

11 THE *RUBENSHUIS,* ANTWERP, BELGIUM

ADDRESS: Wapper 9, Antwerpen.

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2 OWNERSHIP

The restored house is publicly-owned and is a museum run by the Stad Antwerpen.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The house

In 1610, Peter Paul Rubens purchased "a house with a large gate, rooms, galleries, a kitchen and land with all that goes with it, including to the south a bleachery with land and all that goes with it, situated on the Wapper" in Antwerp.[1] This was the house that he added to and partially remodelled, in particular creating the 'Italian' block to the right of the entrance. In the north wing, to the left of the entrance, Rubens constructed a semi-circular room in marble, used as a museum. The whole house became an advertisement for Rubens' work and a physical "manifesto of his artistic thinking."[2] William Cavendish later rented it from Rubens' widow.

Rubens erected a wall between his garden and his neighbours at the back, the Guild of Arquebusiers, in 1615. There are records from 1616 of a large staircase being built in the part of the house reconstructed in a modern style. Rubens wrote in 1618 to Dudley Carleton, who was to sell him about ninety antique statues, that in the last year he had "spent several thousand guilders on [his] house."[3] Work continued up to Rubens' death.

3.2 William Cavendish in Antwerp

After Rubens' death, the house was offered for sale but not sold. From 1642-1645 it was occupied by his widow, Helena Fourment, who had been Rubens' second wife and who remarried in 1645. William Cavendish came to live in Antwerp, then part of the Spanish Netherlands, in August 1648. According to Margaret, "he lay in a publick Inne, until ... Mr *Endymion Porter* ... being not willing that a Person of such Quality as my Lord, should lie in a publick House, profer'd him Lodgings at the House where he was, and would not let my Lord be at quiet, until he had accepted of them."[4] However, she continues that William, "endeavouring to find out a House for himself which might fit him and his small Family, (for at that time he had put off most of his Train) and also be for his own content, lighted on one that belonged to the Widow of a famous Picture-drawer, *Van Ruben*, which he took."[5]

William was able to raise the necessary credit by a loan £200 from the second Duke of Buckingham, whose guardian he had been, and from whom he later purchased Nottingham Castle. The details were arranged by William Aylesbury, who had been travelling extensively between London, the Hague, Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels, shipping Buckingham's valuables overseas and raising money on their security.[6] Endymion Porter was involved in negotiating the loan, writing from Brussels on 19th August to Aylesbury in Antwerp that he was prevented by illness from waiting on him, even though Aylesbury wanted to see him concerning some business of William's.[7] Aylesbury himself had considered renting the *Rubenshuis*, possibly for Buckingham, and had had its details forwarded to him by Joseph Ashe, the English merchant who also later lent William money. The rent was 600 guilders for a year, and

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1 Huvenne, (1997), p.3.

2 ibid.

3 ibid, p.4.

4 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.63.

5 ibid.

6 Stoye, J., *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667*, revised edition, New Haven and London, 1989, p.219.

7 *Calendar Clarendon State Papers*, p.434, Endymion Porter to William Aylesbury, Brussels, 19th August, 1648, quoted by Huxley, (1959), p.301.

more than half that for six months, so perhaps William was a more attractive tenant as he wanted a longer term.[8] A list of William's debts paid by George Shaw, a merchant of Antwerp, still outstanding in 1668, included payments to "myn Heer Rubens househire."[9]

On 21st June 1649, the future Charles II paused in Antwerp for two days on a journey to see his mother, and William provided festivities. Once more, despite the cost, William gave a ball and banquet in February 1658 when Charles again visited Antwerp. Charles, his brothers and his sister Mary, Princess of Orange, "were pleased to honour my Lord with their Presence, and accept of a small Entertainment at his House," wrote Margaret, "and some other time His Majesty passing through the City, was pleased to accept of a private Dinner at my Lord's House."[10] The former entertainment was described by Cotterell: "the King was brought in with loud music, and all being placed, Major Mohun, the player, in a black satin robe and a garland of bays, spake a speech in verse of his lordship's own poetry ... after that they danced for two hours." Nicholas Lanier set William's songs to music for the occasion, and the singing was done "my Lady's Moor."[11]

3.3 William and Rubens' Museum

M.A. Lower, editor of Margaret's *Life* in the 1880s, provides the earliest traceable claim that Rubens "had a magnificent museum, which the duke afterwards purchased for 1,000*l.*"[12] The story is often repeated in later works.[13] Could this be a confusion of the Duke of Newcastle with the first Duke of Buckingham, who certainly did purchase a collection of sculpture from Rubens' collection, as is well known?[14] William's close connections with Buckingham certainly make it understandable.

Records from the *Plantin-Moretushuis* in Antwerp, where Rubens had his books bound, reveal that he owned copies of Vincent Scamozzi's *L'Idea della archetettura universale*, Salomon de Caus' *Les raisons des forces mouvantes* and Jacques Francart's *Premier Livre d'architecture* within two years of each of their publication dates. These were in addition to Serlio and two copies of Vitruvius, including Barbaro's edition that also found its way into the library of the Dukes of Newcastle.[15] Rubens' pictures were sold after his death, with Balthasar Gerbier bidding for Charles I,[16] but there is no proof that Helena Fourment sold his library. It is possible that it remained in the house when William

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8 Stoye, (1989), p.220.

9 NU PW1.408

10 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.80.

11 Scott, (1907), p.341; a text, possibly of this entertainment, is given in Stong, (1903), pp.57-9.

12 Lower, (1872), p.81, note.

13 For example, Faulkner, Patrick, *Bolsover Castle*, Department of the Environment Official Guidebook, 1972, p.18; Woodhouse, Adrian, 'Nottingham Castle,' *Country Life*, 27th July, 2000, p.72.

14 For example, see Walpole, (1826), Vol.2, p.171; Muller, (1977); Huvenne, (1997), p.12; see illustration 11.4 for the museum room.

15 Tijs, (1983), pp.97, 384; Vitruvius, *de Architectura cum Comment. D. Barbari Ven. apud Senensam & Crugher*, 1567; see Noel, (1719), p.22.

16 Clijmans, (1947), p.24; Cabanne, (1967), p.273.

moved in, thereby extending his architectural knowledge. His use of Rubens' own *Palazzi di Genova* in connection with Nottingham Castle has long been recognised.[17]

3.4 The Riding House

William's *manège* in Antwerp is well-known through both the English version of his horsemanship book and his wife's biography. "His chief pastime and divertisement consisted in the Mannage of the two afore mentioned Horses," wrote Margaret, and "Persons of Quality; if they made any stay in the Town, they would come and visit my Lord, and see the Mannage of his Horses..."[18] On one occasion, the court of Dom John of Austria arrived "in seventeen Coaches, in which were all Persons of Quality, who came in the morning of purpose to see my Lord's Mannage..."[19] With all these visitors, William described how "*my own private* Riding-House, *at* Antwerp ... *though very large, was often so full, that my Esquier Capt.* Mazin, *had hardly Room to* Ride ..."[20] This shows that although a gallery was a feature of the riding houses at Bolsover and Welbeck, and possibly at the *Rubenshuis* too, visitors could also watch from the floor despite the danger of being kicked.

However, there is no agreement about which part of the *Rubenshuis* was used as the *manège*. The remains of a circular building discovered the garden, known as the 'Pantheon,' have been considered. Clijmans, writing in 1947, states that this "rotunda, which most probably had been used by Rubens as his studio, and where in the preceding century [a] protestant round church had been, was ... designated to be transformed into a manège..."[21] This was picked up by Douglas Grant, who states that "The only change [William] made was to turn a round building in the garden - sometimes known as the 'Pantheon,' which the painter had used as an auxiliary studio for his largest canvases - into a riding-school, where he spent the greater part of his time."[22] Volgens van Averbeke, the architect of the 1940s restoration, had discovered the evidence for this circular building during the course of the excavation of the garden of the *Rubenshuis*. Four brick pillars were found which were possibly the remains of eight from a round building sixteen metres in diameter.[23] This would seem a possible Riding House were it not for the unfamiliar circular shape: it is not typical of the seventeenth century though nineteenth-century riding schools were commonly round. This flimsy building had been cleared away by the time of the Harrewijn engravings, and no riding house is mentioned in the sale documents of September 1660 when the house was sold on William's return to England.

However, on looking at a plan of the house such as the eighteenth century sketch made by Frans Mols, or the 1885 plan, one room instantly stands out as a possible *manège*: the room known then as the salon and today as the studio.[24] Measuring eight metres by sixteen, this double-height room has doorways to the courtyard and to the passage leading to the street. Its windows are set high up in the walls, above horses' eye level, and the west end contains a first-floor

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17 See Gazetteer, p.94.

18 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), pp.65, 76.

19 ibid, p.77.

20 Cavendish, William, (1667), p.(c)2v.

21 Clijmans, (1947), p.32.

22 Grant, (1957), p.134.

23 Clijmans, (1947), p.53; Tijs, (1983), p.143.

24 Tijs, (1983), pp.159, illustration 11.1.

tripartite gallery. The evidence that this particular room was actually used as a workshop or studio is almost non-existent, and it is thought that it may possibly have been used as a stable in the period immediately following Rubens' occupation.[25] More plausibly, according to Clijmans, the stable was a separate building "situated to the right of the garden," certainly the site of later stable buildings.[26] It would be difficult to see how the stalls would have fitted into the limited wall space of the studio. The room still shares all the features of the riding house at Bolsover or Welbeck, for example, except for a sandy floor. It has the necessary height, high windows, central door to the court, and viewing gallery. The Harrewijn engraving of 1684 shows a boarded floor within the room, with a big dog sitting on the threshold.[27]

It is important to remember that the building standing today is almost completely a modern reconstruction, and it is difficult to establish what evidence survived of the earlier structure before the rebuilding. A photograph from 1938 shows the lower storey windows blind, as in Harrewijn's time, although the decorative façade and fenestration are entirely absent.[28] The interior can be seen after the demolition of the eastern wall, showing that the only surviving parts of the building are some of the structural timbers and roof.[29] The evidence on which it was decided to create the gallery remains elusive. However, the final piece of evidence from which it can be argued that this was indeed the room that William Cavendish converted to a riding house is the absence of any further suitable space on the site.

4 LATER HISTORY

On 16th September 1660 William Cavendish having returned to England, the house was put up for sale, and purchased by Jacob van Eycke. From him it passed into his wife's family of Hillewerve. Henry Hillewerve commissioned the engravings by van Harrewijn during his residency of 1680-1694. It passed through several ownerships in the eighteenth century, was commandeered by the French as a prison in 1798, and was expropriated for the nation in 1937. Its restoration, supposedly to its seventeenth-century appearance, was an important focus for Belgian national identity and took place over many years, even during the second World War.

The use of painting on the walls is implied by Horace Walpole's description of the *Rubenshuis*: the painter "built a palace and painted it within and without."[30] As has often been pointed out, the restorers of the *Rubenshuis* in the 1940s, working from the Harrewijn plates, mistakenly thought that the heavy decoration on the "Italian" part of the building was sculpted in relief, rather than painted with a three-dimensional effect.[31] Rutger Tijs goes as far as to suggest that the staircase in the south-west corner of the courtyard was not a real staircase, but an illusion painted onto the wall in the manner of the *trompe l'oeil* staircases painted in Germany by Hans Holbein.[32]

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25 Carl Depauw, pers. comm.

26 Clijmans, (1947), p.42.

27 Illustrations 11.6.

28 Tijs, (1983), p.175.

29 ibid, p.192.

30 Walpole, (1826), Vol.2, p.171.

31 McGrath, (1978).

32 Tijs, (1999), p.132.

12 SLINGSBY CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SE 696 749

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Brooke, (1904), contains a plan of the ruins of Slingsby Castle by Mr Reavel, late clerk of the Castle Howard Estate.

Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire. The archives contain a plan of the basement of about 1700, as built, with minor variations on John Smithson's design, published in Girouard, (1982), p.259. There is also an unpublished eighteenth-century drawing of the entrance elevation. A watercolour by Cotman in the Worsley collection shows the vaults of the room below the entrance hall which have now collapsed.

RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, I/19 (1), I/19 (2), II/2 (2) and II/2 (3), designs by Robert Smythson for Slingsby Castle, based around a courtyard; III/12 (1), III/12 (3), III/12 (4), designs for Slingsby Castle by John Smithson.

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2 OWNERSHIP

The ruins of Slingsby Castle are now part of the Castle Howard Estate. The ruins are currently in an overgrown and dangerous condition. There are no floors or roofs left within the building apart from substantial areas of the vaulted cellar roof of the offices. Access is inadvisable.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 The medieval castle at Slingsby

Ralph de Hastings was given a license to crenellate his house at Slingsby in 1344.[1] No remains, however, of the earlier house survive in the ruins of seventeenth-century Slingsby Castle. Even its moat is Renaissance in character, although William Hastings was given further permission in 1475 to "build, enclose, crenellate, embattle and machicolate" the "castle or manor" then in his possession.[2] By the later sixteenth century, the manor was owned by Sir John Atherton, whose family came from Lancashire, and he conveyed it in 1594 to Charles Cavendish (I).[3] A copy of the bargain and sale survives, showing that John Atherton sold Charles (I) the manor of Slingsby, Holthroppe Park, the water corn mills in Slingsby and neighbouring Fryton, and the manor of Hovingham. Charles (I) was still resident at Stoke in Derbyshire at the time.[4] The manor court had produced a profit of fifty-three shillings annually under the jurisdiction of John Atherton's brother Richard, who was bailiff of the manors of Hovingham, Fryton and Slingsby.[5] Mark Girouard connects some drawings in the Smythson Collection to a scheme intended for Charles (I) at Slingsby, possibly in about 1599 after the project at Kirkby-in-Ashfield was abandoned.[6] This scheme, in Robert Smythson's hand, shows the site's rectangular moat, but the final scheme built at Slingsby was for a compact house without a courtyard. Girouard points out that the corridor around Robert Smythson's planned central courtyard was similar to that at Hengrave Hall, Charles (I)'s first father-in-law's house, and Charles is known to have stayed in touch with the Kytsons even after his second marriage.

According to the *Victoria History*, the manor of Slingsby passed to William on Charles (I)'s death in 1617,[7] but a draft conveyance also survives transferring the manors of Slingsby, Hovingham and Fryton from Charles (I) directly to his son Charles (II), in whose possession they certainly ended up.[8] The rectory and tithes of Slingsby, were conveyed to Charles (II) in March 1619 by Henry Ogle and Henry Butler.[9] 1619 was also the year in which the antiquary Roger Dodsworth

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1 *Victoria History*, (1914), Vol.1, 1914, p.558.

2 ibid.

3 ibid, p.559.

4 NA DD6P.1.3.3, 6th January, 1595.

5 NA DDP.120.8

6 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, I/19 (1), I/19 (2), II/2 (2) and II/2 (3).

7 *Victoria History*, (1914), Vol.1, p.559.

8 NA DD6P.1.16.28

9 Brooke, (1904), p.96, quoting 'Castle Howard Papers.' However, the Castle Howard archives index no longer refers to any seventeenth-century material relevant to Slingsby (Christopher Ridgeway, pers.comm.), and neither does the North Yorkshire Record Office at Northallerton.

visited Slingsby. He made no mention of either the Robert Smythson design or the present house, which had not yet been begun. He did describe a "maunch" (a sleeve of a coat with long hangers), the Hastings' crest, carved on the church steeple and also "over the castle gates, which castle, manor, and parke was the ancient possession of the Hastinges, erles of Huntingdon, now sold to Sir Charles Cavendish. Ther hath beene a church in the Castle," he concluded about the medieval structure that was soon to be replaced.[10]

3.2 The seventeenth-century Castle

Charles (II) probably had to wait to begin his rebuilding of the medieval castle until after the death of his mother and Charles Cavendish (I)'s wife, Katherine, in 1629, for her will of 1624 contained a legacy for the purpose of Charles (II)'s building himself a house:

> to my deere sonne Charles Cavendishe three thousand pounds to buy or build him a house (if I live not to doe it for him, or if hee will buy land wth it befor I leave it to his choice: for I promised him to leave him as much worthe as that parte of Hovingham, w^{ch} Thomas Worseley retourned from him.[11]

The records of the suit between Charles (I) and the Worsley family over the title of the manor of Hovingham survive in the Nottinghamshire Archives.[12]

It seems likely, therefore, that Charles (II) asked John Smithson, probable designer of the Castle, to draw up plans between the years 1629 and 1634 (the year of Smithson's death), with the building being completed by the time of the Civil War.[13] There is no evidence to support Wheater's claim that the house was rebuilt in 1603.[14] It is possible that Charles (II), like his father and brother, played a part himself: he was described by his sister-in-law as "so excellent and Divine an Architect."[15] To have £3000, a large sum, available all at once for building was very unusual and it would certainly have covered most of the cost of the shell. William Walker, author of *Some Account of the Parish of Slingsby*, considered that the house had been completed by the year 1640. He also recorded a black marble stone, formerly been set within the walls of the building but removed by a Nicholas Manners, a bailiff of the Earl of Carlisle, and since lost. The inscription, according to a transcription then in the possession of the rector of Slingsby, read:

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10 Quoted by Brooke, (1904), p.256.

11 NA DD.6P.1.19.18

12 NA DD4P.28.52-63

13 Illustration 12.5.

14 Wheater, (1889), Vol.2, p.197.

15 Cavendish, Margaret, '*An Epistle that was writ before the death of the Noble Sir* Charles Cavendish, *my most Noble Brother-in-law*,' in *The Worlds Olio*, London, 1671.

> This house was built by Sir Charles Cavendish, son of Sir Charles Cavendish, and brother to William Duke of Newcastle. He was a man of great virtue and learning. Died in February, 1653, and this is placed here by order of his nephew, Henry, Duke of Newcastle, in the year 1691.[16]

The earliest image of Charles (II)'s house is Edward Browne's survey of 1656.[17] It shows the corner turrets and the entrance (contrary to the *Victoria History* and Pevsner's interpretation) in the middle of the main south front of the building. Browne, the surveyor, also made maps of Oldcotes for the Earl of Kingston and of Nottingham Castle.[18] He was perhaps a member of Charles (III) or later Henry's household, with possible relations also in service: Henry gave an annuity, for example, to Alice, wife of his servant Jeremy Browne, in 1677. The annuity was granted out of the issues of the manor of Blore, suggesting that the Brownes may have been a Staffordshire family.[19] Something presumably happened to disrupt Browne's work, for the volume of surveys with the Cavendish crest in the British Library containing the survey of Slingsby is otherwise empty. The book itself was made in London by Henry Seile for Charles (III) in 1656, and "Mr Brown's consent" was needed for the choice of vellums.[20]

The other relevant surviving image is the unpublished elevational drawing in the archives of the Worsleys at Hovingham Hall, high in quality and coloured with the grey wash typical of Thomas Worsley of Hovingham's accomplished architectural drawings.[21] However, a certain naivety about the entrance, which is not quite symmetrical, for example, makes it difficult to ascribe the drawing to him. Intriguingly, it also shows a balustrade along the roofline, rather than the battlements of Browne's survey. As variant designs for the balustrade are shown, it is possible that the artist was reconstructing the appearance of a complete house from the ruins that remained in the eighteenth century.

3.3 The new design

Elements of both of the two similar designs by John Smithson were reproduced in the building of Slingsby Castle. The long sides were nine bays wide, with additional square corner turrets like those at Bolsover Castle. The rows of pedimented windows - triangular on the *piano nobile*, rounded on the upper floor - share details with those of the Terrace Range at Bolsover, but are presumably ultimately inspired by Inigo Jones' Banqueting House.[22] The unusual vermiculation familiar from Bolsover also features in their pediments. However, as built, the corner towers were higher than the main body of the house. There are a few slight indications of changes of design during the course of building. The basements, especially the irregular north-west corner, reveal a vaulting and fenestration pattern slightly at odds with each other, and the two stair towers are not set symmetrically within the side walls. The local calcareous stone used for

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16 Eastmead, (1824), p.251.

17 Illustration 12.6.

18 NA DD4P.60.17

19 NA DD6P.1.16.77

20 NU PW1.246; NU PW1.247.

21 Illustration 12.7.

22 Illustration 12.3.

the construction of the walls is set off with dressed stone around the windows of a lighter colour. Brooke identified a quarry in Slingsby Bank Woods as the source of the stone. The woods at Slingsby were also an important resource and the cause of much concern after the Restoration.

The Castle's half-basement containing the large kitchen to the north and several vaulted storerooms to the south and west are very similar to those at Bolsover, although constructed out of rough-hewn thinly-coursed stones (pendles), and similarly supported by pillars octagonal in section.[23] The provision of three staircases, according to the Hovingham plan, is nearly as generous as the Bolsover model. There are also, in an upper room in the south-east corner, traces of one of the unusual triangular corner fireplaces which are such a feature of Bolsover Castle. The main entrance, shown in Smithson's drawing and Browne's survey, is completely lost as it stood in the middle of the collapsed south front.[24] According to Smithson's design, it was approached by a short, tapering flight of stairs like those leading up to the Little Castle at Bolsover. However, the Hovingham drawing indicates that the entrance area as built did not follow either of John Smithson's surviving designs for Slingsby. Over the door was a balcony and of the unusual openings, along the lines of the shoulders of a bottle, familiar from Smithson's Riding House at Welbeck.[25]

The entrance led into a Hall occupying the whole southern half of the main floor. Its central entrance point indicates a symmetrical Palladian rather than a medieval plan. Another design by John Smithson connected to Slingsby, shows a screens passage at *both* ends of the hall, showing the adaptation of an older feature to a newer concept of symmetry, and incidentally emptying the feature of some of its function of hiding the entrance to the offices. Visitors going up to the Great Chamber would have had to leave the room, rather than enter, through either of the two identical screens, without the more important route being made clear to them. The two projections to the east and west, shown on the surviving plans and to the west, still clearly visible on site, contained staircases leading up to the Great Chamber over the Hall on the first floor. That to the west, or to the left on entering, was superior in status as it only led upwards, not down to the basement, making it the key link between entrance Hall and Great Chamber. The eastern staircase provided service access to the offices below. The northern side of the house, separated by the solid central spine wall, must have contained the same amount of floor space again, containing withdrawing room and lodgings on the first floor and presumably a parlour below. The earliest plan of the house is that at Hovingham, a partially-measured but incomplete survey. It has previously been dated as belonging to the eighteenth century,[26] but the writing on it - "landing place" - is in a seventeenth-century hand. However, it is by no means up to the standard of the Smithson drawings.

The moat that the Castle stands within was at least partially flanked by a retaining wall, of which traces remain on the south side. The rectangular enclosure was itself protected by a wall or breastwork, with turrets at its corners of which nothing remains. These are marked on the early twentieth-century plan made by Mr Reavel, the clerk of the Castle

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23 Illustration 12.4.

24 Illustration 12.2.

25 Illustrations 12.5 and 14.4.

26 By John Harris, who catalogued the drawings at Hovingham Hall.

Howard estate.[27] They mimicked the corner turrets shown on the earlier plan by Robert Smythson. One of the turrets, the south-eastern, was formerly used for holding the courts leet and baron, but by 1845 was "now quite destroyed."[28]

The precisely-rectangular moat, coloured blue as if full of water in 1656, seems to be a seventeenth-century feature and surrounds the house with a stately canal based on, or at least similar to, the rectangular double moat at Ogle Castle. Brooke recorded the presence of "the dike which runs from the beck in the direction of the castle" which "was probably for the purpose of supplying the moat with water," and he adds that he was "told that the connection between the two was made by a leaden pipe, the end of which used to be plainly seen protruding from the grass on the inside face of the north-west corner of the moat bank."[29] The inhabitants of Slingsby used to break pieces off it whenever they wanted lead, destroying the evidence for a seventeenth-century water engineering feature as they did so.

3.4 The Civil War

There is some disagreement about whether the house of Slingsby was ever completed, or whether its ruinous state was a result of being slighted during the Civil War.[30] Brooke records "the local tradition that Sir Charles never finished his house" which he considers to be "borne out by the appearance of the ruins."[31] However, the discovery of Barbara Stanley of Slingsby's petition shows that the building was certainly completed or at least roofed by the time of the Civil War, as it mentions the lead of the roof.[32] In addition, Browne's survey of 1656 appears to show a completed building. Therefore the balance of evidence suggests that its ruinous state was a result of later neglect in the eighteenth century rather than war damage. William Walker in 1845 was of the opinion that the house "was never inhabited,"[33] but Barbara Stanley's petition shows that one family at least lived there. This undated document is addressed to William as Marquis of Newcastle (a title he held from 1643 to 1665) and describes how Richard Stanley of Slingsby, Barbara's deceased husband, had in 1643 been "a work man at the house of the Right Worpp Sr Charles Cavendish at Slingsby." Stanley had lived in the house, at Charles (II)'s request, "for the better secureing of the said building leads & goods therein, to dwell there with his wife & family, and also to keepe himself a servant at worke." However, Richard Stanley never received his wages, found himself deprived of his estate, and "through the violence of the tymes in warr" was "many tymes beaten & wounded."[34]

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27 Brooke, (1904), facing p.148.

28 Walker, (1845), p.15.

29 Brooke, (1904), pp.142-3.

30 The list description states the former, the ancient monument scheduling description states the latter.

31 Brooke, (1904), p.146.

32 NU PW1.250

33 Walker, (1845), p.15.

34 NU PW1.250

However, there is no record of Charles (II) himself ever living at Slingsby. In 1630, he is still described as being "of Welbeck."[35] From 1630 to 1652, Charles (II) appears in documents as "of Wellingore, Lincs."[36] Charles (II), wifeless and childless, made plans for his estate to benefit his family; in 1652 he leased the manors of Slingsby and Friton to trustees for the life of his brother William, the profits to be split between William's children Henry, Frances and Jane.[37]

The Dickens family of Slingsby were bailiffs for several generations. Symon Dyckens presented half-yearly rentals to Charles Cavendish (I) between 1594 and 1616, later being replaced by Richard Dickenson.[38] In the 1660s, a Mr Dickenson was the parson.[39] The manor of Slingsby was enclosed by a private commission in 1655.[40] Shortly afterward, the tenants of Slingsby petitioned for a rent reduction, complaining of their "very poore and Low Condition" brought on by "a Late Inclosure and ye great Rents that were then Imposed upon us."[41] The survey made the year following enclosure shows the Castle standing in a large field called "Castleparke," with "horseparke" to the north, possibly a grazing area like the Outer Court at Bolsover Castle. This northern field also contains a series of medieval fishponds fed by the river. The absence of a resident landowner caused the usual problems of wastage and poor management of the estate. Baskerville, a servant of Henry's, wrote complaining in 1667 of the "incroachment on former customs" at Slingsby and of a parson whose living was "too little to buy him drink."[42] William himself was the patron of the living in 1662 and 1668.[43] Henry complained in 1668 of the iniquities of the infamous William Kitchin, who was guilty of "greate waist commited upon the woods" at Slingsby and of being a great rogue.[44]

4 LATER HISTORY

The manor of Slingsby was inherited by William's son Henry and formed a useful and profitable part of his possessions. "I doe not intend to sell Slingsby Castle, or any of the £1,200 a yeare I have near it," he wrote to Sir Thomas Slingsby in 1684. "I wounder how this report should be yt. I was selling of it, for there was never any occasion for it."[45]

Ultimately it passed with the main bulk of the Cavendish lands to Henrietta, Countess of Oxford. She and her husband sold it to John, Duke of Buckingham, and from his possession it passed through the hands of one Margaret Daly to the

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35 NU PW1.323

36 eg. NA DDP.29.7; DDP.8.131.

37 NA DD.6P.1.3.8

38 NA DD.6P.3.44-66

39 NU PW1.506

40 *Victoria History*, (1914), Vol.1, p.557.

41 NU PW1.630, a and b.

42 NU PW1.6

43 Brooke, (1904), p.94.

44 NU PW1.73

45 Brooke, (1904), p.104, quoting a letter then in the Castle Howard Estate Office.

fourth Earl of Carlisle in 1751.[46] It was already ruined by that time, for Brooke quotes an entry made in the register of papist estates, dated 29th June, 1749, which ascribed to "Margaret Daly the manor of Slingsby, wherein is a ruined house called Slingsby Castle, untenanted and of no value."[47] It was shown in ruins in William Walker's pamphlet of 1845, which was produced to honour his patron, the Earl of Carlisle.

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46 Castle Howard Archives, MS A2.5.13.

47 Brooke, (1904), p.147.

13 THORPE SALVIN CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 521 813

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2 OWNERSHIP

The roofless ruined remains of the house stand in the middle of the village of Thorpe Salvin. It forms part of the garden of the neighbouring house and the front courtyard is used as a vegetable patch.

3 DISCUSSION

The house of Thorpe Salvin was built probably in the 1570s for Hercy Sandford, who, according to his epitaph in Thorpe Salvin church, came from a Westmorland family. The house was built around a small courtyard and has a distinctive round turret at each corner, and projecting square porch at the front.[1] The dominating chimney-stacks protruding between windows on the entrance front have been linked stylistically with the Earl of Shrewsbury's house at Coldharbour in London.[2] There is also a similarity to Wellingore Manor and Cockle Park Tower,[3] suggesting that the Talbot's London house reproduced a local feature from the Midlands. Although Pevsner and Radcliffe state that "how a possible Elizabethan plan could have been developed behind this front remains obscure,"[4] it is clear that once inside the central porch, the Hall lay to the left or west, then a spiral staircase within the turret led upwards. A fireplace lies in the correct position for a Great Chamber over the Hall, but the evidence of the windows (which are larger on the second floor than the first) suggests that the Great Chamber and possibly gallery were "skied" as at Hardwick and Chatsworth.[5] The eastern turret contained chambers rather than stairs, and these well-lit circular rooms are possible inspirations for John Smithson's design for the stable at Welbeck, the scheme for Ogle with its circular corner turrets, or his design connected with Slingsby Castle.[6] The embattled air is also typical of several local houses of the period. In particular, passing through the gatehouse into the enclosed court in front of the court with the battlemented turrets dominating the façade of the house is reminiscent of entering the forecourt of the Little Castle at Bolsover. Along with Bothal Castle, Thorpe Salvin Castle seems to have been a source of ideas.

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1 Illustration 13.1.

2 David Bostwick, pers. comm.; illustration 13.5. Letters among Lambeth Palace Library's collection of the Talbot family papers are often addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Coldharbour.

3 See illustrations 15.1 and 5.2.

4 Pevsner and Radcliffe, (1974), p.151.

5 Girouard, (1983), p.120.

6 Illustrations 14.5 and 10.4.

Thorpe Salvin is also significant to the Cavendish family as it was one of Henry Cavendish's temporary homes during the Interregnum. His residence at "Thorpe" could conveniently have been linked to the Cavendish property at Thorpe in Dovedale, Derbyshire, and the neighbouring village to Blore, but two pieces of evidence connect him to Thorpe Salvin in Yorkshire. Firstly, a letter to Henry's wife Frances dated 11th July, 1657, is addressed to her "att Thorpe in Yorkshire / post paid / leave this at Scrooby to be sent as above directed."[7] Secondly, Henry Cavendish, while on his deathbed, reminisced about his residence at Thorpe. The evidence of John Leadbetter, a footman, on the state of Henry's mind on 22nd September 1691, recalled a conversation explicitly about Thorpe *Salvin* between Henry and his lawyer, Mr Garland. "His grace said come john I sent for you to be a witnes to my will," Leadbetter remembered.

> Then Mr Garland & his Grace fell into discorse a bout Thorpe Salvin & that hee knew Mr Garlands ffather very well & that he never lived so well & contentedly as hee did there & that hee Gave me Lord Carmarthin 200£ a yeare for it & askt Mr Garland what m: lord maid of it now and he said some years not above 16£ a year cleare. Hee askt what hee kept it in his hands for: Mr Garland said m: lord would often say to breed larkes on: then Mr Garland you see I was a good Tenant to m: lord: then came in ye rest of ye wittnes & his Grace signed & sealed in our presence that writt...[8]

Henry's life at Thorpe in the later 1650s was therefore a source of some contentment to himself, though his family thought it too small for his status. His sister Jane wrote to his brother Charles (III) on 7th May, 1656, saying that she rejoiced in Henry's removal to Thorpe, "a better place then Eddellington, but such a hous I know you could not like, it being not Large Enuffe for your Inclinations..."[9] William, too, disliked his son's residence there, writing from Antwerp that Henry should "lave your dove cote wher you are, & live att Well: which will conduce much to your health & to your Ladys & to the litle Ladies."[10] The "dovecote" was presumably Thorpe Salvin. Henry's reluctance to leave was understandable, as he was drawn once more into the sphere of his father's control. The tension between them was to endure for the remaining years of his father's life with Henry in a subordinate position, and it was no wonder he remembered his earlier relative freedom at Thorpe with pleasure. His exasperation with his father comes over in his "briefe Account how I came to bee eight thousand pounds in Debt" dating from about 1663. In it, he explained that "the furnishing of Thorpe, & stocking the demeasmes there cost me £1000," but that the expenditure was rendered pointless as William was "pleased to command me to goe from Thorpe, & to live at Wellbeck."[11]

The family's agreement that Thorpe Salvin was too small for comfort is interesting, although its design was part of a local movement for turrets and battlements with which the family became obsessed. Henry's later residence at Glentworth, another sixteenth century house built round a courtyard, is comparable and his two rented houses were noticeably old-fashioned in plan in comparison with his father's work at Bolsover and Nottingham Castle. Yet considering Henry's happiness at Thorpe Salvin, and his later dissatisfaction with his living space, perhaps he and his father's disagreements spilled over into style. This would again suggest that building activity was closely linked to their family arguments.

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7 NU PW1.372

8 NU PW1.292.6.c

9 NU PW1.89

10 BL Add MS 70499, f.353v.

11 BL Add MS 70500, f.13.

4 LATER HISTORY

The house fell out of use in the nineteenth century. It is shown fairly intact in the engraving reproduced by Hunter in 1869.[12]

12 Illustration 13.4.

14 WELBECK ABBEY, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 563 743

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2 OWNERSHIP

The abbey is owned by Lady Anne Cavendish Bentinck. The house is today split into two. The state rooms of the west wing and Oxford wing are lived in by William Parente, nephew of Lady Anne Cavendish Bentinck, and his family, while the remainder of the buildings including the Riding House are leased to the Ministry of Defence for use as a training college. Seventeenth-century work survives in the old west wing, including the 'horsemanship room,' various fireplaces, some panelling, and some mock-medieval vaulting in the undercroft. The Riding House also retains its original roof.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Welbeck Abbey before 1600

Welbeck Abbey was one of the principal houses in England of the monks of the Premonstratensian order. The abbey's church was extra-parochial, with no part set aside for local people, and was therefore probably destroyed soon after the Reformation rather than being kept in use.[1] Two ranges of the abbey - the west and south round the central cloister - were retained in the later house. This also happened locally at Newstead and Rufford Abbeys, as well as at many other of the suppressed houses. This widespread familiarity with the plans of converted monasteries led even newly-built sixteenth and seventeenth century houses to share some of the features of religious houses.

The first secular owner of the Abbey was Richard Whalley of Shelford, Nottinghamshire.[2] On the 26th February 1539, he received a grant of the site of Welbeck Abbey, of the church, steeple, churchyard, and watermill within the site and of all the house and lands beneath the site.[3] He soon disposed of his new property, and the Abbey passed through several hands before temporarily returning to the Whalley family in the 1570s. After several more changes of hands, Richard Whalley the younger in 1584 assigned the remainder of his lease to Gilbert Talbot, son of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury.

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1 Thompson, (1938), p.105.

2 Noble, (1784), Vol.2, p.170.

3 Turberville, (1938), Vol.1, p.4.

The abbey was allotted to Charles (I) and Gilbert's servant Thomas Markham as trustees, for the use of Gilbert's wife Mary, Charles (I)'s sister.[4] On 30th May 1593, a new lease was made for a further forty years, which was transferred on 3rd July 1597 to Gilbert Talbot. The day after receiving the lease, Gilbert conveyed its remainder, through trustees, to Charles (I) and his wife Katherine. Finally, the estate was purchased outright, again through intermediaries, for Charles (I) and Katherine. On 13th July, 1607, Robert Booth conveyed the estate to Henry Ogle, a long-term member of the Cavendish household from the Northumbrian family, and Thomas Byron, yeoman, both of Welbeck, to the use of Charles (I), his wife, and William Cavendish, his son and heir.[5] This lengthy process was gone through because an equitable estate could not be forfeited for treason, and equity provided better facilities than common law for the conveyance and testamentary disposition of estates.[6]

3.2 The Cavendishes in Welbeck

As soon as Welbeck Abbey was in Charles (I)'s hands, or even before, designs were drawn up for a major remodelling of the house. Robert Smythson's plan for the work survives, but only the tip of the west wing (the former abbot's lodging), was completed.[7] The date for this work has not previously been established, but a letter to Katherine Cavendish from 1608 referring to extensive building work on the site probably indicates these activities. "All thinges at Welbeck are well god be thanked," she was informed by William Eagle, "my Recknynge are all readye I have put them yo^{r} La^{pp} nowe: / Wth the massones bylles."[8] Eagle's reckonings, and the enclosed masons' bills, probably relate to the conversion of the abbot's lodgings, and this work was presumably complete by 1612 when Bolsover Castle was embarked upon. There was also the creation of the water-garden shown in such detail on Senior's survey of the 1630s. A design for a water house survives by John Smithson, and these little houses are mentioned in repairs in the 1660s. Vertue mentions the date of 1604 in connection with these water houses.[9]

The interiors of the Little Castle at Bolsover were being completed by the early 1620s. William's attention returned to Welbeck, where he had John Smithson design a new Riding House. The building still retains its inscription "GVILIELMVS VICECOMES MANSFEILDENSIS AEDIFICAVIT, IO. SMITHSON CVRATORE FABRICENSI, 1623." This was valued enough in the later alterations to the Riding House to be raised above its original position but retained on the east wall of the building. 1623 is also the date given on the internal doorcase shown in Grimm's eighteenth-century drawing of the building's interior; this, however, did not survive the extensive later alterations.[10] In design, the doorcase was very similar to the external doorcase inserted in the Elysium Closet at Bolsover. Other works at Welbeck included the building of a stable.

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4 ibid, Vol.1, p.15.

5 ibid.

6 ibid, Vol.1, p.16.

7 Illustration 14.3.

8 NA DD3P.14.19. The letter is misleadingly catalogued in the Nottinghamshire Archives, probably explaining why it has escaped notice previously.

9 See below, p.137.

10 Illustration 14.15.

In August 1619 James I and his son visited Welbeck to hunt. Charles (II) was knighted during their stay.[11] Charles I, on his way north for his coronation in Scotland, again visited Welbeck in 1633. He actually stayed overnight at Worksop Manor, close by, and came over to Welbeck for a daytime entertainment. William presented *The King's Entertainment at Welbeck* on 21st May.[12] After a banquet in the Great Hall, Charles I was in the courtyard about to return to Worksop Manor for the night, when he was surprised by a dramatic interlude. The characters pretended not to recognise either William or Charles I, signifying "comic intent by the method of being indecorous."[13] The cost of the entertainment and "Dinner," according to Margaret, was "between Four and Five thousand pounds."[14]

The scene set for the entertainment was the wedding of Pem (daughter to Fitzale, and symbol of the famous ales of Derby), and Stub (representative of Sherwood Forest), standing for the marriage of the two shires. There was running at the quintain on horseback, often associated with weddings, and recalling the great Kenilworth entertainment by the Earl of Leicester for Elizabeth I. "There can be little doubt," Baskervill argues, that Jonson at times made use of Laneham's description of the Kenilworth entertainment in writing the Welbeck entertainment of 1633, and Brown claims that William "seems himself to have regarded Leicester as a distant role model."[15] The shires were united in the final dance. These references to the place are thought by Brown to form a compliment from poet to resident host, and the entertainment is given added point by the presentation of the place to visitors.

In 1634, Charles I, accompanied this time by Henrietta Maria, actually stayed at Welbeck, visiting Bolsover for day for the well-known masque on 30th July. The happenings at Welbeck are described, albeit elliptically and in Latin, in a poem by John Westwood, a client of Charles (II)'s. The royal party spent six days at Welbeck, involving the king's reception with a fanfare of trumpets, a tour of the house (of which he took possession for his visit), a hunting party, and a tournament involving a formal knightly challenge, jousting and sword play.[16] Raylor describes it as having a robust, aggressive, neo-Elizabethan atmosphere, appropriate to the antiquity of the house, in deliberate contrast to the sophisticated neo-Platonism presented in the masque at Bolsover.[17]

William planned to put his claim for a court office forward for consideration by travelling with Charles I "two or three days journey after his going from Welbeck" in 1634.[18] Although he was unsuccessful in his suit, this was not the last royal visit he was to host. In the summer of 1636, Charles I and the Palatine princes visited the house. Margaret mentions "another small Entertainment which my Lord prepared for His late Majesty, in his own park at *Welbeck*, when his Majesty came down, with his two Nephews ... into the Forest of *Sherwood*; which cost him

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11 Nichols, (1828), Vol.3, p.559; Chamberlain, (1939), Vol.12.2, p.260.

12 BL Harleian MS 4955, ff.194r-198v, 'The kings Entertainment at Welbeck, 1633.'

13 Brown, (1994), p.153.

14 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.139.

15 Baskervil, (1908), p.209; Brown, (1994), p.153.

16 Raylor, (1994), p.175.

17 ibid.

18 Bowyer, (1739), p.274.

Fifteen hundred pounds."[19] Prince Charles Louis described this summer as "a perpetual hunting and changing of lodgings."[20]

3.3 The Civil War

William was away fighting for most of the early years of the Civil War, but his daughters remained behind at Welbeck. Jane and Frances must have remained in close contact still with their married sister Elizabeth because between 1644 and 1646 Jane and Elizabeth collaborated in writing a comedy, *The Concealed Fancies*, and *A Pastoral*.[21] In January 1644 William returned briefly "to *Welbeck* ... to his own house and garrison ... both to refresh his Army and to settle and reform some disorders he found there."[22] After his departure, the household sometimes received news of him. Percy Tomkins, a stalwart of the household, reported on 5th May 1644 that "this morning came one from [besieged] York to my Lady Jane from my Lord Marquess."[23] However, they were not to see William again for fifteen years, for he went into exile shortly afterwards. His daughters were at Welbeck when it fell in August 1644. While Major Crawford was besieging Bolsover, the Earl of Manchester himself marched on Welbeck. It "was Surrendred [sic], and in it eight Pieces of Ordnance, two hundred Musquets, and Store of Match and Bullet. The Care of the House was left to Collonel *Thorney*, but the Marquess of *Newcastle*'s Daughters, the Lord *Witherington*'s Children and others were suffered to continue there."[24]

The Earl of Manchester described the taking of the house on 6th August 1644 to the Parliamentarian committee: "Upon my coming near Welbeck, I sent a summons to the place and they with great civility sent to parley with me. The next day, Friday, they rendered the house to me upon composition. I was willing to give them large terms, because I was not in a condition to besiege a place so well fortified as that was. I therefore gave the officers and soldier liberty to march out with all their arms and colours flying ... The house I preserved entire, and put a garrison into it of Notts men ... The place is very regularly fortified; and the Marquis of Newcastle's daughters and the rest of his children and family are in it, unto whom I have engaged myself for their quiet abode there, and to intercede to the Parliament for a complete maintenance for them..."[25] The committee responded favourably to Manchester's report, saying that they had received his letter "communicating the news of your taking Welbeck House, and approve the terms granted to them, as whereby you have not only gained the house, but the men also, as appears by their voluntary surrendering their arms. We will further your desire to the Houses of Parliament for making good your engagements to them."[26]

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19 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.140.

20 Bromley, (1787), pp.80-81.

21 Bod. Rawlinson MS POET 16, 'Poems, Songs and a Pastorall (and a play) by the rt. hon. the lady Jane Cavendish and lady Elizabeth Brackley.'

22 Cavendish, Margaret, (1667), p.39.

23 HMC, *Report 78, Hastings*, Vol.2, p.128.

24 Rushworth, Part III, (1691), Vol.2, p.644.

25 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1644*, London, 1888, pp.404-5, 6th August, 1644.

26 ibid, p.426, 13th August, 1644.

Lucy Hutchinson records the taking of Bolsover and Tickhill Castles, and Welbeck, and describes how "much of the enemies' wealth" was "brought into Nottingham" afterwards. In her 'Note-Book,' a variant to the text usually published, she adds that after the surrender of Welbeck "there were found in the house of Mrs Markham's and other malignants goods to the value of - thousand pounds, besides much money that was gathered out of that side of the country, and brought into the treasury at Nottingham."[27] However, Thomas Bamford and James Whitehead had buried the family's plate under the brewhouse.[28]

Welbeck was held by the Parliament for a year but it was re-taken on 16th July 1645 by Sir Richard Willis from Newark, the last centre of Royalist resistance after Naseby.[29] Richard Symonds, a soldier, recorded the event. "Welbeck was surprised by the Newark horse under the command of Sir Richard Willis ... In a wood near the port stood his horse in ambush, and when the trevall was beat, and they let down their bridge for their scouts, our horse, under the command of Major Jarnot, a Frenchman, rid hard, and though they pulled up the bridge a foot high yet they got in and took it. They disputed every yard, and our men alighted and with their pistols scaled and got in."[30] The reference to the bridge is tantalising, it was probably part of the water garden.

On 15th August, Charles I, desperately travelling around the now almost completely hostile country, arrived at Royalist Welbeck for two days. It was reported that "the King was constrained ... to confine himself, for his present safety, in *Welbeck*-house; from whence, it is believed, he would gladly passe into *Newark*, for his better security."[31] He signed a warrant at Welbeck on 16th August 1645,[32] and after a sermon on 17th August, made his way to Doncaster.[33] Welbeck was de-garrisoned by mutual agreement among the combatants later in 1645.[34]

As an estate forfeited to the Commonwealth for the treason of its owners, Welbeck was sold in 1652. The Commonwealth's trustees concluded a bargain with Edward Whalley of Westminster, who was the local Major General but also a loyal friend of the Cavendishes.[35] The sale document lists the buildings, including the Liquorist

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27 Hutchinson, (1885), Vol.2, p.24.

28 NU PW1.367

29 Turberville, (1938), Vol.1, p.113.

30 Symonds, (1859), p.224.

31 Anon., *A true Relation of HIS MAJESTIES Motion from Wales to Lichfield in Staffordshire ... Also, the Marches of the Scots ... in pursuit of His Majesties Horse to Welbeck-House*, London, 20th August, 1645, BL Thomason Tracts E 279(1), No.9, p.6; Clarendon, (1888), Book IX, Chapter 86, Vol.4, pp.88-9.

32 HMC Report 55, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, Vol.7, London, 1914, 'Manuscripts of H.C. Staunton esq.,' p.374.

33 Symonds, (1859), p.227.

34 Hamilton, W.D., ed., *CSPD, 1645-47*, London, 1891, 13th November, 1645, p.227.

35 Seddon, P.R., 'Major General Edward Whalley and the Government of Nottinghamshire, 1655-56,' *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Vol.103, 1999, p.132. Noble (1784) reveals that Whalley was granted the manor of Flawborough, Nottinghamshire, part of William's estate, in 1647, having 'pretended that the marquis of Newcastle's father had purchased it of his father for a small part of its value.'

Yard, Brick House and Tyle Kilne, along with closes and the deer in Welbeck Park.[36] Edward Whalley, as trustee for Charles (II), was soon authorised to grant the premises to trustees for the use of Henry, Jane and Frances Cavendish.[37] Two years later, John Evelyn passed by Welbeck, commenting tersely that it was "seated in a botome in a Park, & invirond with Woods, a noble, yet melancholy seate: The *Palace* is an handsom & stately building."[38]

Once the estate was regained by the family, William allowed his eldest son, Charles (III), to live at Welbeck until his premature death in 1659. An inventory of goods he left at Welbeck survives, but the furniture listed was neither extensive nor extravagant. It included a stool covered with canvas and with sad-coloured serge, along with two red leather carpets and two suits of armour.[39] Charles (III) had had to compound to find a means to live. By October of the same year, William urged his second son, Henry, to live at Welbeck, and complained about the loss of his fine furniture.[40]

3.4 The Restoration

William returned to Welbeck within a year of coming back to England from exile. A list of his household was drawn up immediately after his return to England.[41] A good deal of minor work was done at Welbeck in the 1660s. A letter describes alterations at Welbeck including the building of the Riding House chamber and stair, repairs to the rivers in the garden, and "the litle dore In the south Garden [was] to bee wallde Vpp."[42] Clayton wrote back reporting that the work was done.[43] Meanwhile, tile and timber was being carried to Bolsover from Welbeck for repairs.[44] By 1664, Welbeck Abbey was assessed at 88 hearths, the most in the county.[45] The Diepenbeke engraving shows seventeen smoking chimneys in the stables range alone.[46] The Abbey was taxed for the same number in 1674, so the work of the 1660s must have consisted of repairs and garden works rather than additions.[47] Welbeck was a centre for local government, not only for the running of William's own estates, and officials such as heralds thought it worth their while to visit. A herald was at Welbeck in 1663 to check the arms of William's secretary John Rolleston, and

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36 NA DD.6P.1.18.22, bargain and sale of Welbeck estate, 25th October, 1652.

37 NA DD6P.1.18.23, 1st November, 1652.

38 Evelyn, (1955), Vol.3, pp.126-7.

39 NA DD.4P.58.35

40 BL Add MS 70499, f.351.

41 NU PW1.670

42 Strong, (1903), pp.56-7.

43 NU PW1.669

44 NA DD4P.70.1

45 Webster, (1988), p.52.

46 Illustration 14.12.

47 Webster, (1988), p.133.

conveyed back a message to the antiquary William Dugdale that William "had a great desire to see [him] at Welbeck."[48]

After William's death, his son, Henry, second Duke of Newcastle took over. The building work carried out in Henry's time is recorded in his accounts. A "new building" was underway in 1681 at a cost of about £300. It had sash windows paid for in 1682, and further work was planned for 1683 as one Richard Marple was paid to produce "a moddle for a new building at welbecke."[49] Henry's wife's account book reveals that in December 1681, they "came from Nottingham Castle with all our fammyly to live at Wellbeck after the new Building of the old dineing room," but it is difficult to guess whereabouts in the house this old dining room may have been.[50]

4 LITERARY COMMENT ON WELBECK

Many of William's literary and artistic clients found a welcome at Welbeck. The playwright Thomas Shadwell received at Welbeck a *"Respect so extremely above the meanness of my Condition, that I still received it with blushes; having nothing to recommend me ... besides some Writings of mine, which your Grace was pleased to like."* At Welbeck, Shadwell was "*daily admitted into* [William's] *publick and private Conservation*,"[51] and concluded that his patron was "the only *Mecaenas* of our Age" and Welbeck "the only place, where the best Poets can find a good reception."[52] Richard Flecknoe, another protégé, described Welbeck as a place:

> Whose cellar and whose larder seem t'have been
> Of ev'ry foreign land the magazine...
> Let other wonder at thy Lord's expence,
> And at the vastness of his magnificence...[53]

In addition, the verses of Richard Andrewes are now well-known:

> Welbecke, bid Welcome to thy noble Lord
> And entertain him well at Bed and borde.
> Whoe doth retourne with Honour and with mirth,
> Added to that, with which he did go forth.
> Nor bee offended, that thy ancient name,
> Is not a tytle made of glorious fame,
> As Bolser, Mansfield, and Newcastle ar.
> Thy Fortune is than theirs, more happie far.

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48 *Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Visitation Papers*, (1987), pp.36-37.

49 NA DD.P6.7.2.238

50 NA DD.P6.7.2.237

51 Shadwell, Thomas, dedicatory letter to 'The Libertine,' 1675, in Summers, Montague, ed., *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, London, 1927, Vol.3, pp.19-20.

52 ibid., Vol.2, p.102.

53 Flecknoe, R., 'On Welbeck,' *Euterpe Revived*, 1675, quoted by Fowler, (1994), p.173.

They give his names, by w^ch^ one may him call,
Thou hast his presence w^ch^ is worth them all.[54]

Yet Welbeck, in contrast to Bolsover, had the character of being a serviceable, everyday habitation, rather than a pleasure house. In one of Margaret's fictional works, she takes the imaginary Empress of the Blazing World through the sky to Welbeck, "an Habitation not so magnificent as useful."[55] They watch William practising in his Riding House, but Margaret worries because he is perspiring and over-exerting himself. This tone of use rather than pleasure also comes through in Richard Andrewes' well-known poem about the contrasting character of the two houses. Welbeck is "for use" while Bolsover is "for sight." Welbeck is also "for brewhouse," "a parish," "to ride in," "good keeping," "well mended," it "will last," it is "a saddle."[56] This contrasts favourably, but not glamorously, with Bolsover.

5 THE ELEMENTS OF THE BUILDING

5.1 The West Range

Undercroft

The basement floor of this range, now below ground due to eighteenth-century landscaping work, contains many traces of the earlier Abbey. Thompson's claim that the range must have consisted of the abbot's lodgings: his Hall, with his private chamber and oratory to the north, does not follow the expected pattern where the abbot's lodgings were more usually in the position of the protruding wing at the south-west corner.[57] Seventeenth-century Welbeck's Great Hall, entered from the middle of the west range, survived to be depicted in the 'Diepenbeke' horse paintings where its large windows can still be seen.[58] At its high, or south, end to the south, a stair would have led up to the abbot's lodgings. This retention of medieval fabric was also seen at the rebuilt west range at Newstead for example, and at Forde Abbey too the abbot's Hall also became the house's Great Hall.[59]

The west range's ground floor or semi-basement consisted of vaulting supported on a row of octagonal columns, of which seven double bays remain, split in two by a through passage. The piers date from the late thirteenth century,[60] and can be seen, retained, in Robert Smythson's plans for the house.[61] The undercroft is now used as a students' common room, but despite all the later changes a thirteenth-century doorway has been retained from the passage into the undercroft. Immediately to the north of the undercroft is an extension of a vaulted space with typical Smithson

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54 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.82.

55 Cavendish, Margaret, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy: To which is added, The Description of a New Blazing World*, London, second edition, 1668, p.109.

56 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.67v.

57 Thompson, (1938), p.108; Maurice Howard, pers. comm.

58 Illustration 14.7.

59 Thompson, (1938), p.108.

60 ibid., p.110.

61 Illustration 14.3.

detailing, a seventeenth-century reproduction of medieval forms, modulated into the Cavendish version of the Middle Ages.

Porch and Great Hall

The horse painting by Diepenbeke and the later Grimm drawing both show a porch leading up into the northern end of the Great Hall, described by Girouard as "an interesting example of Cavendish-Smythson medievalism."[62] Its position can still be seen in the ground plan of Welbeck made in 1748 by Francis Richardson.[63] A design drawing for it exists in the Smythson collection, noted in an eighteenth-century hand as being the "Porch at Whitwell."[64] From this, Girouard inferred that this was a seventeenth-century addition later removed and taken to the manor house at Whitwell, three miles away, home of Roger Manners, a son of the Earl of Rutland. It can, in fact, still be seen there today.[65] Whitwell Old Hall was part of the Welbeck estate in the nineteenth century, at which time it was as a school.[66] It is now a private house.

The porch led into the through passage at the north end of a Great Hall dating from the monastic period. Its large, six-light mullion windows can be seen on both of its sides in the seventeenth century views. It was rebuilt in 1749-50 in the same position by William's great-granddaughter Henrietta, Countess of Oxford. Robert Smythson's design shows an intention to move the Great Hall to the south range, where it would have taken the raised position of the monk's refectory, but this was never done.

This room was probably the "common dyneing hall in Welbeck" referred to in 1666.[67] If this is correct, it was obviously still used for communal meals. It was also referred to as the "King's Hall," presumably because of the entertainment of Charles I in 1633, in a description of a communal meal there 1671: "After we had alighted we came into the Kings Hall, and there had a dish of meat brought in for supper."[68] The Great Hall was hung with a variety of pictures. An inventory of 1695 lists a series of "12 Cesars" hung with a series of "12 horse pictures," all of which survive.[69]

A change to the west range took place between the date of the 'Diepenbeke' images, and the later picture by Grimm.[70] Grimm's drawing, like that of the south front, must have been a copy of a now-lost older drawing as it

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62 Girouard, (1983), p.256; see illustrations 14.7 and 14.18.

63 Illustration 14.14.

64 RIBA Drawings Collection, III/15, (1-2).

65 Girouard, (1983), p.256; see also Cross, James L., *Old Whitwell*, Whitwell Local History Group, 1989.

66 NA DD.P6.7.10.318.7

67 NA DDP.29.14

68 NU PW1.315, f.5.

69 Reference to 1695 inventory (location unknown) from Goulding, (1936), p.114. For discussion, see main text, p.50.

70 Illustrations 14.9 and 14.18.

does not show the changes made by Henrietta, Countess of Oxford. The section immediately to the north of the Hall had been replaced by four taller bays instead of the previous three, and topped by small decorated gables in the manner of those on the Riding House Range at Bolsover. Girouard infers that this was part of a planned remodelling of the whole of the west range, which was not completed, and connects the work, stylistically, with its curved gables, with the Bolsover Riding House range that he attributes to Huntingdon Smithson.[71]

The range today contains a few rare examples of seventeenth-century domestic interiors. On the first floor (originally the second floor) is a characteristically Smithsonian fireplace, of a much larger scale and more sixteenth-century in character than John's later designs at Bolsover, but sharing a corbelled feature with John Smithson's monument to the Countess of Devonshire at Ault Hucknall Church.[72] On the ground (originally first) floor is the so-called 'Horsemanship Room,' with a seventeenth-century vaulted stone ceiling and panelling with a Greek key pattern. Bray in 1783 commented that the "breakfast room" had escaped the alterations carried out since the seventeenth century, probably referring to this room.[73] The fireplace also dates from the seventeenth century. According to Girouard, it is derived from Serlio's Doric chimney-piece, although it is adorned with family crests of the Countess of Oxford's time.[74] The panelling in this room has caused some dispute, as it has been claimed that it came from the Star Chamber at Bolsover. This was thought to be the case by both Pevsner and Girouard.[75] However, the Horsemanship Room's panelling was clearly made for its present location.[76]

The Diepenbeke engraving also shows a peculiar structure, rather like a ramp, leading up to this section of the west range. In the painting, although much less clearly defined, it is shown in green. It is a pergola, covered with plants, the perspective of which is misleadingly exaggerated in the engraving, and it is similar to those shown in Laurus' scenes of the gardens of ancient Rome from his book that was later in the Cavendish collection.[77] To the north of this range, a battlemented wall of red brick can be seen in the painting. The hatched convention of the Senior survey also suggests the gardens were enclosed by a raised, battlemented walk like at Bolsover.[78] By the time of the Grimm view, it had been altered to form a wide raised walk with a balustrade. The work done in the 1660s by bricklayers on the "terras walke" may therefore have referred to this remodelling, away from the mock-medieval castellated style of the earlier seventeenth century in favour of a more classical style.[79] An entrance tunnel through the building is also

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71 Girouard, (1983), p.280.

72 Bassano's description of the monument includes the inscription: "Obijt Mense Februario Anni Salutatis over y interposed by white Marble Moulded 1627 Over which in white Marble Stands ye 5 virtues," College of Arms MS RR.19E.A, p.194. The Countess of Devonshire's monument is illustrated and the Smithson design reproduced in Girouard, (1983), p.270.

73 Bray, (1783), p.341; illustration 14.2.

74 Girouard, (1983), p.256.

75 Pevsner, (1979), p.367; Girouard, (1983), p.316.

76 Illustration 14.2.

77 Laurus, (1612), p.115; see main text, p.100.

78 Illustration 14.6.

79 NA DD.2P.24.72, second fortnight in April, 1667, 'Paid upon accompt to the ffreemasons for the terras walke,' 'To John Read the Bricke Layer upon accompt for itt.'

shown in the north range. Somewhere in the house was the "Evidence Chamber" or "Evidence house" often referred to in the household accounts. Legal documents were also kept in a room called a "study" by 1669. A draft lease for Normanton Grange for that year for William is noted at the bottom "we have sought for the other lease in your study but cannot find it."[80]

5.2 The South Range

The Robert Smythson plan for the remodelling of Welbeck in the spacious style of Holdenby or Theobalds was never carried out in this area of the house. The 'Diepenbeke' view of the east front and the eighteenth-century drawing from the south still show a jumble of monastic buildings, including the upper-level refectory or frater typically found on the south range of Premonstratensian houses, and its plan can be seen in Francis Richardson and Ignatius Stanley's surveys.[81] There certainly was a chapel somewhere in the house, as an organ was listed in it in the 1636 music inventory. The 1717 inventory also mentions a room containing a large number of prayer books, "a Pulpit and Communion Cloths ditto eighteen small Cusheons seventeen large ditto sixteen chairs."[82] This room can be fairly safely identified with the old monastic frater. In 1854, the chapel roof was described as a replacement, but still "in the walls are inserted some monumental slabs with simple devices - one a hand clasping a rose, another with an inscription of Walter de Etwell, who died in the fourteenth century, and was probably abbot here..."[83] The frater/chapel survived even after the extremity of the range had been removed, and can still be seen in an engraving published in 1875, annotated as "before the alterations."[84]

The frater/chapel's windows are shown in the eighteenth-century views as each consisting of three lights with mullions intersecting at the head. Thompson claims that this in a common arrangement in windows of Midlands monastic houses, prevalent from the late-thirteenth to early-fourteenth centuries.[85] He goes on to speculate that the frater was probably between the *calefactorium* or warming room and the kitchen, with a vaulted cellar underneath. The monastic kitchen was undoubtedly near the frater, and Robert Smythson's design shows a kitchen at the eastern tip of the range next to the new Great Hall in the position of the frater. Perhaps it was this proximity to the existing kitchens that would have made the rearrangement more convenient. It is therefore convenient to assume that the red brick block shown in the 'Diepenbeke' painting of the eastern front of the house was in fact the kitchen.

This south-eastern wing was removed altogether in 1860 when the fifth Duke extended the south-west or Oxford wing towards the lake in its place.

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80 NA DD2P.28.117b

81 Illustration 14.14; Ignatius Stanley's survey, c.1750, is reproduced in Thompson, (1938).

82 Hulse, (2001), forthcoming, appendix 1; NA DD.4P.39.55, f.13.

83 Eddison, (1854), p.135. The present chapel had not yet been built.

84 White, (1875), p.142.

85 Thompson, (1938), p.107.

5.3 The South-west Wing

The Senior survey and Diepenbeke engraving show a wing enclosing the south side of the Great Court topped by the cupola. The external elevations, cupola and balustrade formed part of the projected rebuilding of the whole house planned by Robert Smythson, but the work to the wing was a heavy re-modelling of much existing material. Turberville claims, without reference, that this additional south wing was erected between 1620 and 1625, in fact the date of 1608 when building work was known to be in progress on the site seems more likely.[86]

The Grimm view of the wing at the British Library shows its seventeenth-century appearance. The drawing is annotated "After an old drawing of Wellbeck Notts,"[87] and indeed, it must have been, because the wing had been remodelled by the Countess of Oxford in the 1740s. But another version of Grimm's sketch - in colour - survives. This is a good candidate for the "old drawing" as it is more detailed than Grimm's version.[88] The windows high up in the eastern tower have round heads, for example: a detail not accurately copied by Grimm. This suggests that even the seventeenth-century work was remodelling of the abbot's lodgings, not a new build.[89] Also, when viewed in plan, the wing does not align with the rest of the south side of the abbey. This has been corrected in Robert Smythson's plan, and surely would have been corrected on site if work had been started afresh.[90] It is also possible that there once existed drawings made in the 1630s of the east and west fronts - comparable to the Renishaw drawings of Bolsover - on which the 'Diepenbeke' views were based.

The Buck view of 1726 is quite different from the Grimm view, showing more bays and taller, narrower windows and no cupola: these were changes made after William's death recorded in his son's wife's accounts. The wing, as seen today, is a nineteenth century re-casting after a fire.

5.4 The Great Court

This area is delineated on the Senior survey, in the foreground of the 'Diepenbeke' views, and in some detail in Grimm's drawing of the west front. A drive protected by a balustrade in the plan of a shallow H led from the stables to the gatehouse before the main entrance to the Hall. This court impressed Flecknoe so much that he wrote:

> ...you'd think you entered some
> Huge *Piazza* made for all the world to come.
> So great mens Houses shu'd be builded great,
> And not so much for prospect, as receipt.[91]

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86 Turberville, (1939), Vol.1, p.56; NA DD3P.14.19.

87 Illustration 14.17.

88 Illustration 14.16.

89 This was pointed out to me by Derek Adlam.

90 Illustration 14.3.

91 Flecknoe, (1666), p.10.

Girouard sees, in the vaulted rooms of the house, and in the approach consisting of the turreted gatchouse between turreted pavilions, something of the castle masquerade found at Bolsover.[92]

5.5 The Riding House

John Smithson's design elevation is dated 1622.[93] Vertue records that a tablet over the Riding House door was inscribed "Jo. Smithson Curatore fabriciencis, 1623,"[94] and Goulding gives the inscription more accurately: "GVILIELMVS VICECOMES MANSFEILDENSIS AEDIFICAVIT, IO. SMITHSONO CVRATORE FABRICENSI, 1623."[95] The inscription still survives on the building, although it was lifted up above its original position after the addition of the Edwardian lobby to the east end of the Riding House. It can be seen as it was originally in a photo of 1895, with the same door and window arrangement familiar from Smithson's design drawing.[96]

The construction of the Riding House roof is noted by Diepenbeke: it was forty feet wide, 120 feet long, and vaulted in wood. The walls were brick, as noted at the bottom of Smithson's drawings and as confirmed by Thoroton, who in 1677 noted that William's horses "exercise their gifts in his magnificent Riding-house, which he long since built there of Brick."[97] This is known to have been a daily practice, not only from Margaret's description of William's lifestyle, but from evidence such as Booth's confession.[98] Flecknoe commented on the Riding House's unusual size:

> For the *Riding-House*, 'tis of so vast extent,
> It does some mighty *Temple* represent,
> Where seeing them ride, Admiring *Indians* wo'd
> Adore each *Horse* there as a *Semi-God*.[99]

The Riding House was adjoined to the west by "La boutique du Marechall" according to a note on Diepenbeke's engraving.[100] This view also shows an unusual gateway at the eastern end of the building decorated with skulls, of the same design as the Terrace Range entrance at Bolsover, it was perhaps the gate repaired in 1655. Thomas Bamford made payments in that year for "makinge up the gate at the rydinge house, & the smithie wyndowes ... shoringe in ... and for painting [?] the cochhouses & stable."[101] The mending of an important gate into the courtyard

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92 Girouard, (1983), p.231.

93 Illustration 14.4.

94 Vertue, *Notebook II*, The Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.32.

95 Goulding, R.W., *Bolsover Castle*, 1936, p.11.

96 Turberville, (1938), Vol.1, photograph facing p.56; illustration 14.4.

97 Thoroton, (1677), p.452.

98 See main text, p.148.

99 Flecknoe, (1666), pp.10-11.

100 Illustration 14.11.

101 NU PW1.5

before the house would be consistent with damage done by the Royalist attackers as they re-took Welbeck.

An internal view of the Riding House by Grimm in the eighteenth century shows an internal doorcase also dated 1623.[102] Another view shows the hammer beam roof, remarkably similar to the one at Bolsover but without the tie beams. It has similar decorative bosses, and unlike Bolsover, was intended to be visible from below. Its width is unusual for a Riding House - it is much greater than Bolsover's - and it would have been impossible to obtain tie-beams capable of taking the span. The building was altered after the Civil War by the addition of a "riding house chamber" like the one at Bolsover.[103] Andrew Clayton wrote in an undated letter of the 1660s that "the steares into your rideing howse chamb^{r} at Welbeck is finisht and both y^{e} staire and lights are very good."[104] The stairs were made to a draught by Samuel Marsh. William's specification for the work included "7 good lights" and in the chamber itself, "towe good large windowes."[105] The Grimm view of the west end of the Riding House interior shows an arched window of a similar style to Bolsover's.[106] The open door beneath the window must have led into a waiting area for the horses similar to the one at Bolsover beneath the gallery.

By 1727, Vertue's description appears to confuse the Riding House and the Great Hall of the Abbey. One interpretation of his description is that the Riding House was hung with pictures even when it was being used for horses: unlikely, because of the dust they throw up from the soft floor of a *manège*. However, he claimed that the hall or Riding House "in Duke William's Time" was "adorn'd with pictures in large representing the Manage of the Horses," and that "at the upper end was one great peice [sic] representing the Duke & family, servants, etc."[107] This family group was probably the original of the engraving showing William's family sitting under an arcade, as Vertue claims that several of Diepenbeck's "portraits of himself his lady Duches his children" were engraved "to adorn the books he published."[108] The Riding House was later remodelled as a stable, then a library. It is now the much remodelled library and arts-and-crafts chapel, followed by the early 1890s designs of Henry Wilson, but the main timbers of the original Riding House roof still survive behind later ceilings and can be seen today.

5.6 The Smithson Stable

Three seventeenth-century images of the stables exist: Senior's survey of 1629, the Smythson Collection design elevation and plan, and the Diepenbeke engraving showing the completed building.[109] Described by Flecknoe as a

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102 BL Add MS 15545, f.69.

103 Girouard, (1983), p.302.

104 NU PW1.669

105 Strong, (1903), p.56.

106 Illustration 14.15.

107 Vertue, George, manuscript description of a tour made in 1727, described as 'at Welbeck' and quoted by Goulding, (1936), p.438.

108 Illustration 16.18; BL Add MS 23073, f.41v.

109 Illustration 14.6, 14.6 and 14.12.

"Princely Palace,"[110] it stood facing the main west wing of the house across the Great Court. It was decorated with rudimentary flat pilasters, shown in John Smithson's drawing as rather stubby and reminiscent of the Terrace Range at Bolsover, and in Diepenbeke's as much more elongated. The backyard of the adjoining slaughterhouse, Smithson notes, was taken out of the west orchard, and the building was approached at its southern and western ends by the ornamental canal: a detail confirmed by the Senior survey. The water passed right *through* the stables, "along the length of the trough," as noted by Diepenbeke. The stable was therefore pre-1629, and the canal and orchard pre-dated the stable. Vertue claims, plausibly, that the stable was completed in 1625.[111]

Diepenbeke, recording the building as built, shows variant doors, the central one having been given a more mannerist broken pediment and two secondary doors added.[112] The stable also has functioning chimneys. It contained stalls for fifteen horses, ranged along one wall. The annotations to Diepenbeke's plate described how the room was '*vouteè de pierre*' or vaulted in stone, the manger or trough was of stone '*à l'Italienne*' and he also mentions a fountain running the length of the stable before returning to a vault underneath and flowing into a little stream. The use of stone vaulting, reminiscent of the basements of Welbeck, Bolsover and Slingsby, was highly unusual in a stable, because of the expense. Giles Worsley considers other examples to have been "motivated primarily by aesthetics."[113] The diversion of a river through the stables is interesting to note with reference to William's depiction of himself as Hercules, who had to clean out the stable of Augeas during his labours. Hercules did it by diverting the rivers Alpheius and Peneius through the building. Could this again be a conscious comparison between William Cavendish and Hercules? Ben Jonson makes an explicit link in the poem on horsemanship, in William's stupendous stables he "looked for Hercules to be the groom."[114] The closest surviving parallel for the magnificent stone vaults of the stable, beside Thomas Worsley's much later efforts at Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire, are the 1630s stables at Burley-on-the-Hill, built for William's patron the Duke of Buckingham.[115]

The attic floor was ventilated, probably for the convenient storage of grain, but the vents are in fact *faux* cross-bow arrow slits in another chivalric touch. Smithson's plan shows two features within the walls in the top-left and bottom-right corners which could possibly have been voids for lowering grain down to horses easily; such systems are known to have existed, but were inconvenient because of the dust they created. Two buildings were added at each end onto the "hall" for the horses, labelled by Smithson as the "Slauterhose" and "granerye." The building was demolished in 1753, the year in which Henrietta, Countess of Oxford, wrote that the view of the oaks in the park from the west front of the house was improved "as the Manage Horse Stable is pull'd down."[116]

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110 Flecknoe, (1666), p.10.

111 Vertue, George, *Note Books II,* The Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.32.

112 Illustration 14.12.

113 Worsley, Giles, (1989), p.29.

114 BL Harleian MS 4955, f.40.

115 Hussey, (1923), p.184.

116 Quoted by Goulding, (1923), p.33.

Diepenbeke's engraving shows a long range of buildings lining the west side of the Great Court, containing further stables and associated offices. Adjoining the stables to the north was '*Le Grenier de l'Ecurie*,' the granary. Then comes a gatehouse, topped with decorative gables in the Bolsover Riding House Range manner. It adds credence to the view that the Bolsover Range was also intended, at its eastern end, to be pierced by a passageway through the building. The final building to the north is labelled '*Il y a d'autres Ecuries pour quatre-vint Chevaux*,' so presumably it provided some of this further stabling. Further structures to the west are shown in the Senior survey, and a payment in 1668 for "levellinge the Ground before the Colt Stables to the Smithey dore"[117] shows that the young horses must have had a separate stable as William himself recommends in his book on horsemanship.

5.7 The gardens

William Senior's survey of 1629 shows the extravagant gardens at Welbeck. To the west of the house is the dammed Waterhouse pond, which can also be seen, drained, on the Richardson plan of 1748. It fed the waterways via a pavilion, and an east-west canal encircling the orchard. To the south, one stream passed under two ornamental pavilions in the "gardin." This stream or canal is also shown, running between parterres, in the view of the house from before the 1740s remodelling copied by Grimm.[118] A design for one of the three water pavilions survives: a room eighteen feet by fourteen feet, built over two arches for the water and topped with a pointed roof with flags. Two of the pavilions are also shown to the far left of the 'Diepenbeke' painting of the east front.[119]

Vertue claims that the two pavilions at either end of the canal were inscribed with the year 1604 and ascribes them to John Smithson: "the dates on the buildings. (1604 An Archade at each end of the Garden Canal.)"[120] But Girouard plausibly claims that Robert and John must have been working together.[121] However, 1604 seems an unlikely year for garden work: it was before Charles (I)'s definitive acquisition of the site and before the work to the house. The "wall and water table of the litle river and howses in y^{e} south Gardtn" were repaired after William's return from exile.[122] They were cleaned and the workmen were to "sett the litle houses righte wher" they leant.[123] Senior's survey shows another water feature lying to the north of the Great Court: a stillhouse at the junction of a T-shaped pond. A short distance away were two free-standing enclosures, a fenced "Bouling Alley," and a "liquoris yarde" complete with a gardener's house. A new melon ground was referred to in 1637.[124]

According to the Senior survey, the canal then descended a staircase of nine rectangular ponds and weirs, turned south east, and escaped through a sluice into the River Poulter. The water direction is not certain in the absence of

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117 DD.2P.24.73, possibly the first week in June, 1668.

118 Discussions with Derek Adlam and his interpretative notes for the Harley Foundation's 'Treasures of Welbeck Exhibition,' 1994, were useful here.

119 RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/24; illustration 14.8.

120 Vertue, George, *Note Books II*, The Walpole Society, Vol.20, 1932, p.32.

121 Girouard, (1983), p.246.

122 Strong, (1903), p.56.

123 ibid.

124 BL Add MS 70499, f.231.

the seventeenth-century ground levels, but west to east seems likely. The chain of nine ponds is reminiscent of monastic fish ponds, but can be more closely related to an Italian water staircase or chain of ponds such as that to be seen in Giusto Utens' view of Pratolino, the Medici villa outside Florence.[125] A connection between Pratolino and this part of Nottinghamshire had already been noted in 1609, extraordinarily, by Thomas Coke. He reported from Tuscany to the Countess of Shrewsbury that his visit to the "Duke's house at Pratolino" reminded him of "R Portington's Lodge in Worksop Park, and the chamber in it very like to those," and noted too that elements of its landscaped terraces reminded him of Worksop Manor.[126] Given that the house at Welbeck was being remodelled at the same time, the date would make it possible that Coke's description of Pratolino was influential.

The Great Court and the western enclosure appear to be gravelled, not grassed, like the Great Court at Bolsover. Many of the garden walls are shown with a red and white chequered convention used by Senior at Bolsover to describe the raised walk. The gardens at Welbeck, therefore must also have been surrounded by raised battlemented walkways, giving the gardens the same defensive sense of enclosure. One area of the garden, being worked on in the 1660s, was known as the "Tarras Walke."[127] Jane Cavendish remembered the walks at Welbeck fondly after she had moved to London. She wrote to her brother Charles (III) that she liked "much better the salutary walkes of Welbeck, then the croud, & dust, of that [Hyde] Parke."[128]

The high walls are also mentioned in an agreement between John, Duke of Newcastle and his gardener John Watts dating from 1704. This describes the layout of fruit-trees against the garden walls, the borders and pinks "both in Gardens and Courts, or some other beautifull Flowers amongst the Pinks." Watts had to keep the walks neat with mowing, rolling and weeding, and "the Terrass Walls to be kept as formerly with Honey suckles & sweet Briar and Jessmin."[129]

6 LATER HISTORY

The remains of the seventeenth-century house described above are hard to disentangle from the later layers of alterations that characterise Welbeck Abbey. These include Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, Countess of Oxford and Mortimer's work with John James and others in the 1740s, the remodelling of some areas by John Carr of York in the 1780s, and the twentieth-century additions following the nineteenth-century fire.

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125 Mignani, (1995), p.81.

126 Howarth, (1985), p.18.

127 NA DD2P.24.73, f.55.

128 NU PW1.86, 27th March, 1656.

129 NU PW2.651

15 WELLINGORE HOUSE, LINCOLNSHIRE

GRID REFERENCE: SK 982 565

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Lincolnshire Archives, Ordnance Survey 25" map, 1887, Navenby Par. Co. 2/1, Wellingore.

Robert, D.L., 'Vernacular Building in Kesteven,' M.A. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1972, pp.78-80.

NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.28, Roger Hilton's accounts for the manor of Wellingore, 1671.

NU PW1.455, petition for repairs by Roger Hilton of Wellingore, 21st May, 1669.

Pevsner, Nicholaus, and Antram, Nicholas, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, Harmondsworth, 1989, p.787.

2 OWNERSHIP

The remaining fragment of the house has been converted to a barn and stands in a farmyard. The barn has blocked sixteenth-century windows and doors and partially re-built walls. It has been re-roofed, and a large opening created in its western wall that gives access to a farmyard. The outbuildings of the present farmyard roughly outline the courtyard of the former great house.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 Charles (II) at Wellingore

Charles (II) Cavendish lived at his manorhouse at Wellingore for part of the Commonwealth period, presumably because it was quiet and distant from trouble. The house has not previously been identified as having a connection with the Cavendish family. Earlier in the century, the title to the land at Wellingore had been held by the Rowe family.[1] Charles (II) is first heard of there in 1642, being described in a deed as "of Wellingor, Lincs."[2] He had returned to Lincolnshire by May 1653, after his extended trip to the continent, for "Sir Charles Cavendish of Wellingore" is mentioned in Henry Cavendish's marriage settlement.[3] Finally, in the settlement of his property after his death, he was described as "dec'd in Wellingore, co Lincs."[4] He had arranged for his property to be used for the benefit of his nephew Henry, who at that time was only William's second son and not due to inherit Welbeck or Bolsover. Charles (II) settled the mansion he formerly dwelt in, and premises in Wellingore, "for the advancement" of Henry Cavendish in 1652.[5]

After Charles (II)'s death, there is some evidence to suggest that Henry and his family were at least temporarily resident, among their many removals from Thorpe Salvin to Welbeck and then to Glentworth. A letter from a doctor from 1666 recommends a course of treatment for Frances' daughters "as [he] did purge them with when [he] was at Wellingoe."[6]

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1 Lincolnshire Archives, Lind. Dep. 53.2, title deeds, Wellingore, Rowe family, 1612-57.

2 NA DDP.29.7, 1st April, 1642.

3 NA DDP.8.13, 1st May, 1653

4 NA DDP.30.1, 20th September, 1655

5 NA DD4P.35.16, 20th October, 1652.

6 NU PW1.30

Roger Hilton then became the long-term tenant and bailiff, and was still there in 1678 when Henry, now second Duke of Newcastle, mortgaged the mansion house of Wellingore to William Mompesson of Eakring and Roger Jackson of Burton Joyce.[7] Roger Hilton was claiming nine years' back salary in 1670, and some of his correspondence with Andrew and William Clayton at Welbeck survives.[8] He complained of the common difficulty of collecting rent from tenants, and was concerned about the state of repair of the house. In May 1669, repairs were necessary or else Hilton would be "forst too leave the house" and the outbuildings were also unsatisfactory. "I humble desire you that you will move his grace" he wrote, probably to Clayton, "about the building of the stables & barnes and barn house, at Wellingore for the time of the yeare will spend a pace S[r] I have ... a barne of very good timber that will fitt our turne for the building ... the repares of the house which will be a very great charges S[r] I desire to heare from you as sone as you can with your conveiance..."[9]

By the next year, he reported that he had spent £15.16.0, "for repaires for the house them 2 yeares my Lord [Henry?] had it in his hands and others yeares," and also noted that he had paid £3 chimney money "for 2 yeares my lord had the house in his handes."[10] Wellingore was a relatively-unprofitable estate; Henry Cavendish's estimate of his father's rents made in 1667 showed that it made only £50 per annum.[11]

3.2 The Form of the House

What was the house like that Charles (II) preferred over Slingsby Castle and lived in for many years? Like his nephew Henry at Thorpe Salvin, he was content with an old-fashioned house, probably built in the 1580s, and sharing common local features with several others nearby. Only a fragment of the mansion now remains, opposite the church in the centre of Wellingore village, with much of its upper storeys removed.[12] From these upper storeys in particular there must have been a fine view to the south as the house stands on the crest of a ridge.

It can be deduced that it was originally an L shape in plan, with large Hall and parlour to north and south in the main wing, and kitchen in the cross wing at the low end of the Hall. The north-south wing had five bays of eleven feet, three in the Hall and two in the parlour, which was a pleasant room with good views to the south where the land falls away dramatically. There was also a first floor chamber and probably garrets as well. The walls of well-squared limestone are finished with fine ashlar quoins, and the ashlar doorcase in the hall particularly impressed David Robert in his survey of vernacular buildings in Kesteven.[13] According to Robert, the main beam in the Hall, chamfered to give head room, is a typical local feature, as is the moulding of the principal entrance at the north end of the east front. However, there is a possible Nottinghamshire connection: the finely-carved doorcase is also reminiscent of the doorway surviving at Carburton Manor, adjoining the Welbeck estate, which was the residence of Captain Mazine during William Cavendish's

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7 NA DDP.30.3, 21[st] September, 1678.

8 NU PW1.456, 6[th] August, 1670(?).

9 NU PW1.455, 21[st] May, 1669.

10 NU PW1.456, 6[th] August, 1670(?).

11 NU PW1.600, f.2, 18[th] January, 1667.

12 Illustration 15.1.

13 Robert, (1972), pp.78-80.

lifetime.[14] The remains of the large mullioned windows at Wellingore provide a striking contrast with the slightly later farmhouse, of much lower status, in whose yard the fragment now stands. The house must additionally have had further extensions or substantial outbuildings, for it had thirteen hearths according to Hilton's accounts for the payment of chimney money at Michaelmas 1671.[15]

Examination of the 1887 Ordnance Survey map shows barns and outbuildings grouped round an irregular court behind the house, and more importantly, the remains of extensive garden terracing on the falling ground to the south.[16] The parlour window would have looked down onto a square garden of made ground, presumably walled, and possibly with turrets in the corners. This looks like the remains of a seventeenth-century garden.

4 LATER HISTORY

The fragment survives because of the decision to build a new house, Wellingore Hall, in a slightly more secluded location to the east of the church in the eighteenth century. The sixteenth-century Wellingore Manor had presumably been downgraded to form a barn at the time of the building of the adjacent late seventeenth-century farmhouse, and its court turned over to agricultural purposes.

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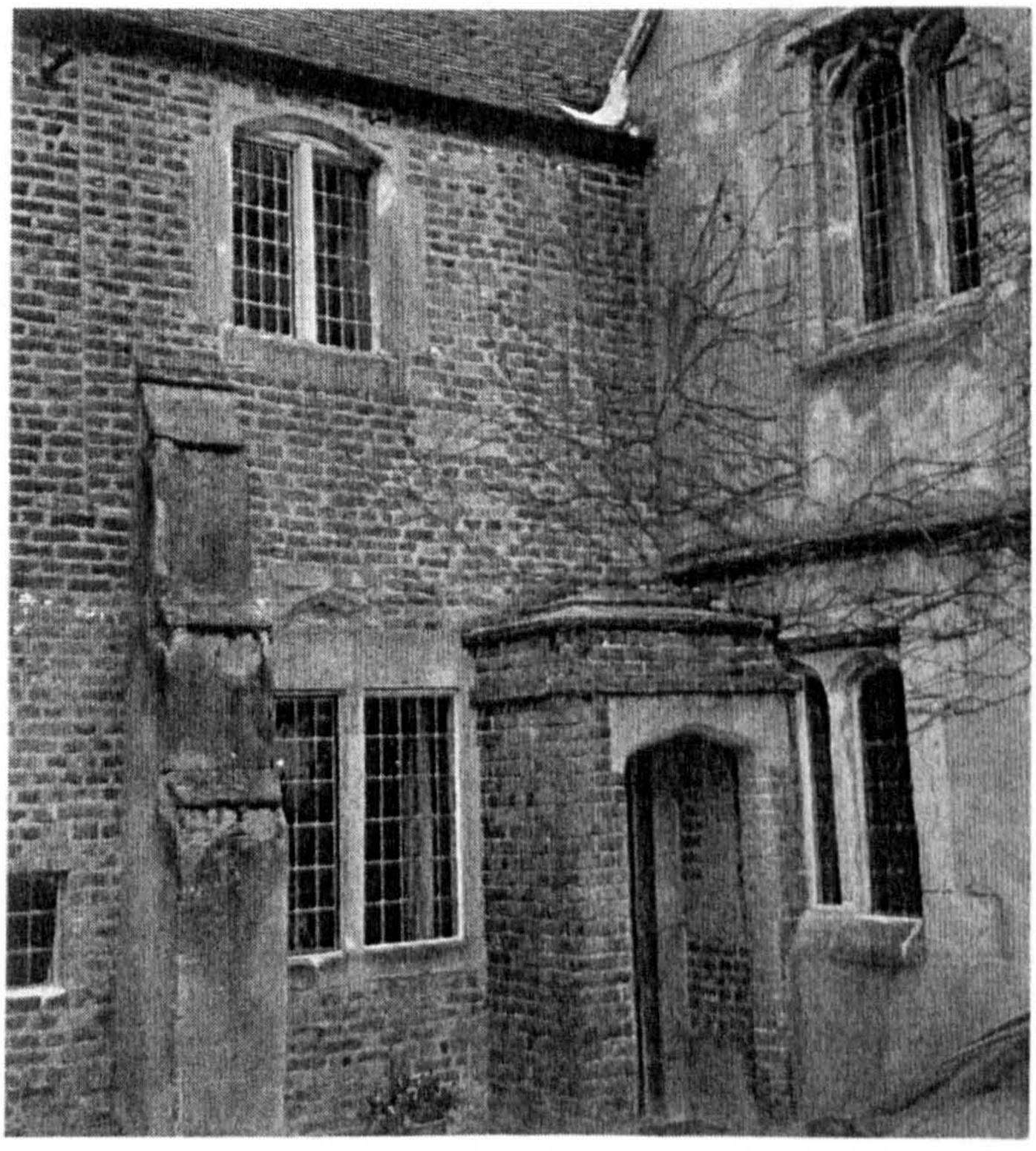
14 Illustration 15.2; a measured survey of the doorway at Carburton is reproduced in Barley, (1988), pp.51-58.

15 NA DD6P.4.4.1, f.28.

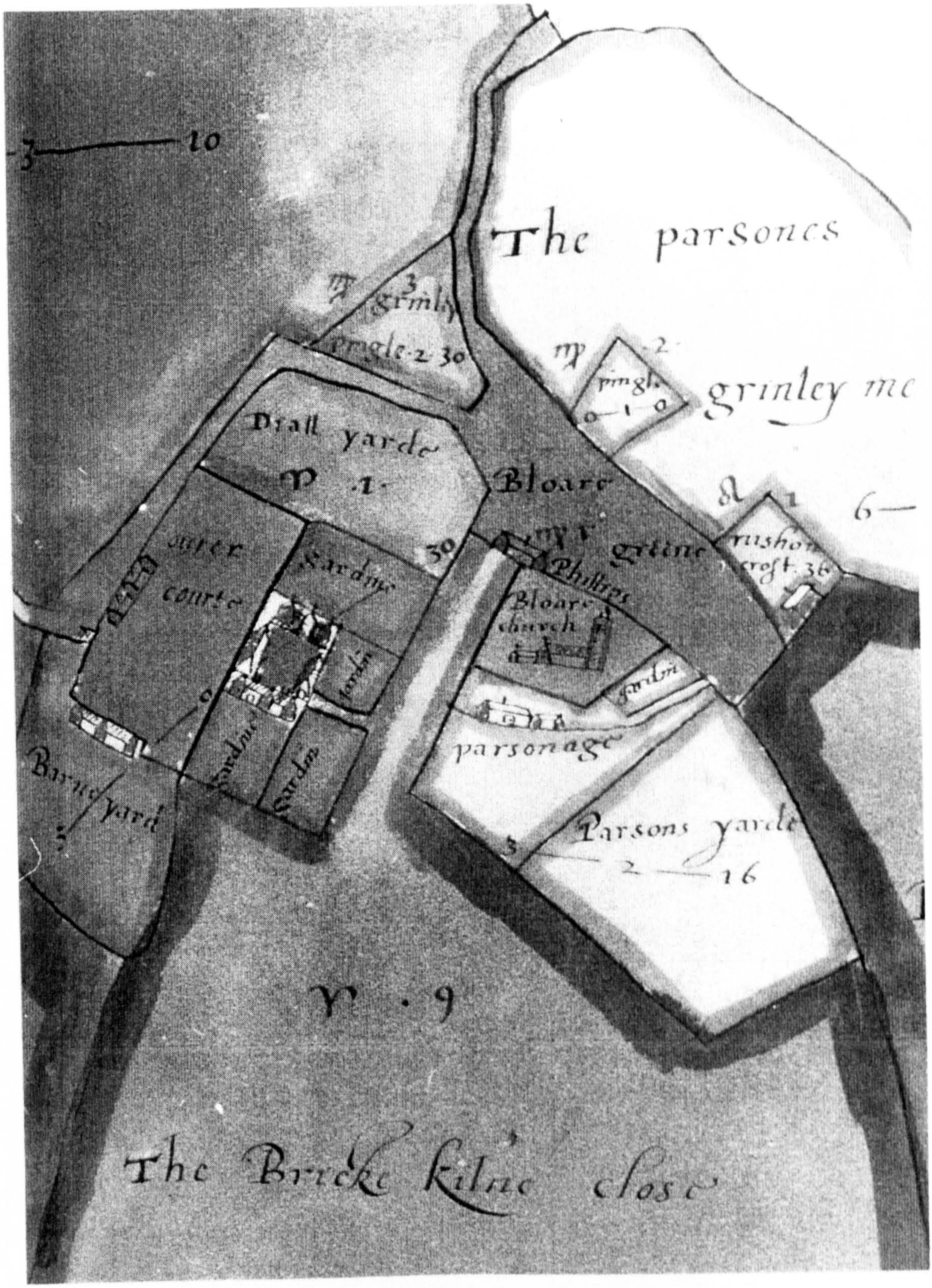
16 Illustration 15.3.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1.1 Blore Hall, Staffordshire, from the north-east, 2001.

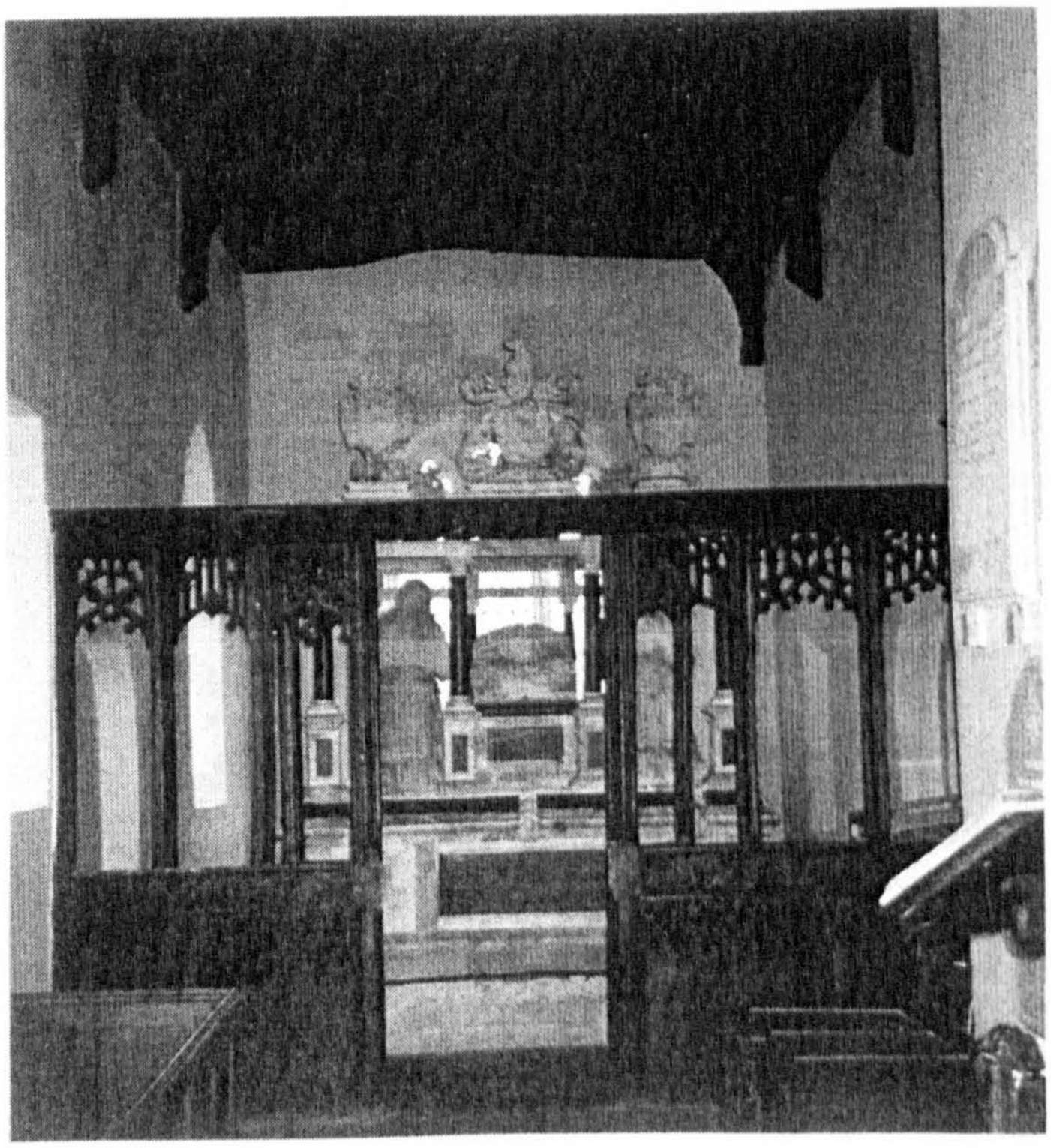


1.2 Blore Hall, Staffordshire, the back entrance in the south front, 2001.



1.3 Survey of Blore by William Senior, 1632, *Private Collection*, image provided by *Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections*.

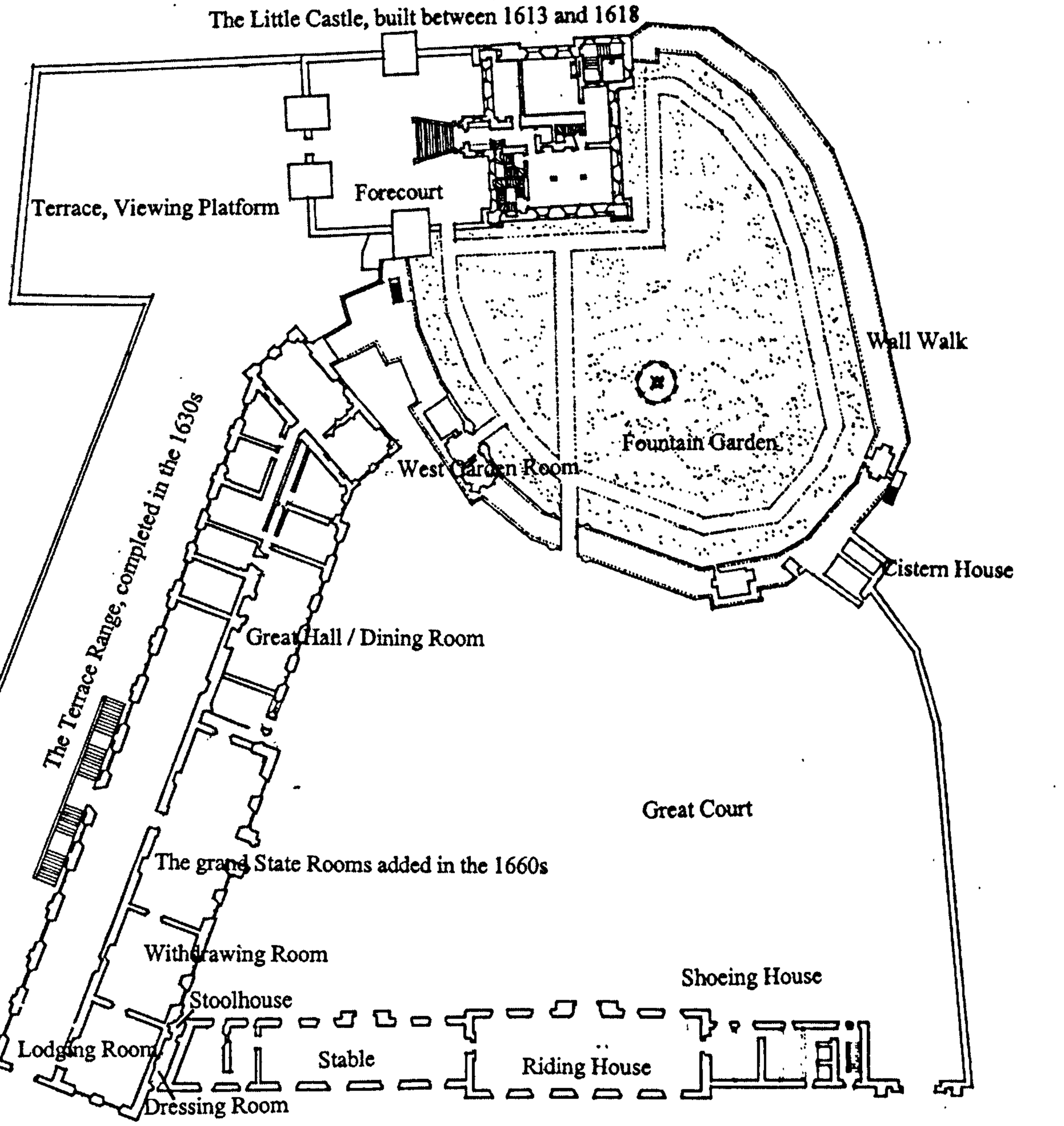
1.4 Blore Ray Church, Staffordshire (tower rebuilt in seventeenth century), 2001.



1.5 The Bassett monument in Blore Ray Church, Staffordshire, 2001.

1.6 The Bassett monument in Blore Ray Church, Staffordshire, 2001. The figures, clockwise, from centre, are William Bassett, his granddaughter Cate, wife Judith, son-in-law Henry Howard and daughter Elizabeth Bassett.

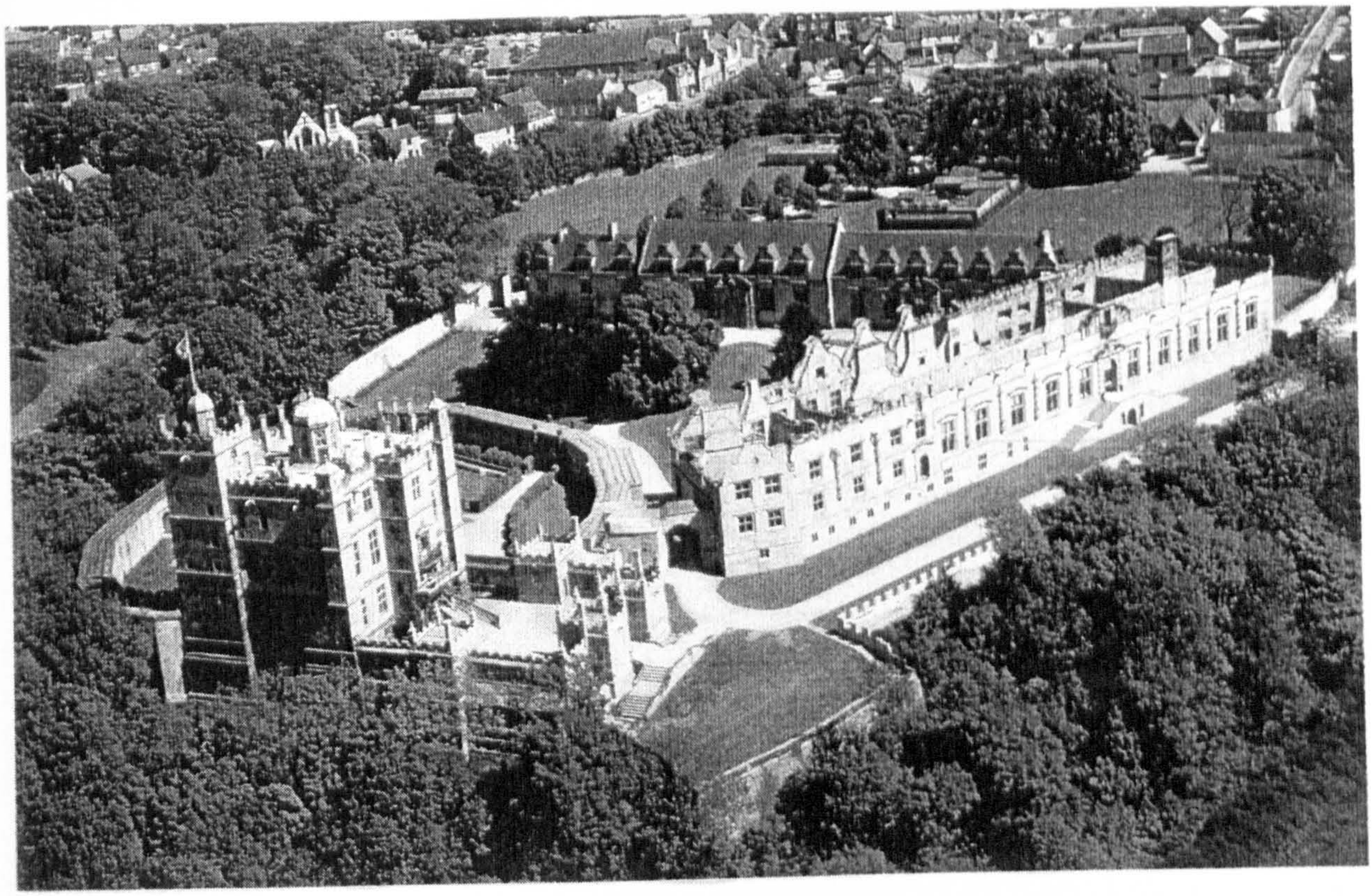
This plan of Bolsover Castle is based on a survey by English Heritage. However, the dates and functions are my own interpretation based on the seventeenth-century documents referred to in the text.



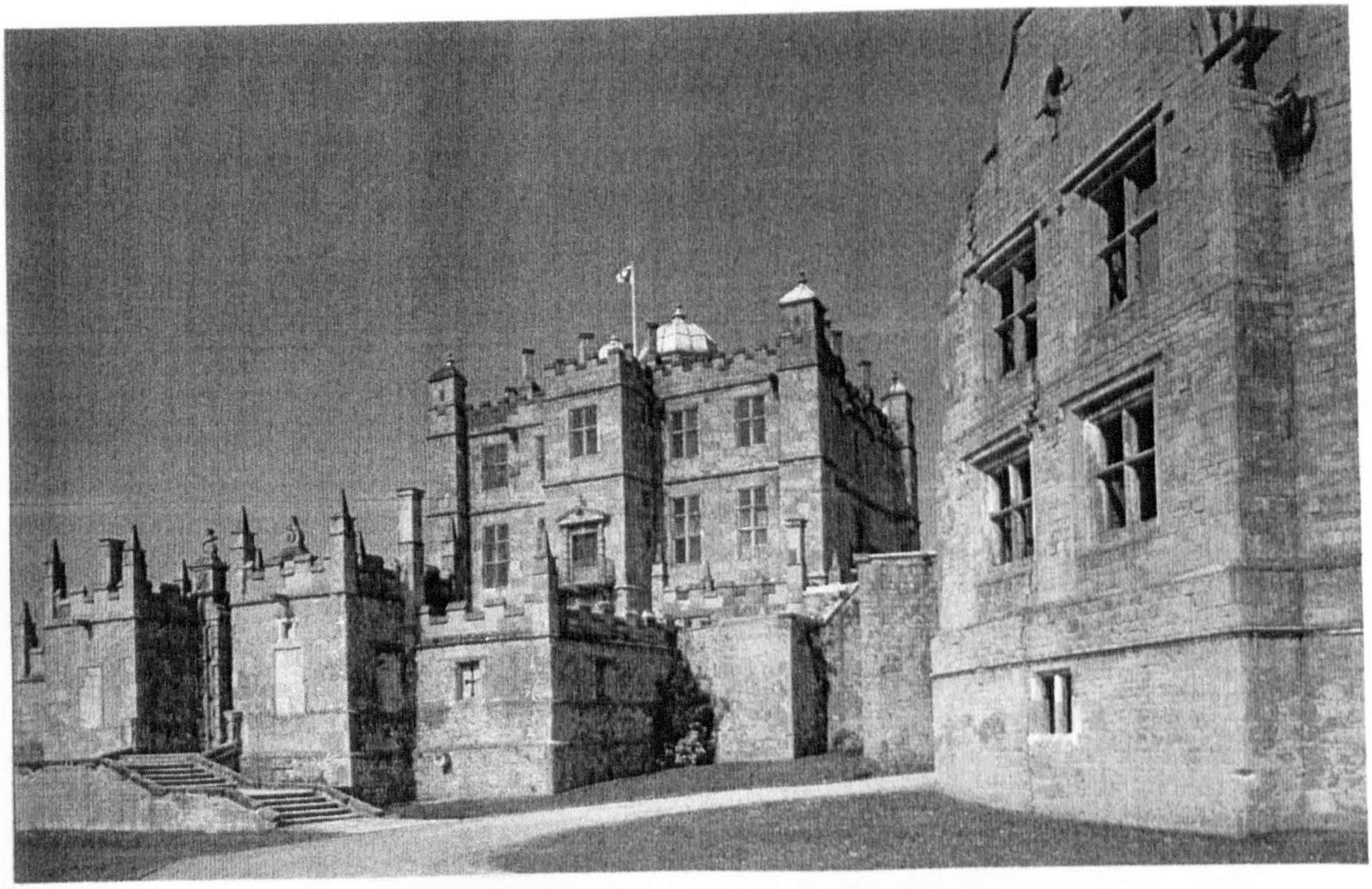
BOLSOVER CASTLE, DERBYSHIRE
Illustration 2.1

Plan, c.1670

0 10 20 feet

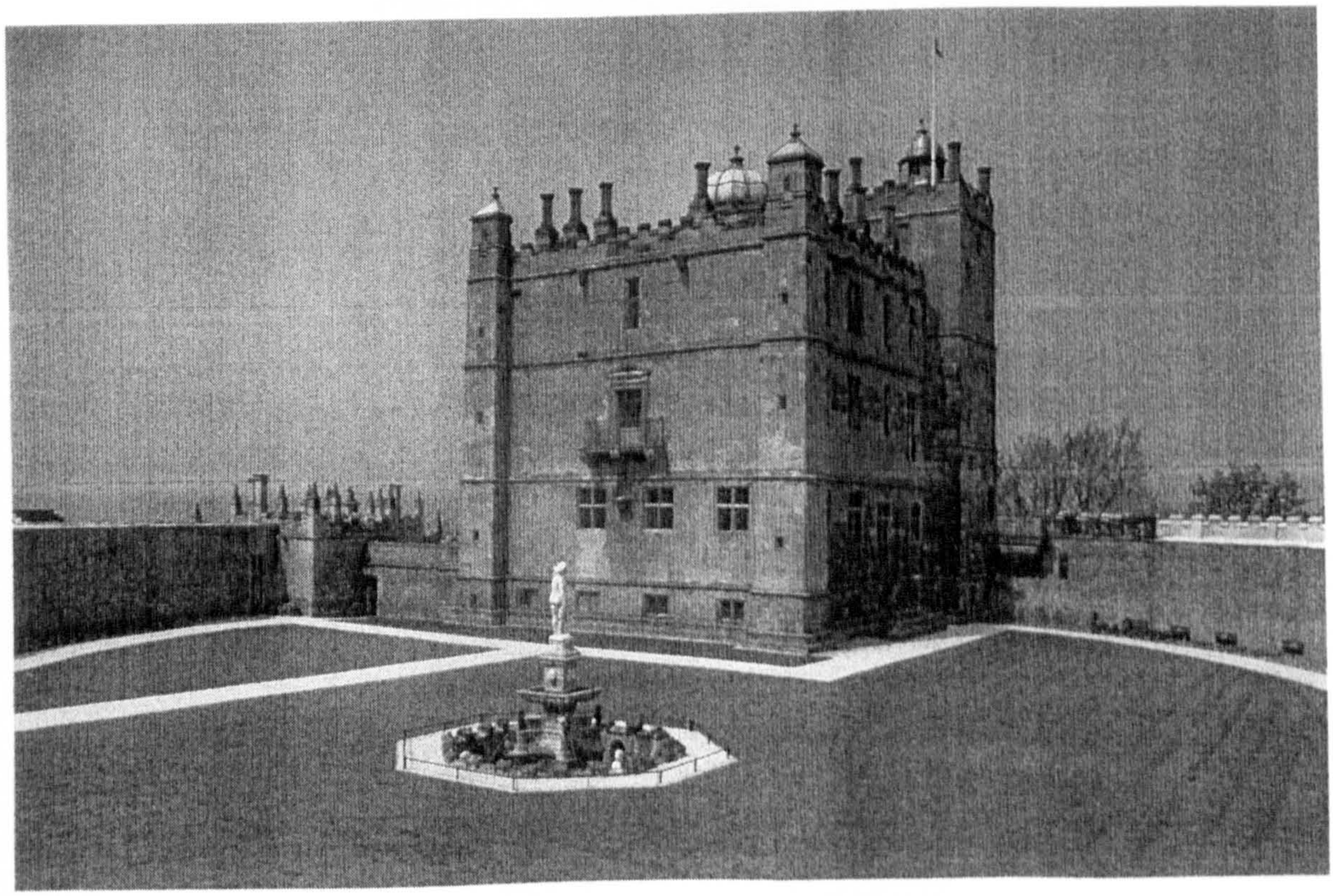


2.2 Bolsover Castle from the air, 1997, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*

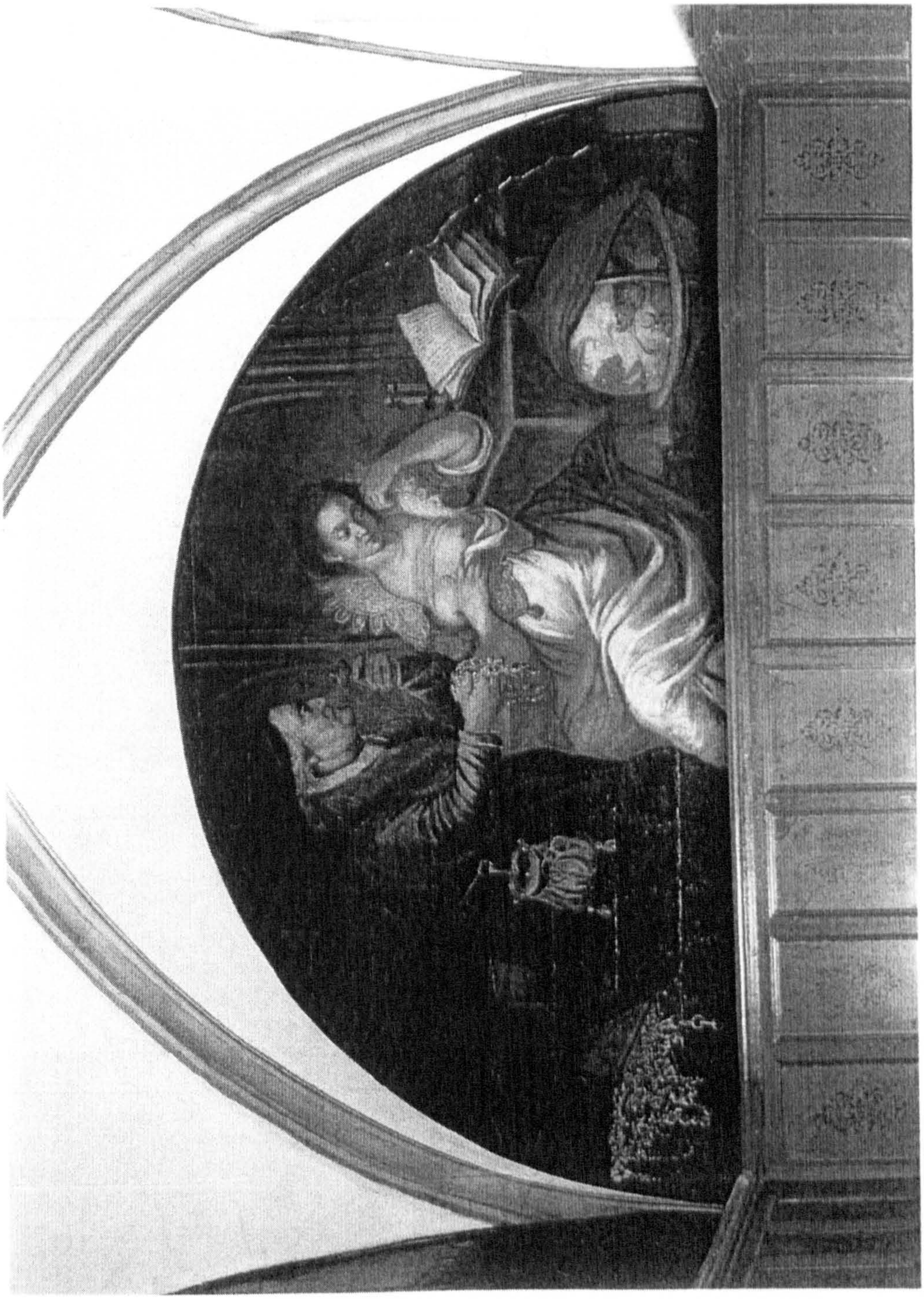


2.3 The Little Castle at Bolsover, entrance front, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*

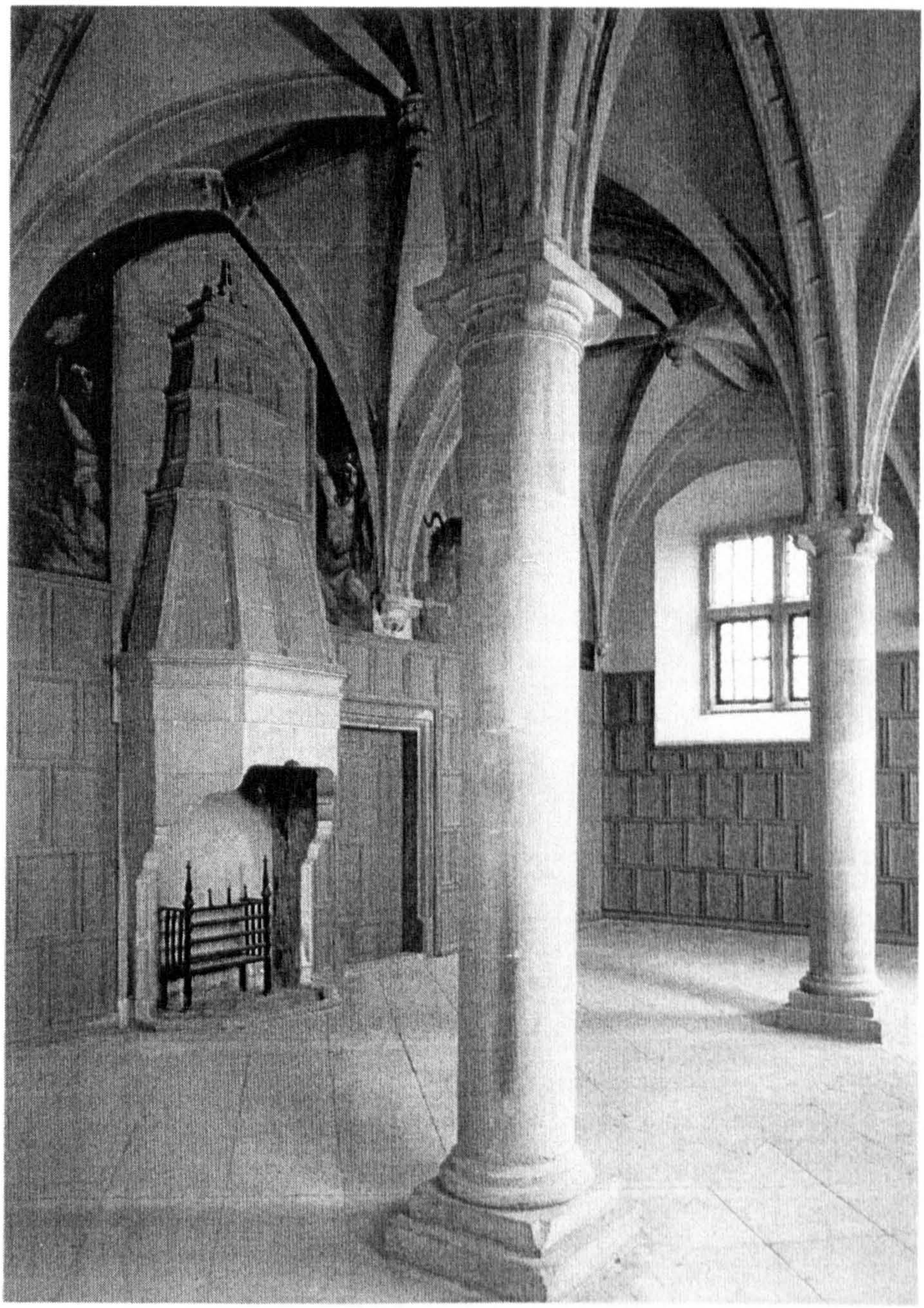
2.4 The Little Castle at Bolsover, Marble Closet doorway and modern statue of Hercules, 2001.



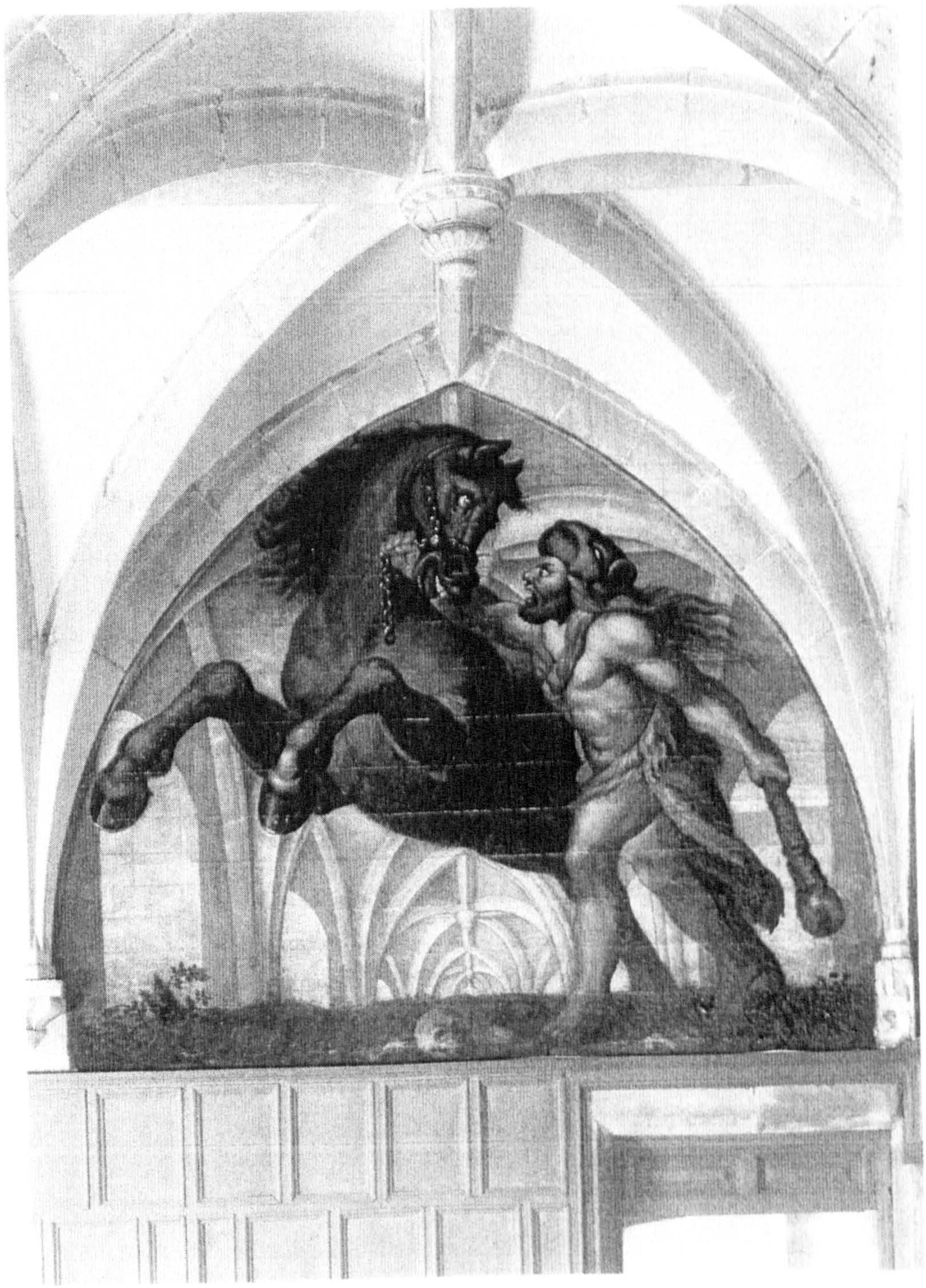
2.5 The Little Castle at Bolsover, garden front, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



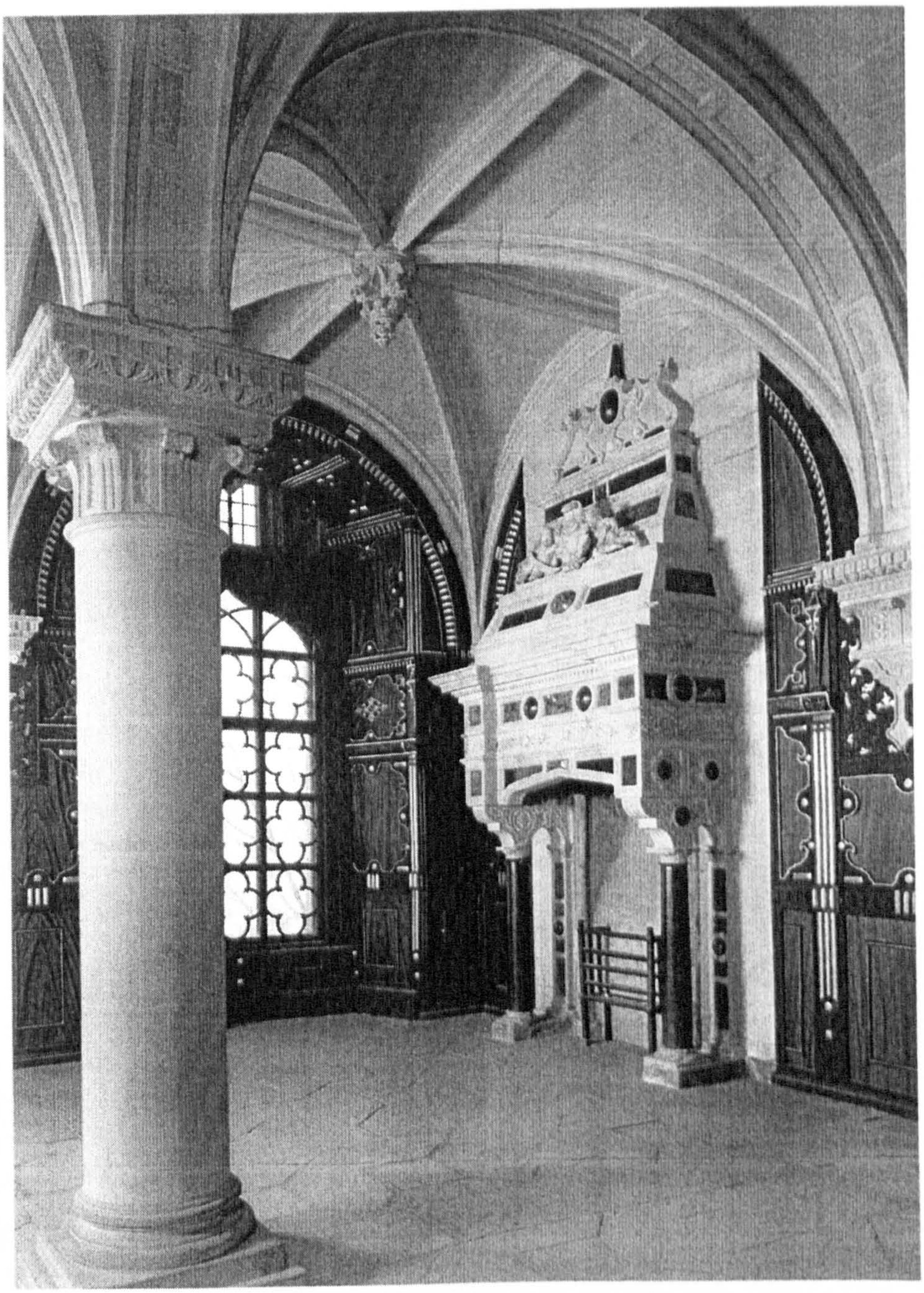
2.6 The melancholy humour, after an engraving by Pieter Jode, (1570-1634), of a painting by Marten de Vos, (1532-1603), in the anteroom, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*



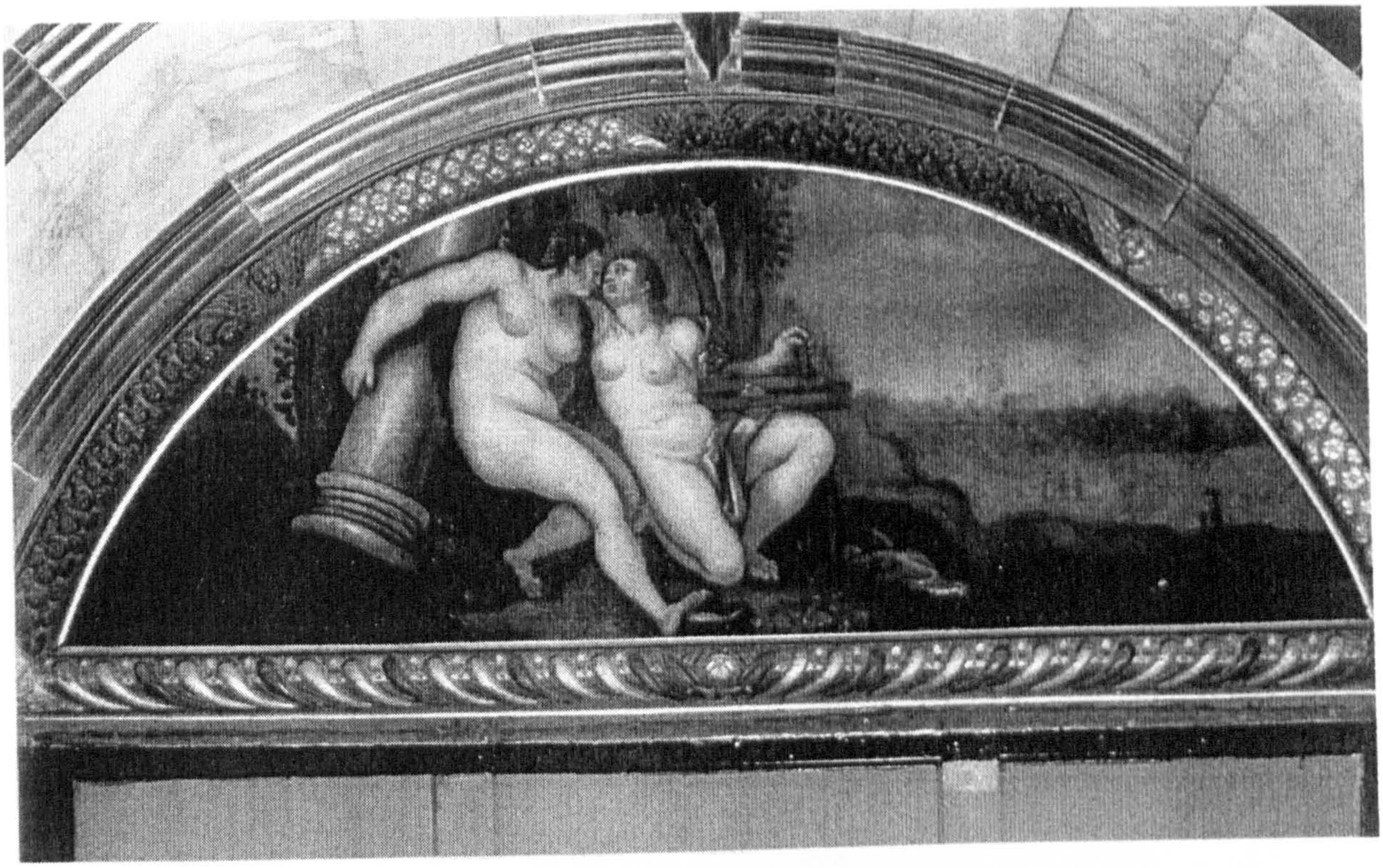
2.7 The Great Hall, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



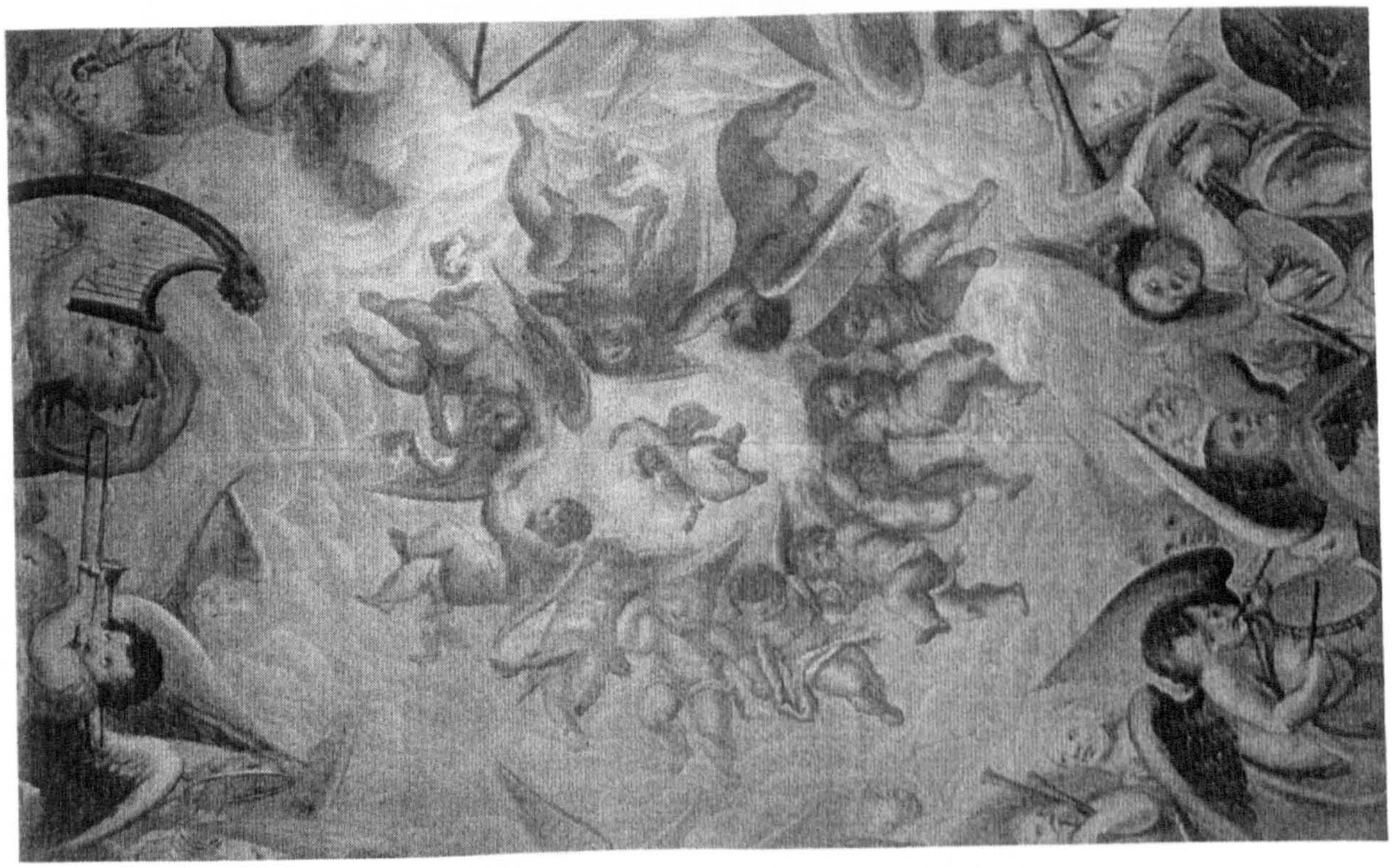
2.8 Hercules and the mare of Diomedes, after Antonio Tempesta, in the Hall, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



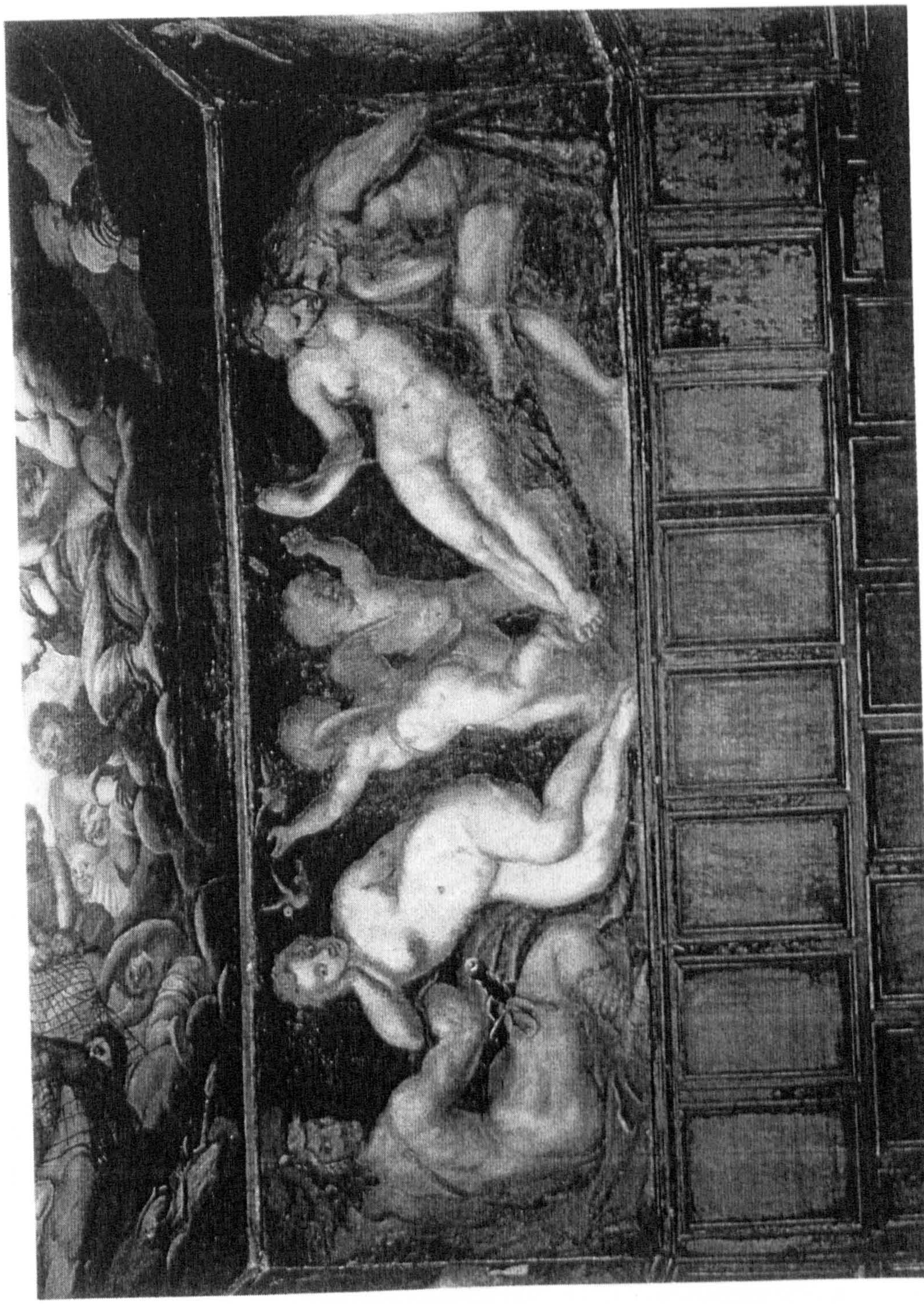
2.9 The Pillar Parlour, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



2.10 Painted lunette after engravings of 'The United Virtues' by Hendrik Goltzius, the Marble Closet, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.

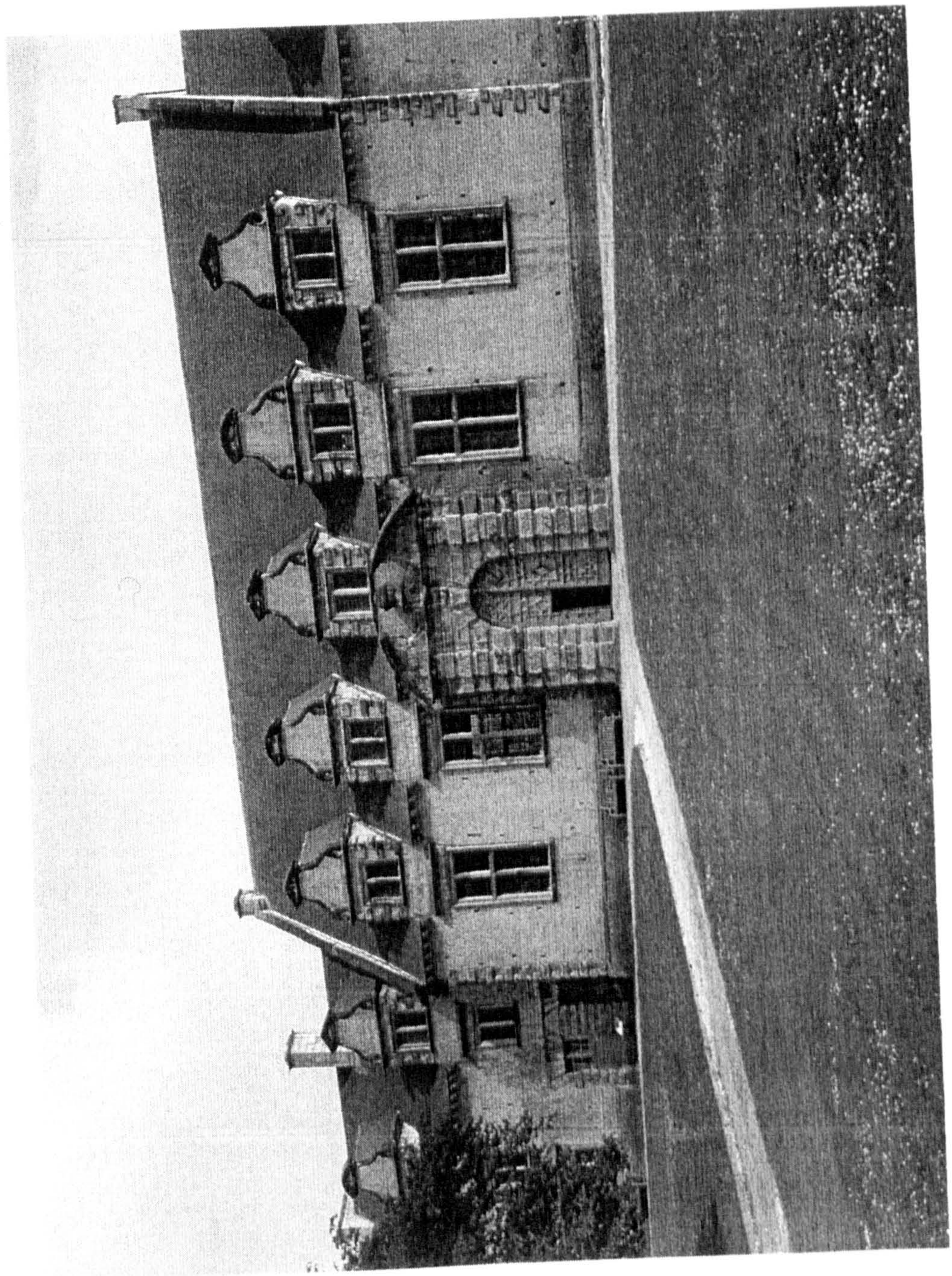


2.11 The ceiling of the Heaven Closet, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.

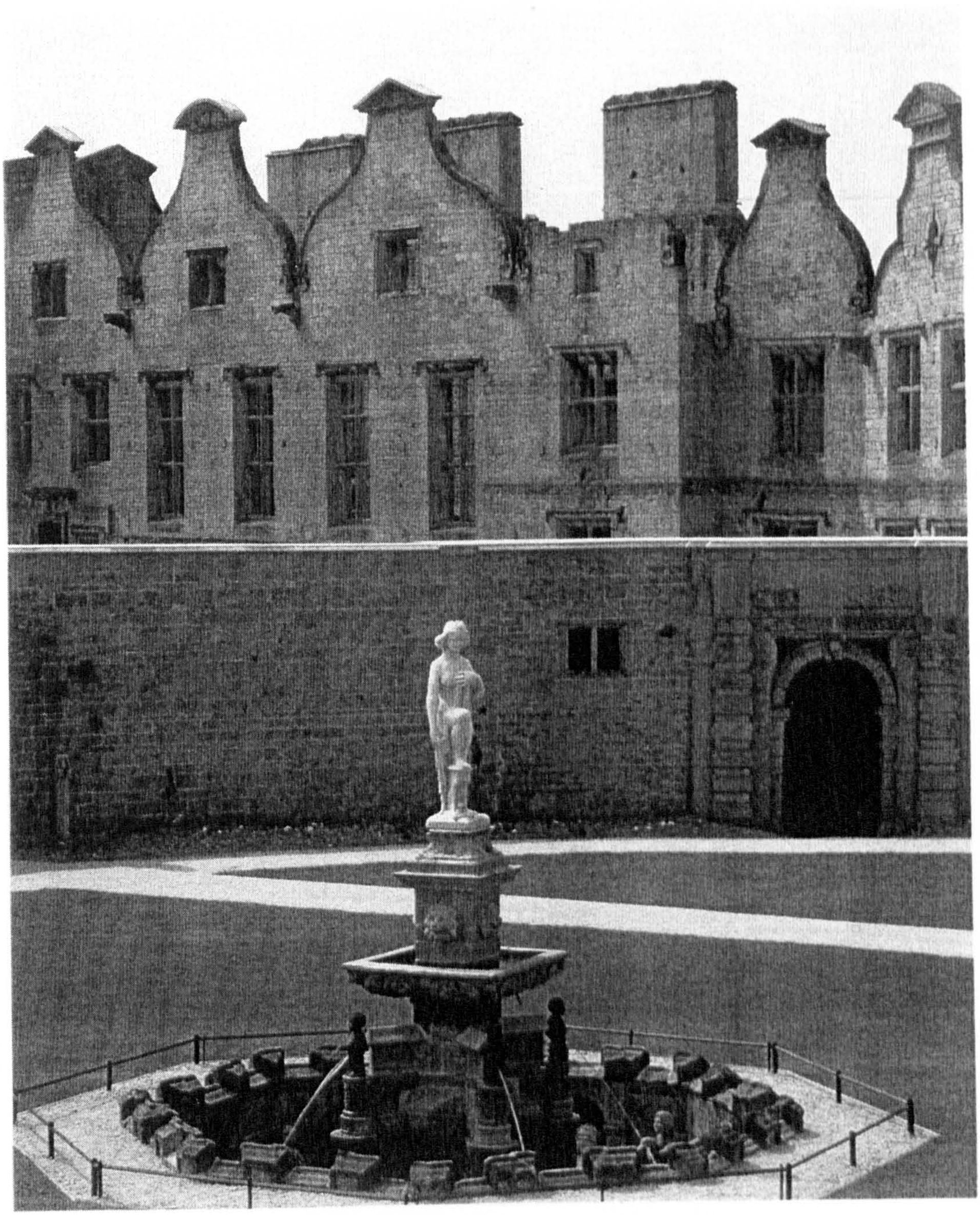


2.12 Hercules in the frieze of the Elysium Closet, the Little Castle, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.

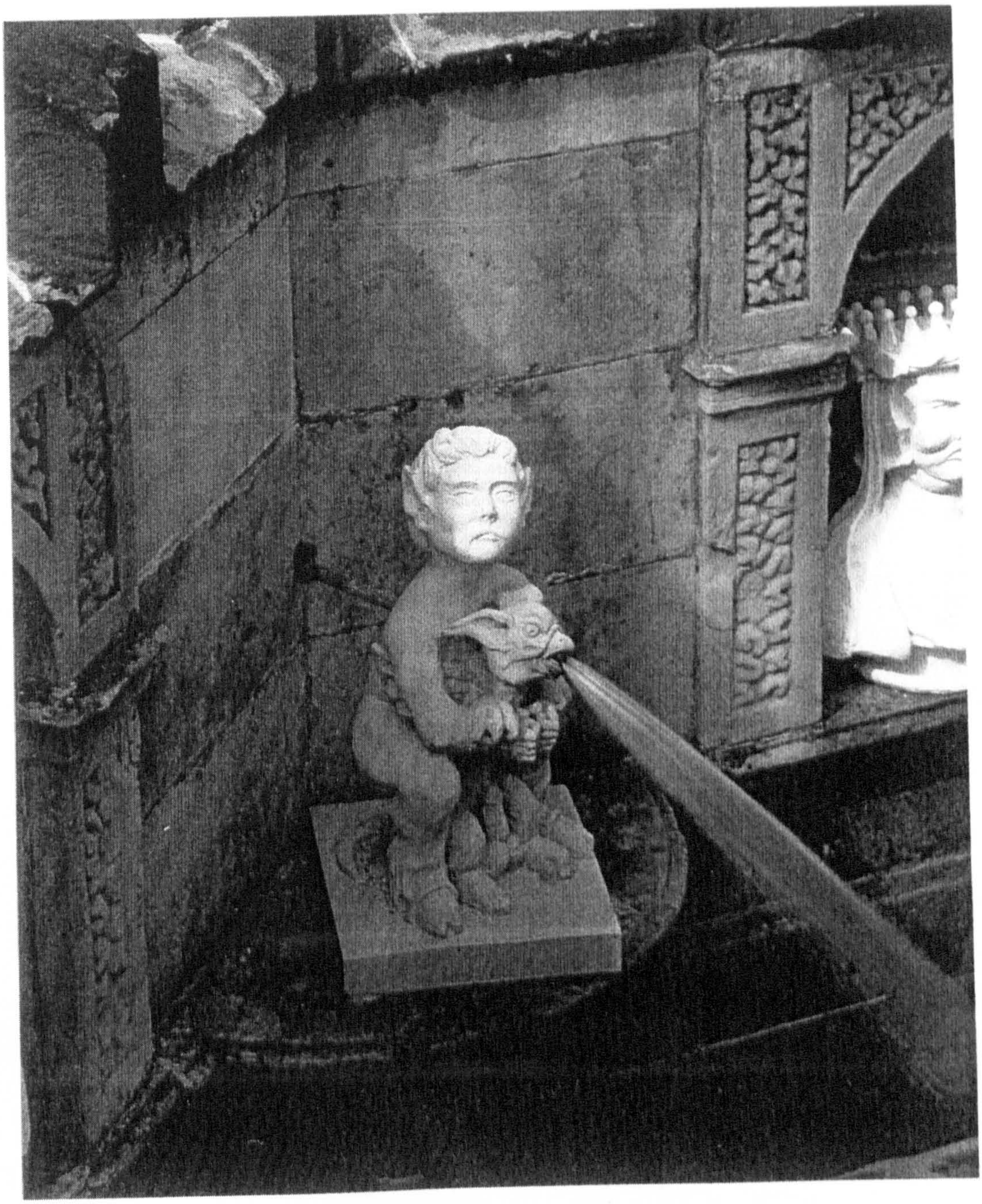
2.13 The Terrace Range, Bolsover Castle, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*



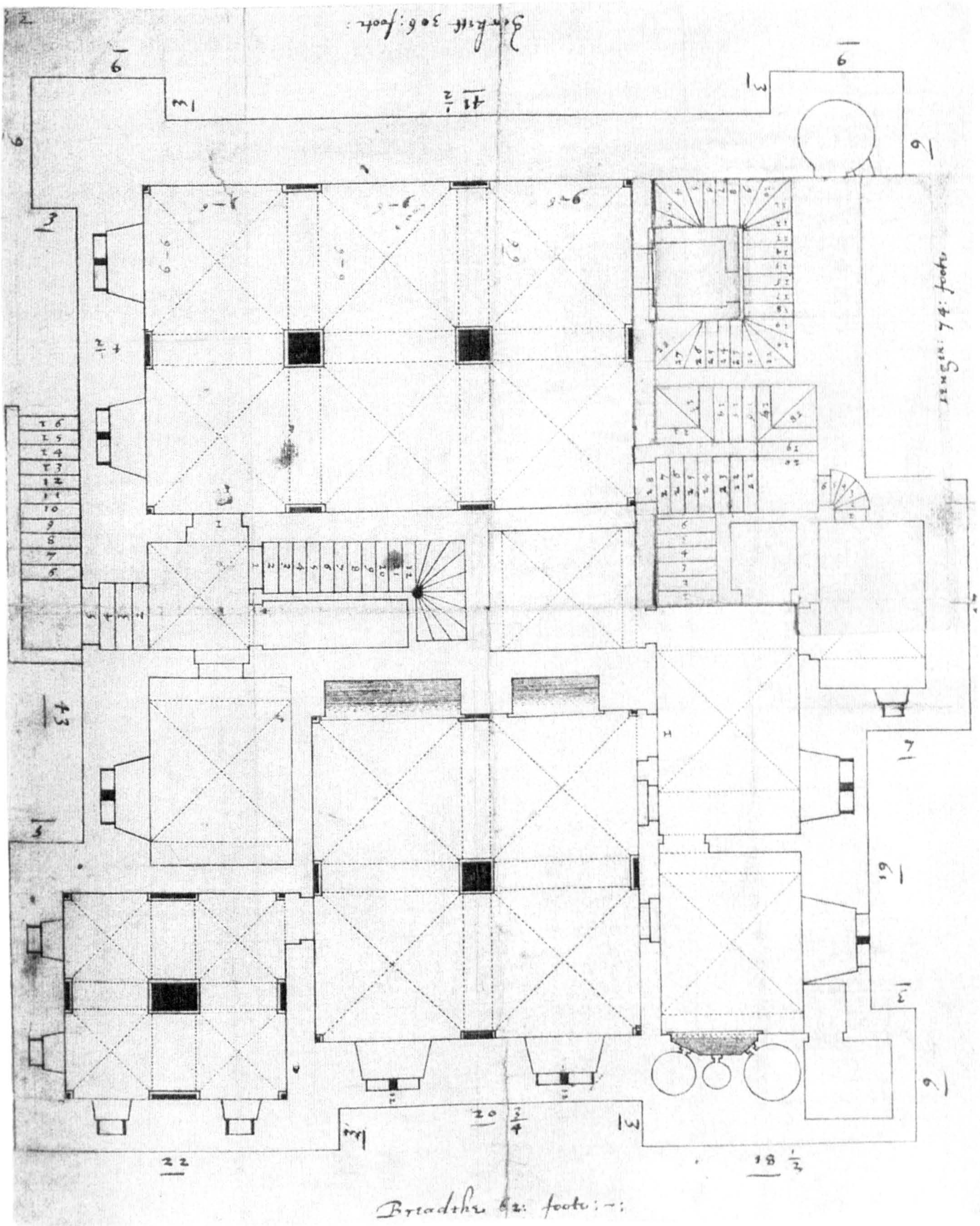
2.14 The Riding House, Bolsover Castle, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



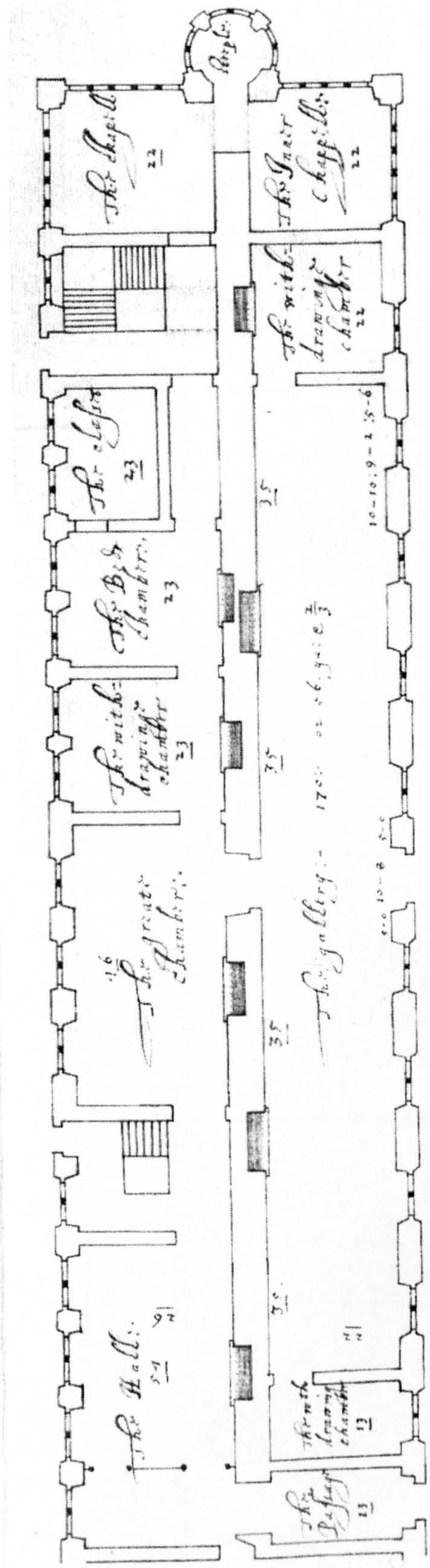
2.15 The restored Venus Fountain, Bolsover Castle, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*



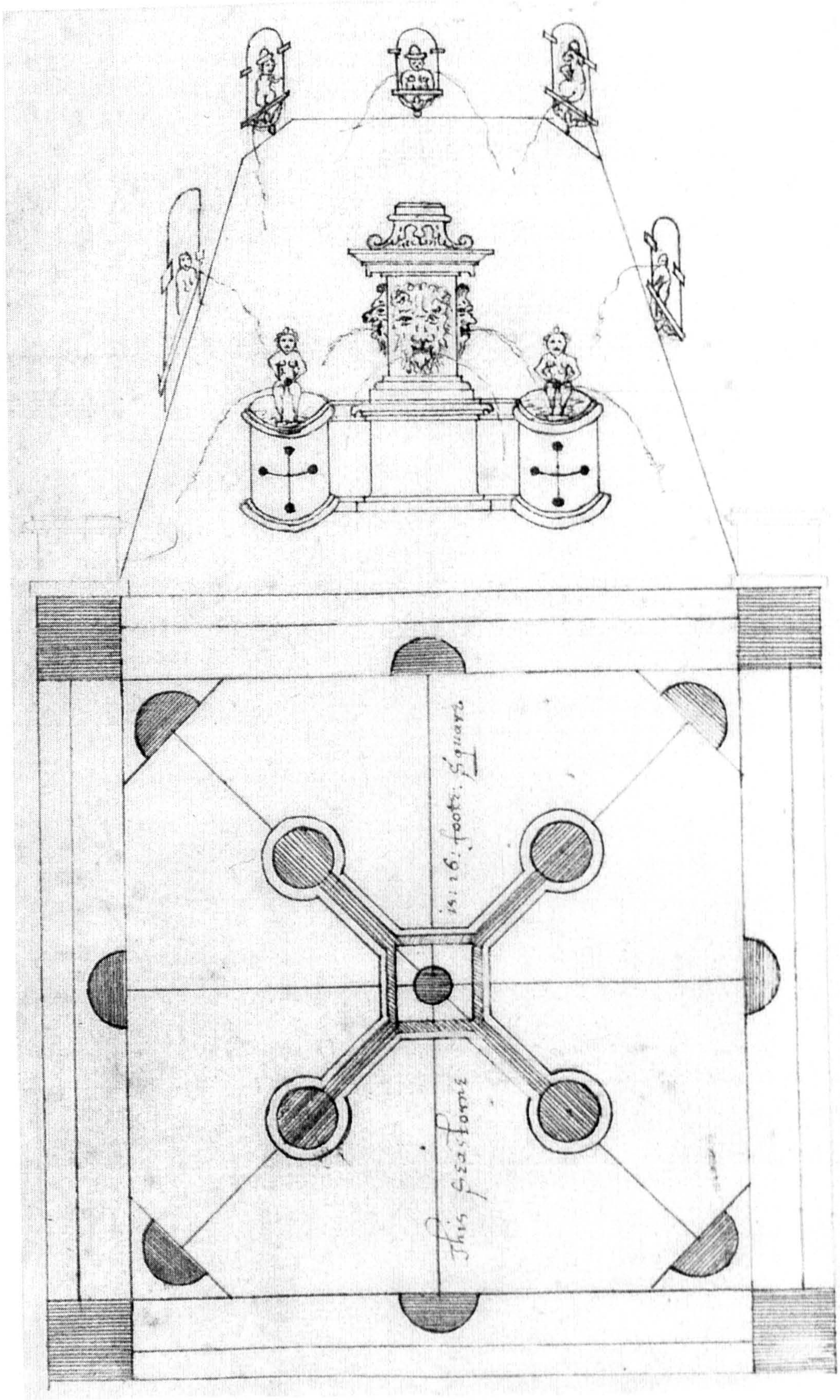
2.16 Restored figures from the fountain, a satyr and one of the busts of the Caesars, Bolsover Castle, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.



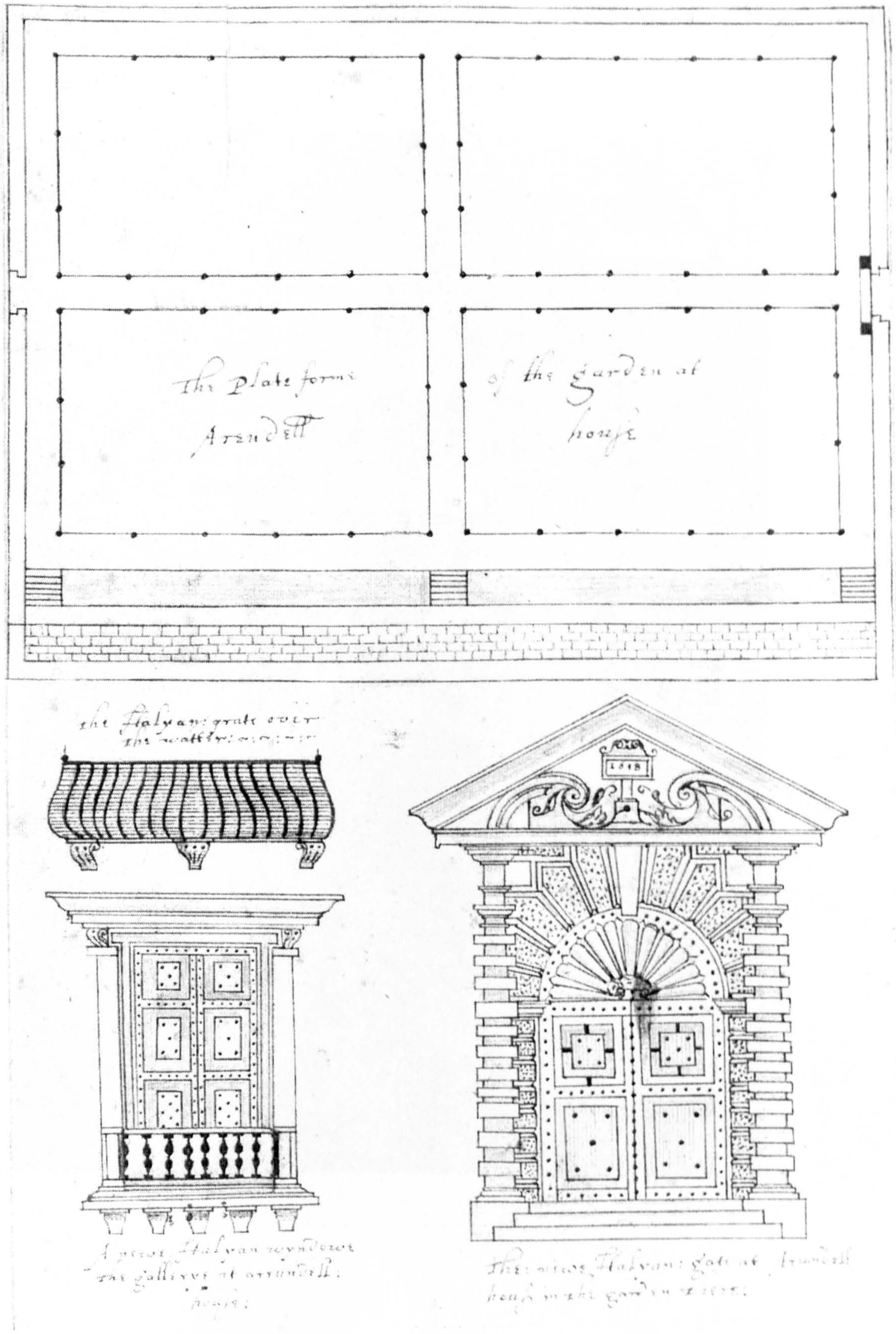
2.17 Robert/John Smithson's design for the basement of the Little Castle, Bolsover, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (1).



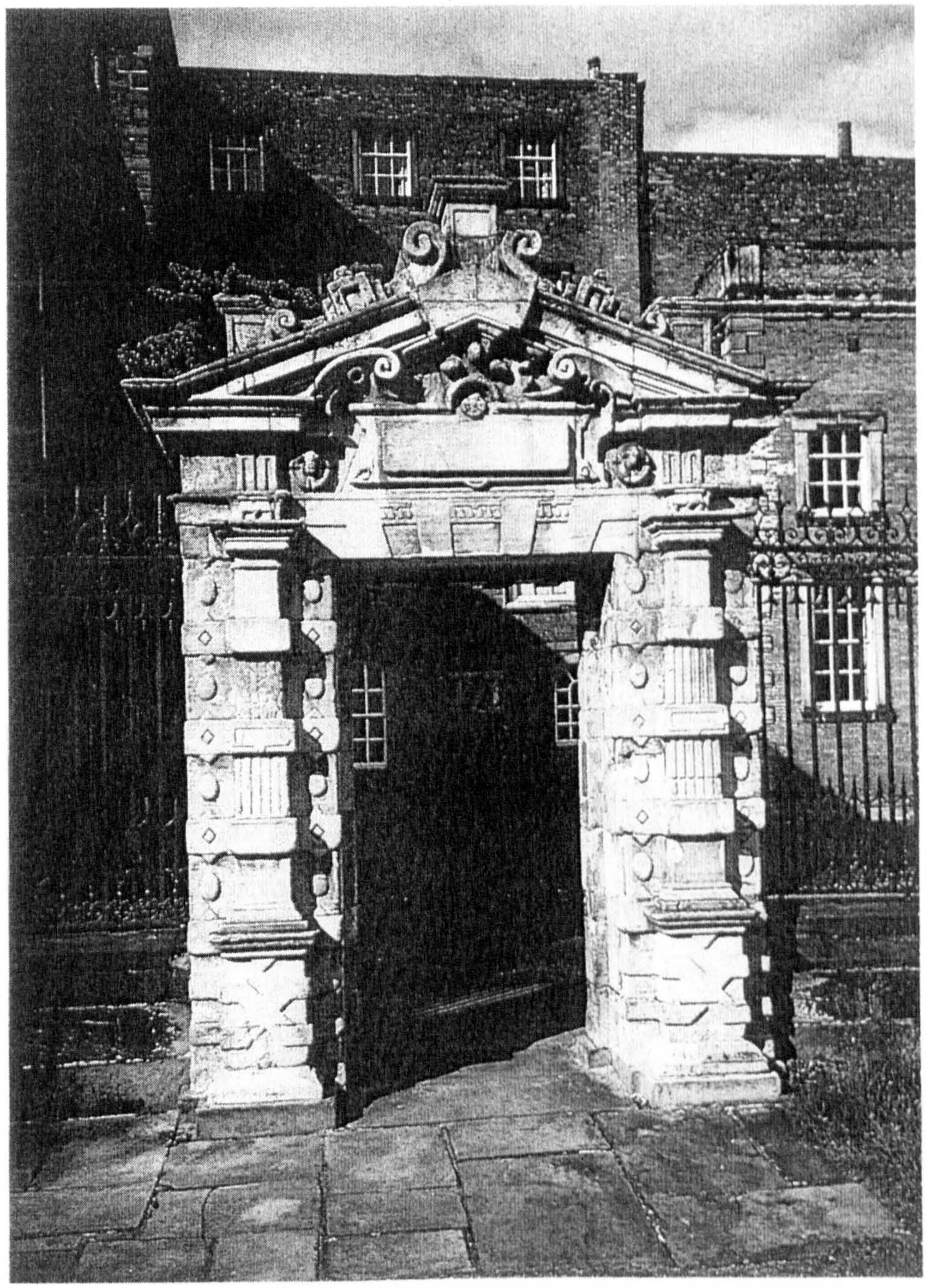
2.18 John Smithson's design for the Terrace Range, Bolsover Castle, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (5).



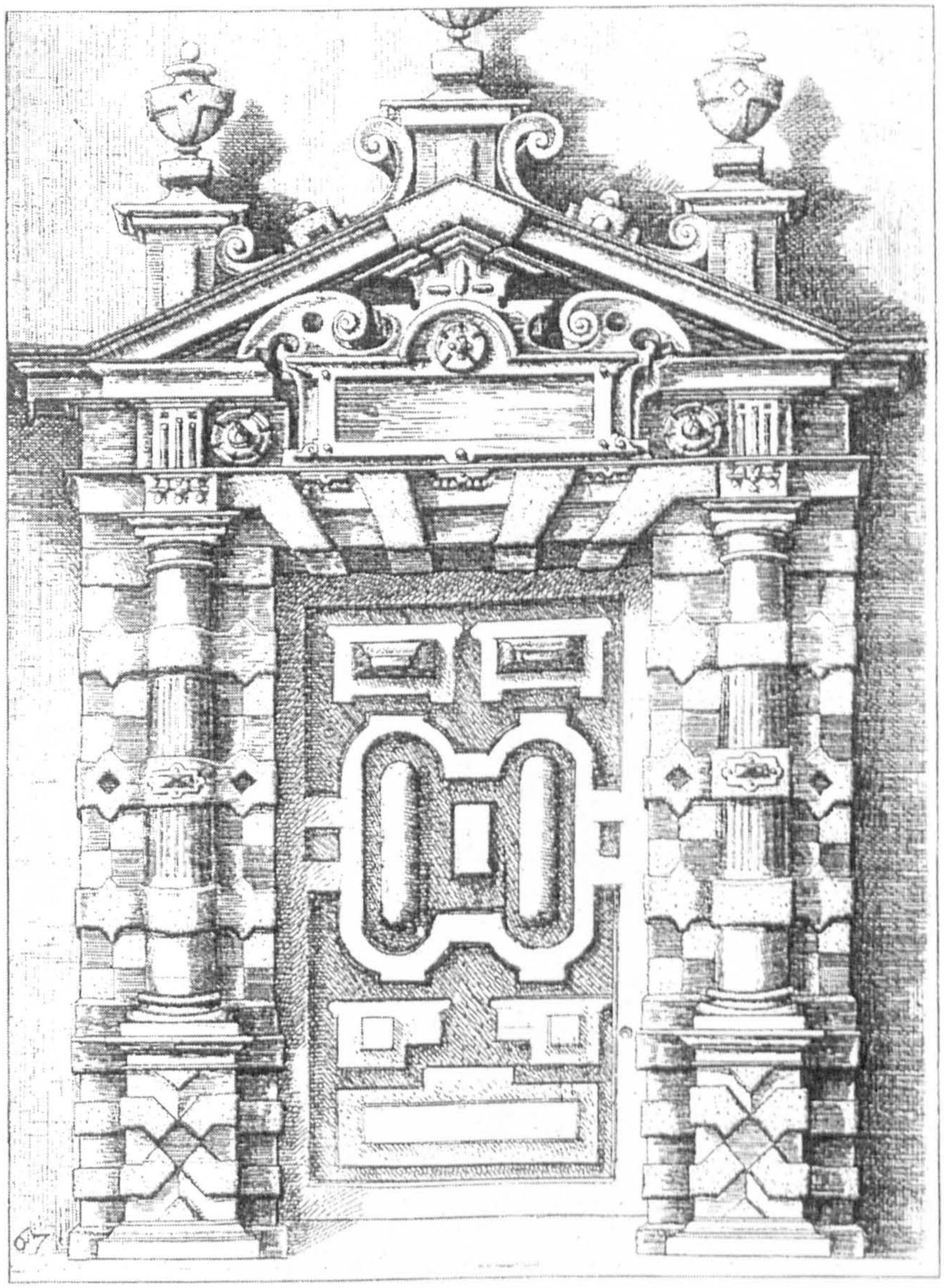
2.19 John Smithson's design for the Fountain, Bolsover Castle, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (11).



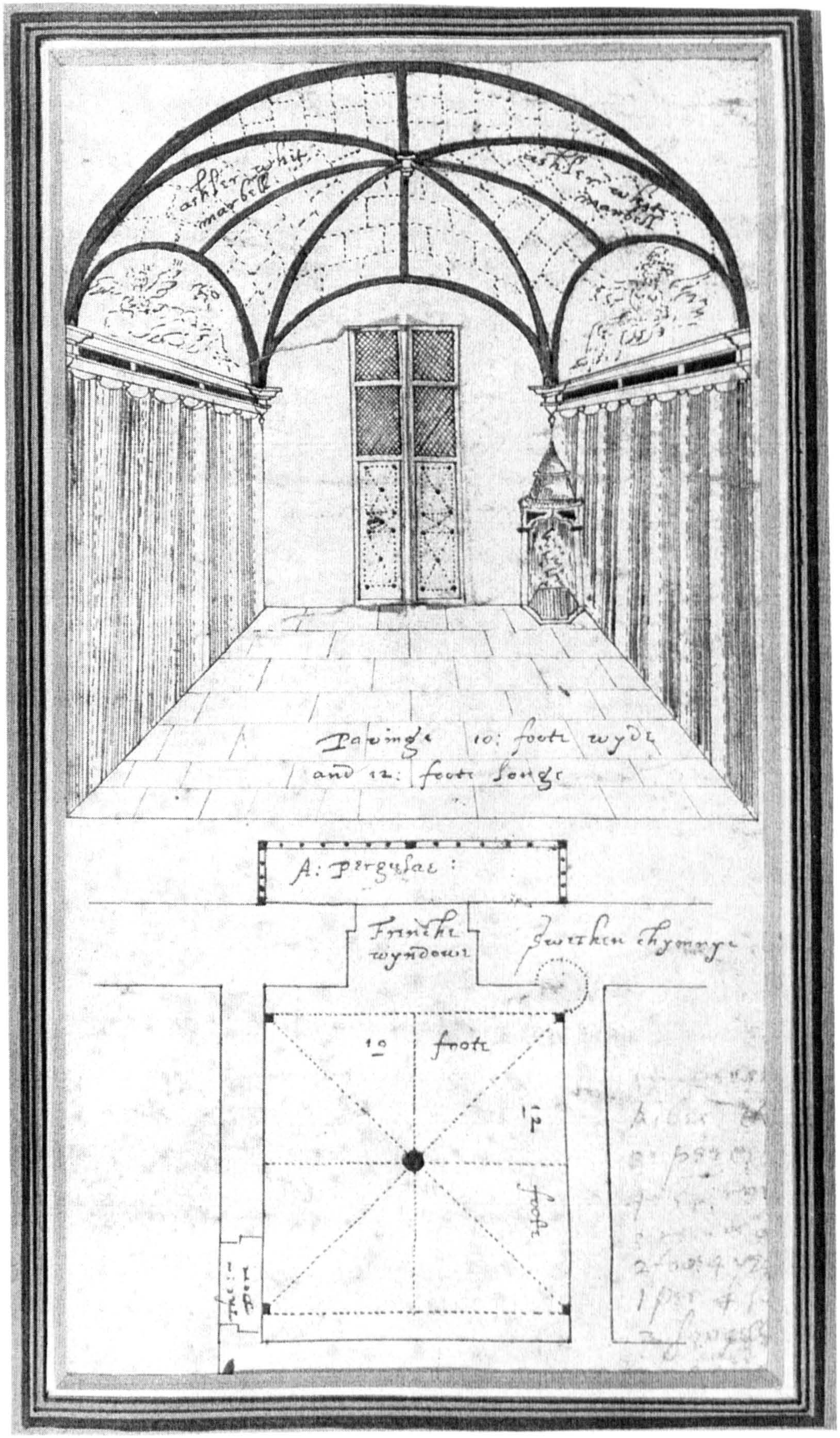
2.20 John Smithson's drawings from Arundel House, the garden, an 'Italyan' window and an 'Italyan' gate, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/13.



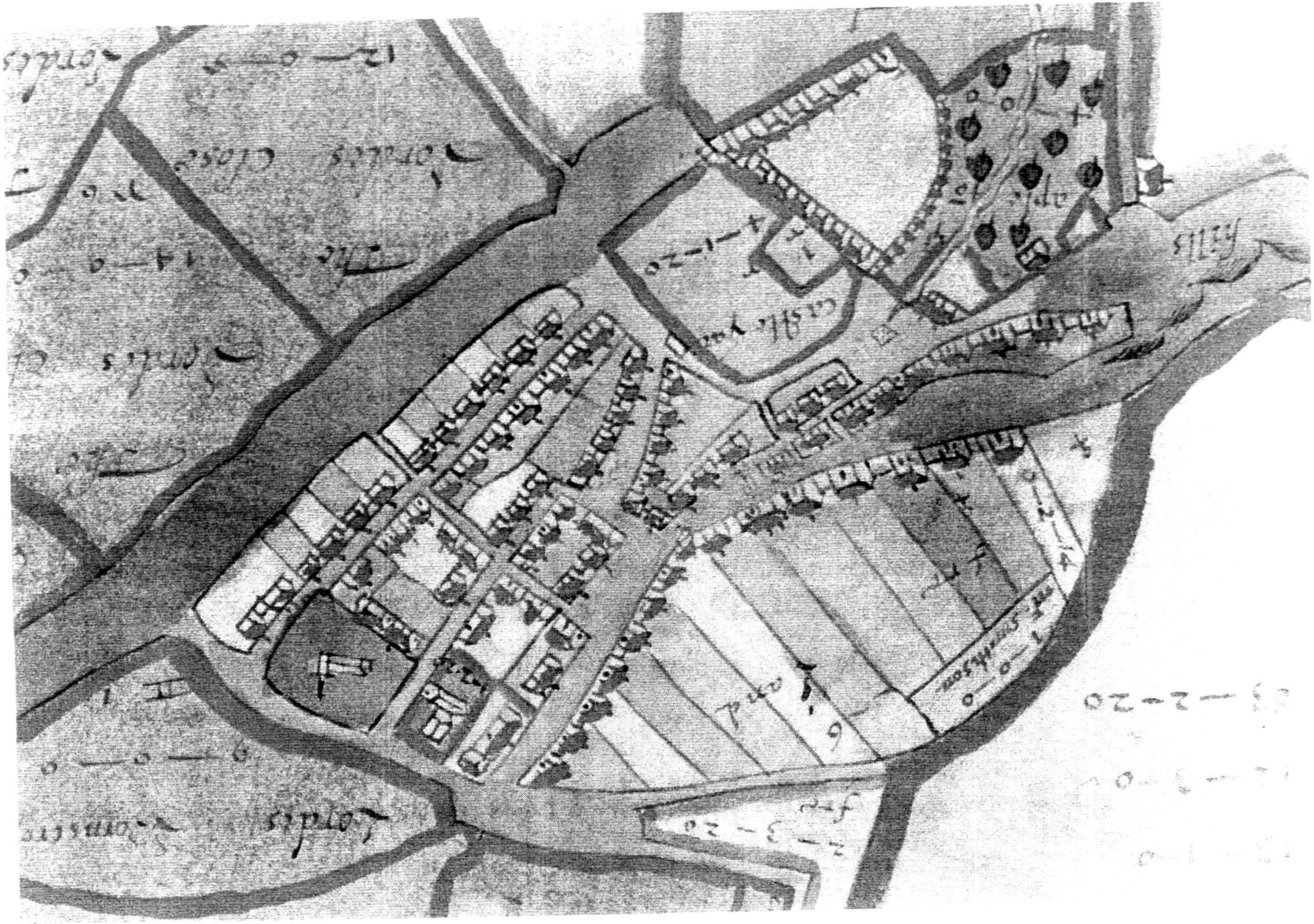
2.21 Gate at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, c.1630, reproduced from Wells-Cole, Anthony, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, New Haven and London, 1997, p.29.



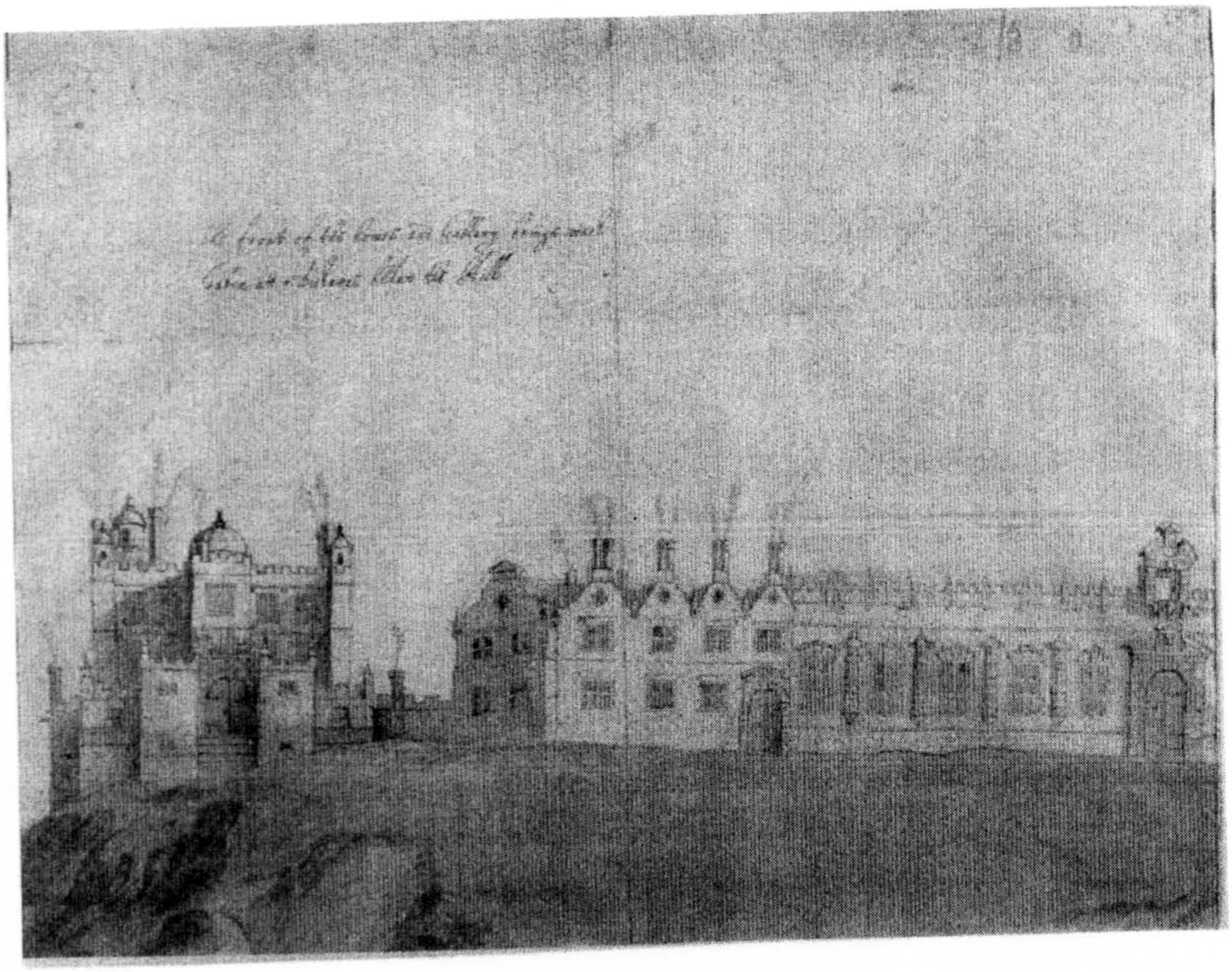
2.22 Dietterlin, Wendel, *Architectura*, Nuremberg, 1598, Plate 67, reproduced from Wells-Cole, Anthony, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, New Haven and London, 1997, p.29.



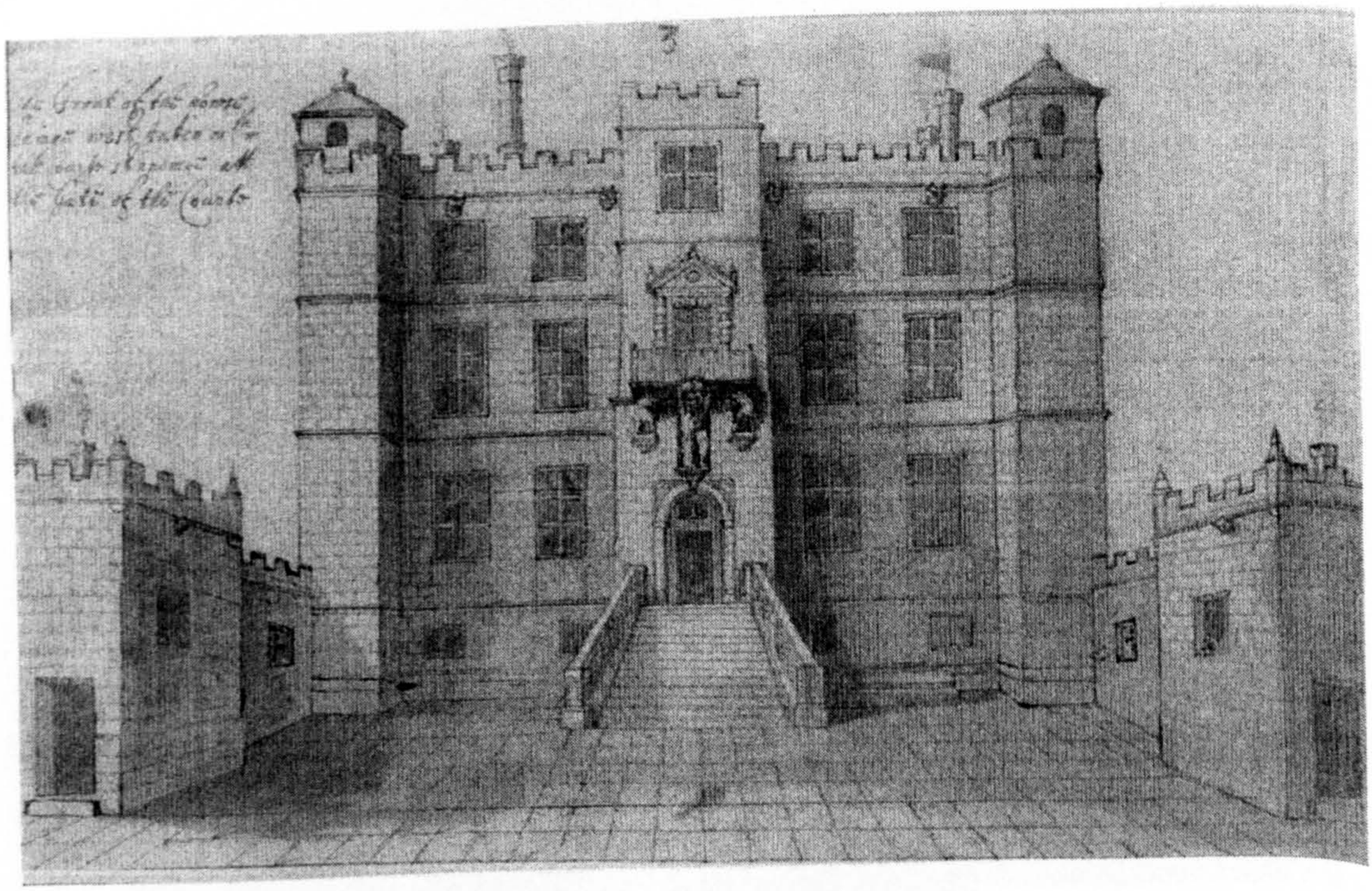
2.23 John Smithson's design for a marble room, Bolsover Castle, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (3).



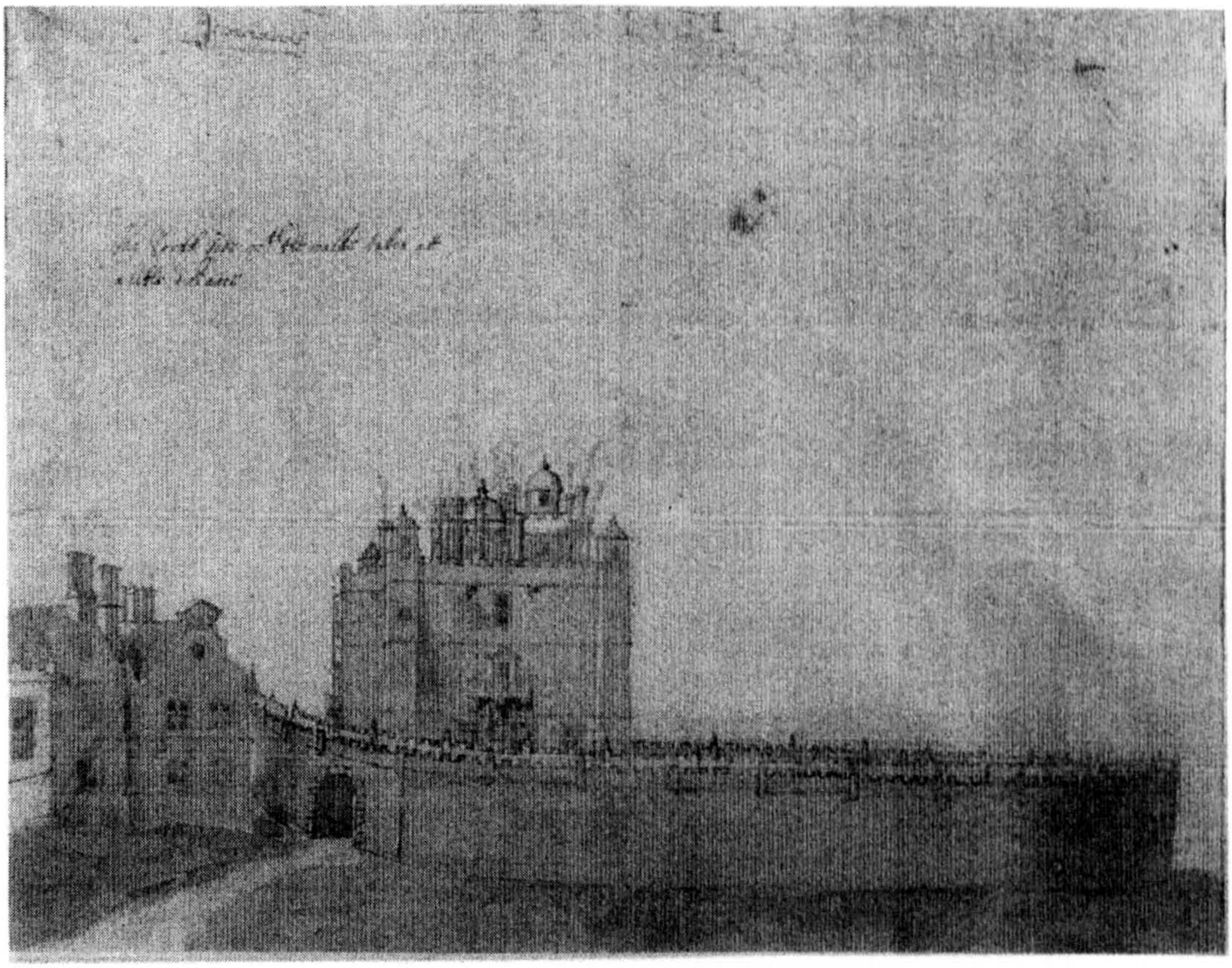
124 William Senior's survey of Belsize Park, dated 1686 and 1687. *Private collection*. Image provided by *English Heritage Photo Library*.



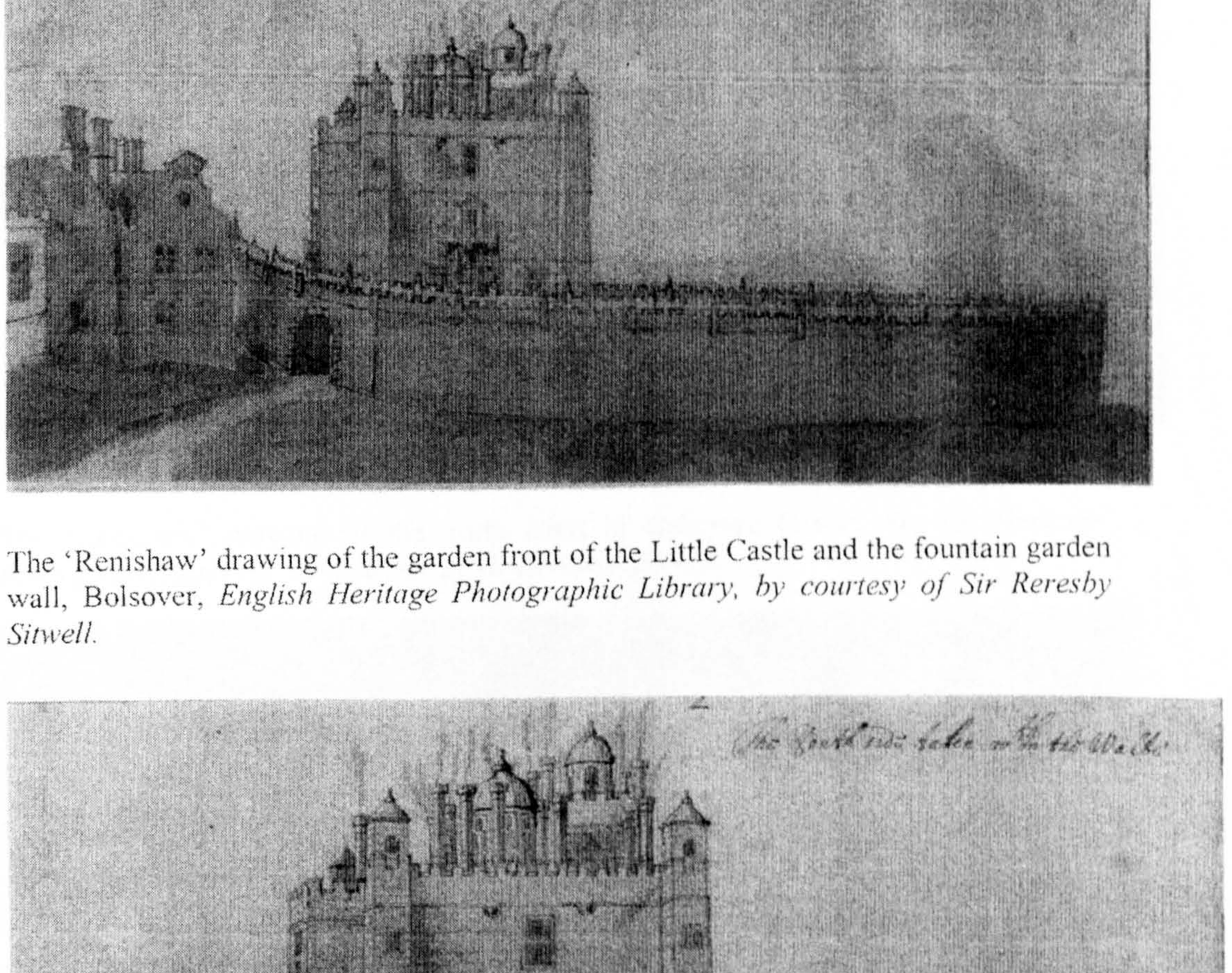
2.25 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the west front, Bolsover Castle, *English Heritage Photographic Library. by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*



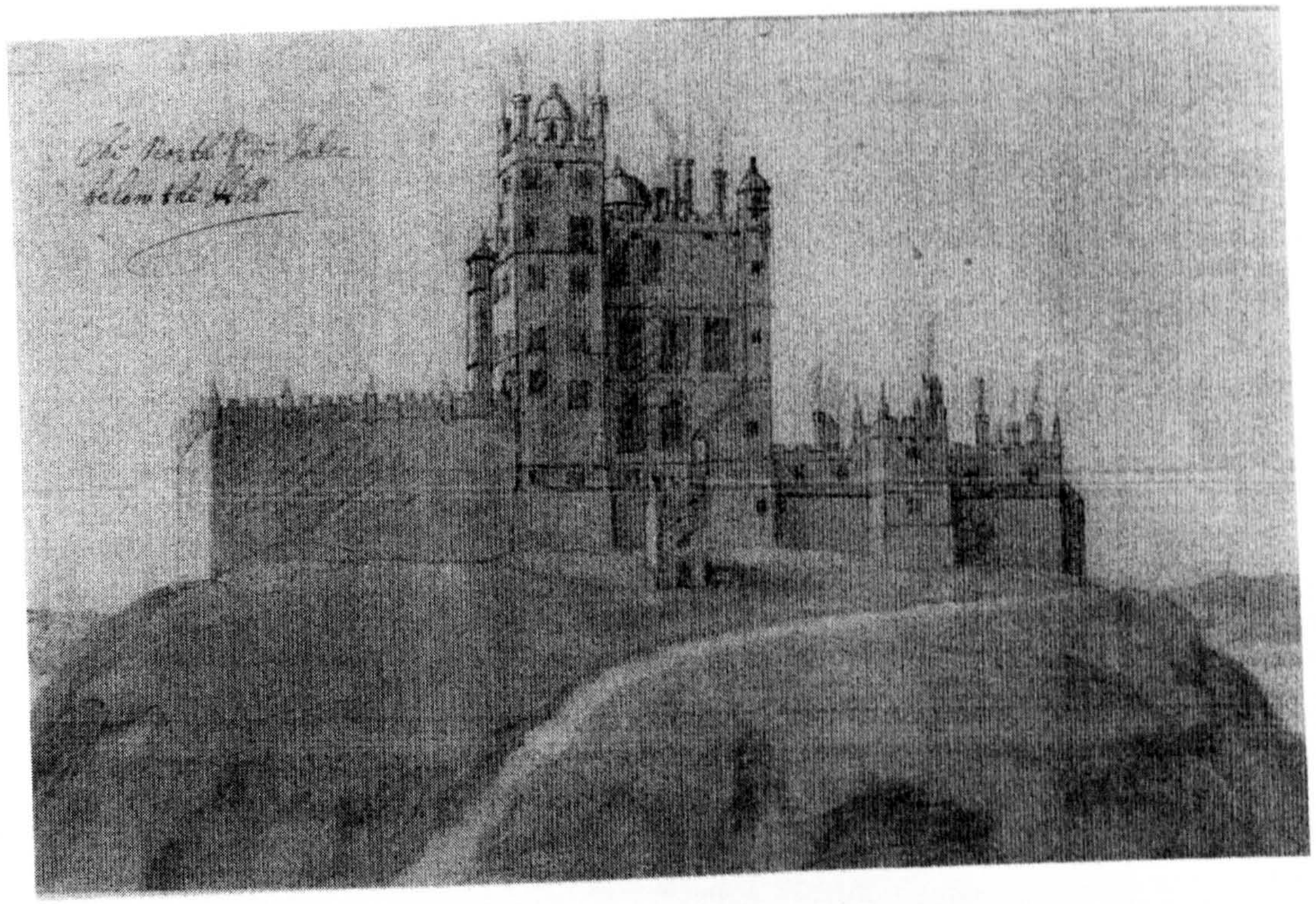
2.26 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the entrance front of the Little Castle, Bolsover, *English Heritage Photographic Library, by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*



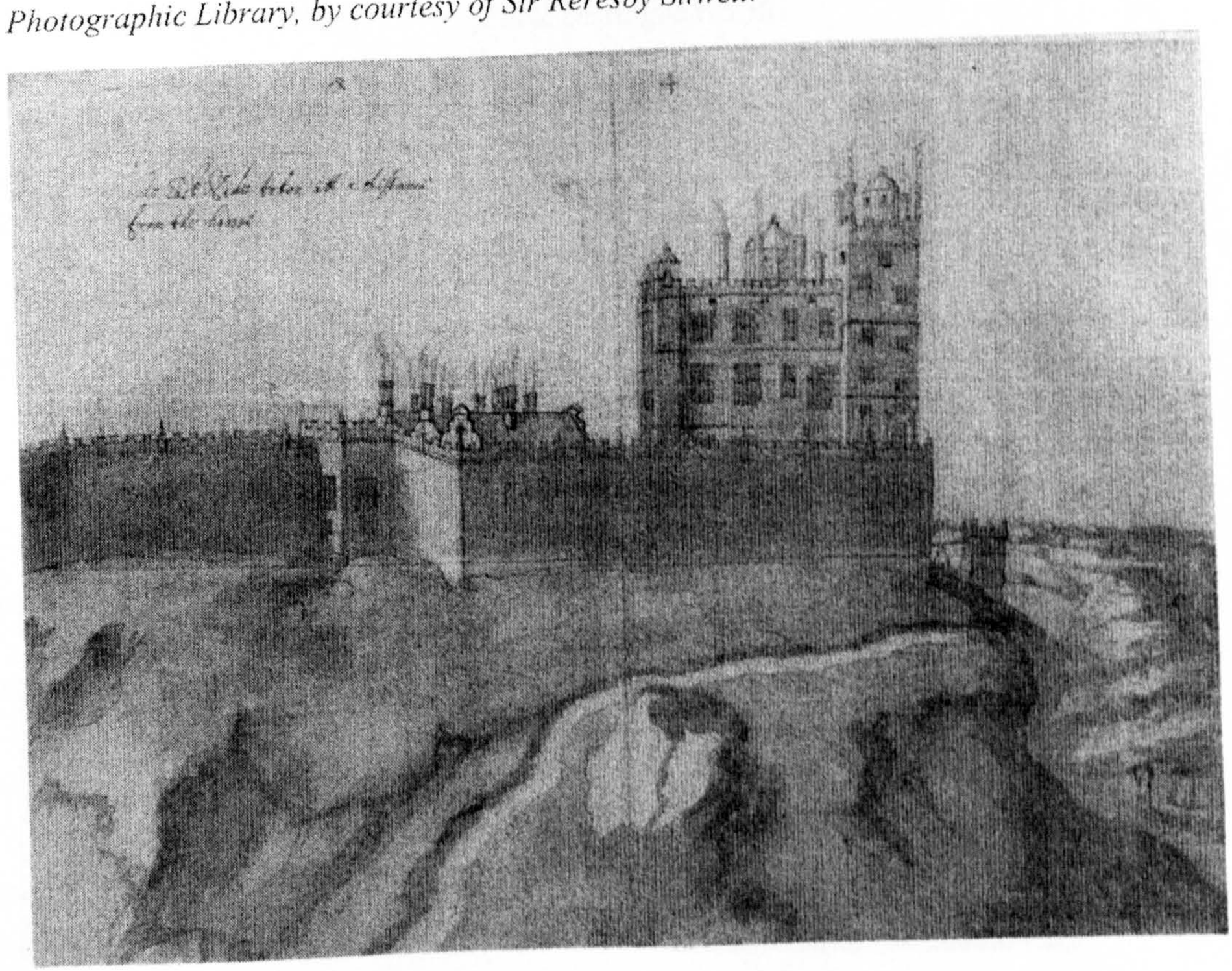
2.27 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the garden front of the Little Castle and the fountain garden wall, Bolsover, *English Heritage Photographic Library, by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*



2.28 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the garden front of the Little Castle and the fountain, Bolsover, *English Heritage Photographic Library, by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*

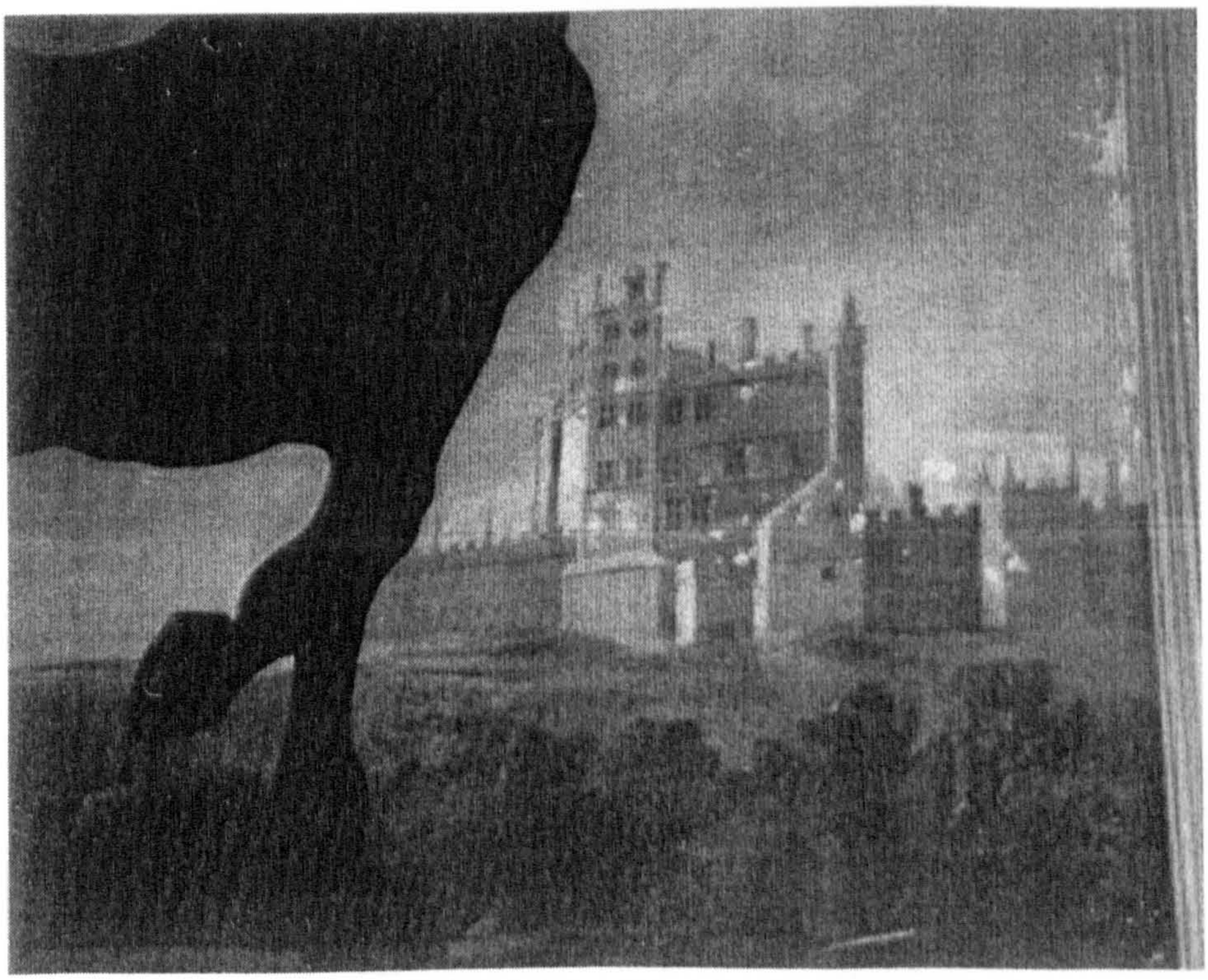


2.29 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the north front of Bolsover Castle, *English Heritage Photographic Library, by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*

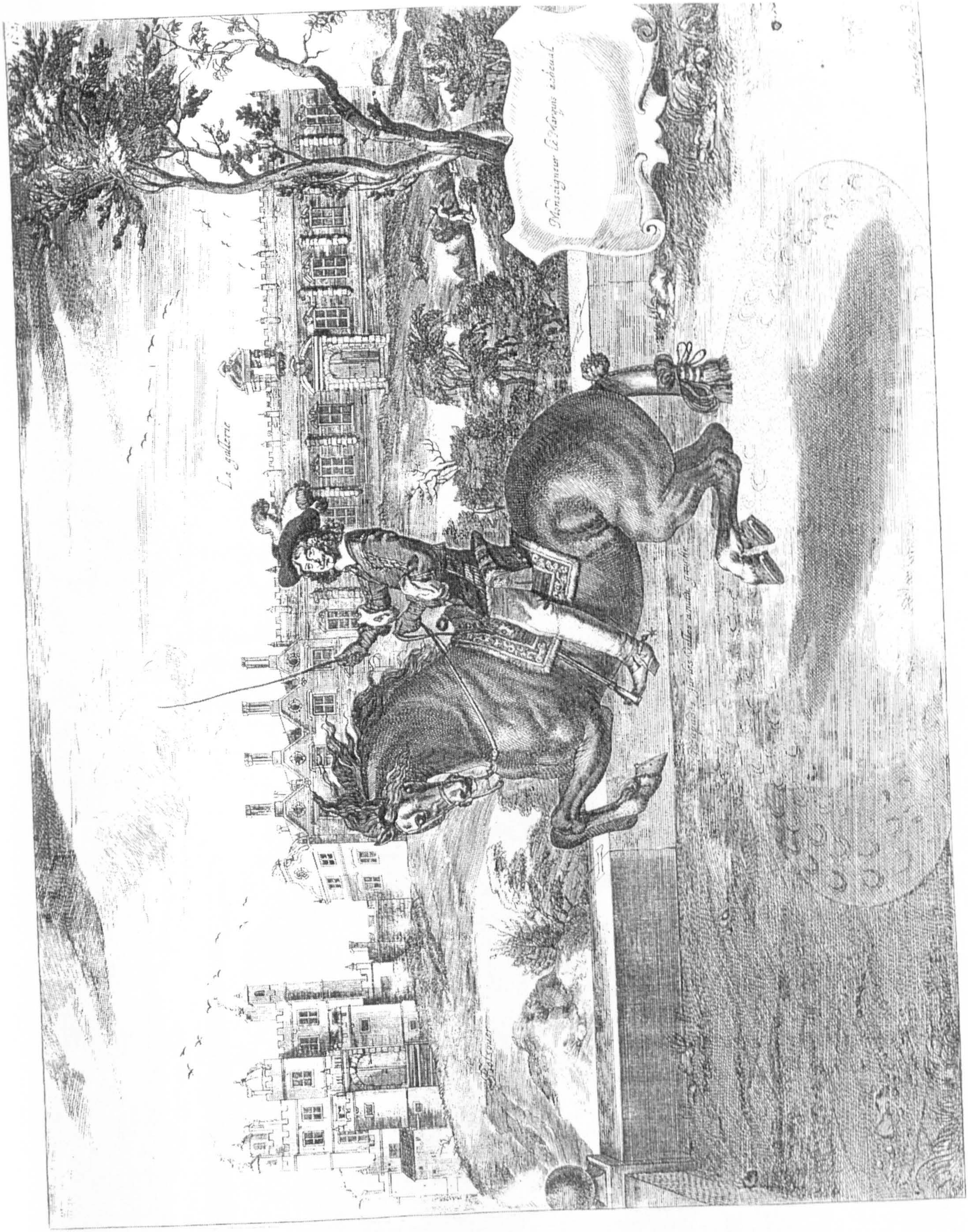


2.30 The 'Renishaw' drawing of the east front of Bolsover Castle, *English Heritage Photographic Library, by courtesy of Sir Reresby Sitwell.*

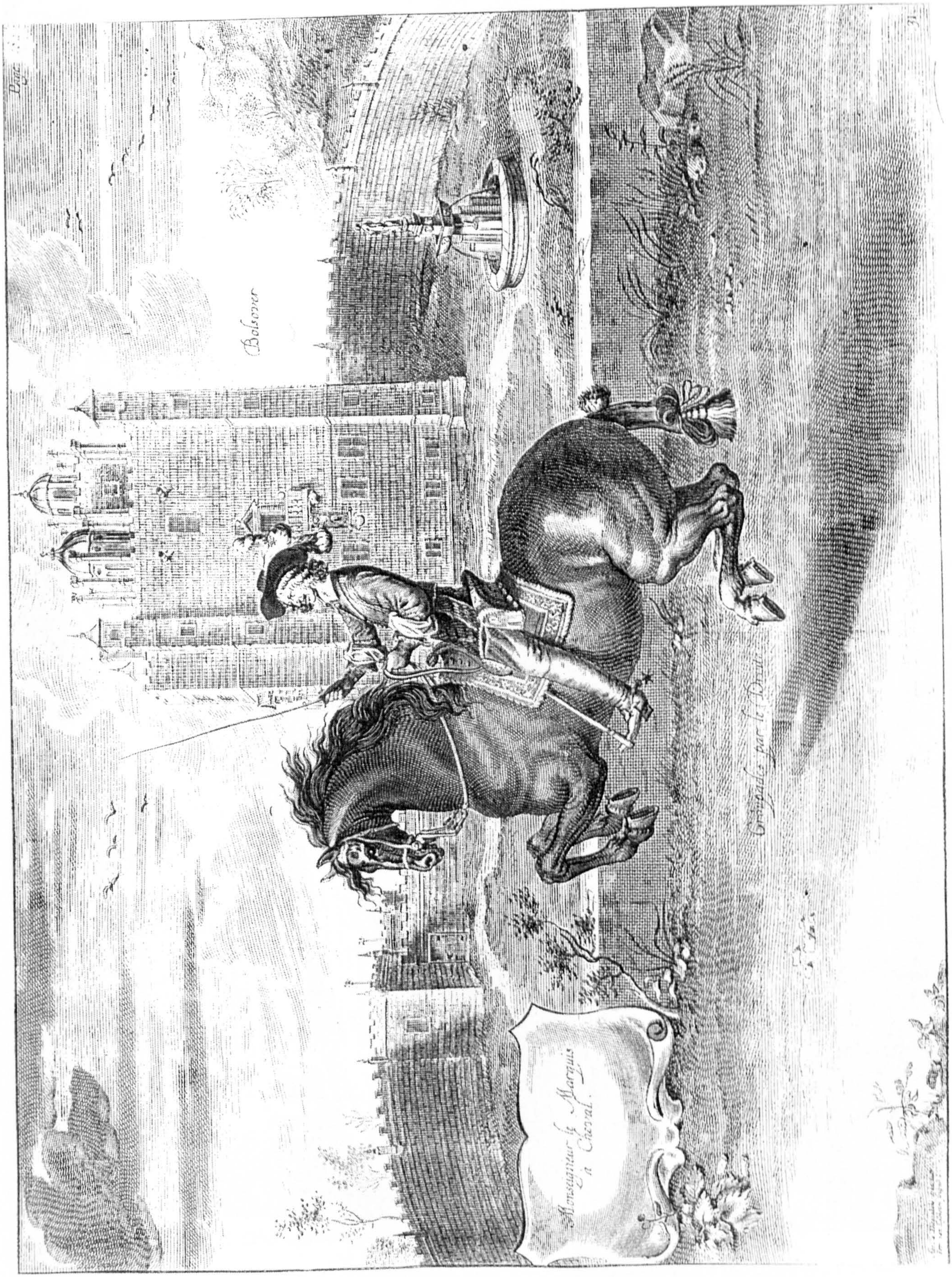
2.31 Seventeenth-century painting showing Bolsover Castle in the background, *Private Collection.* See Goulding, (1936), p.116, catalogue No.301.



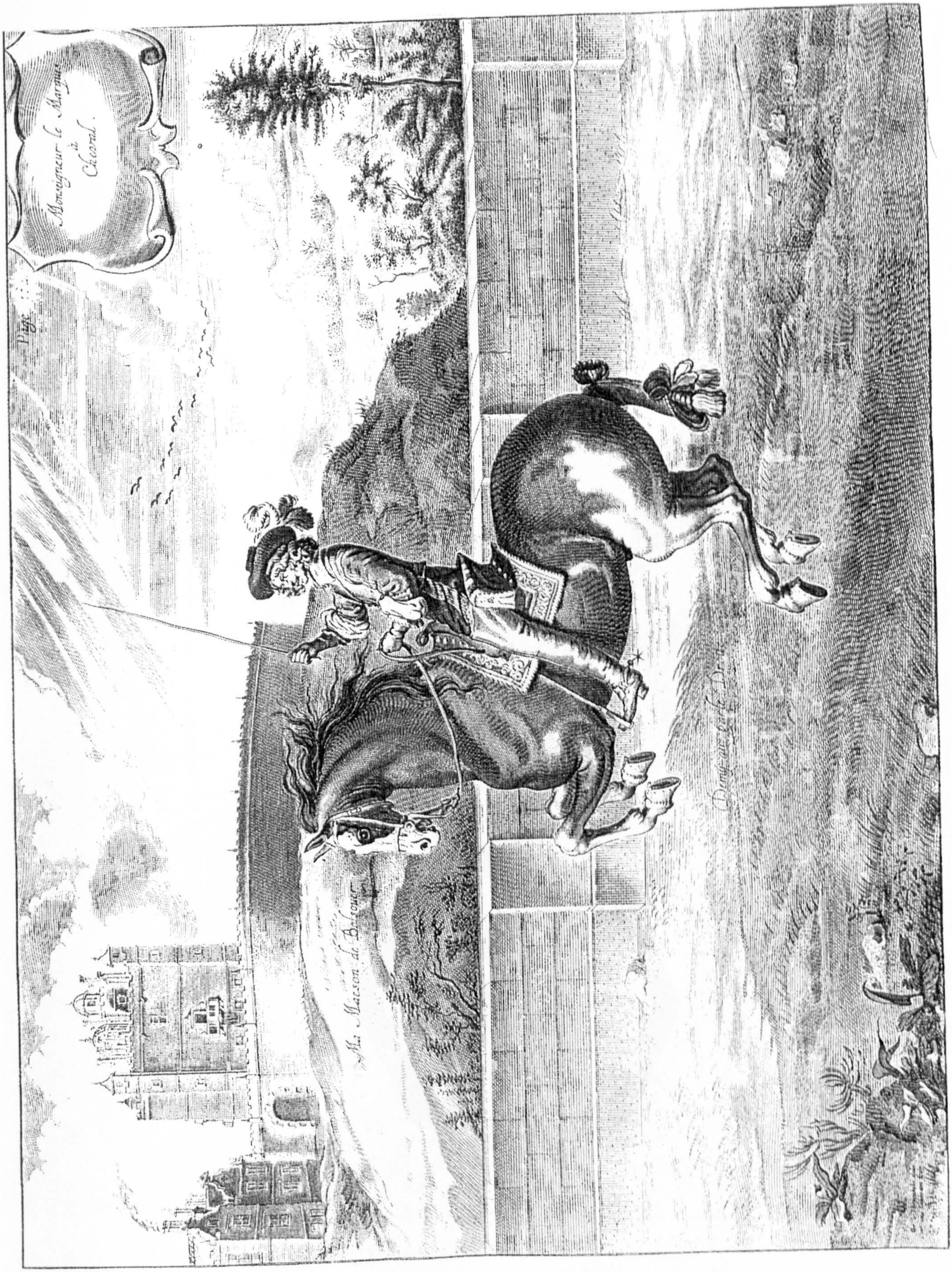
2.32 Seventeenth-century horse painting showing Bolsover Castle (detail), *Private Collection.*



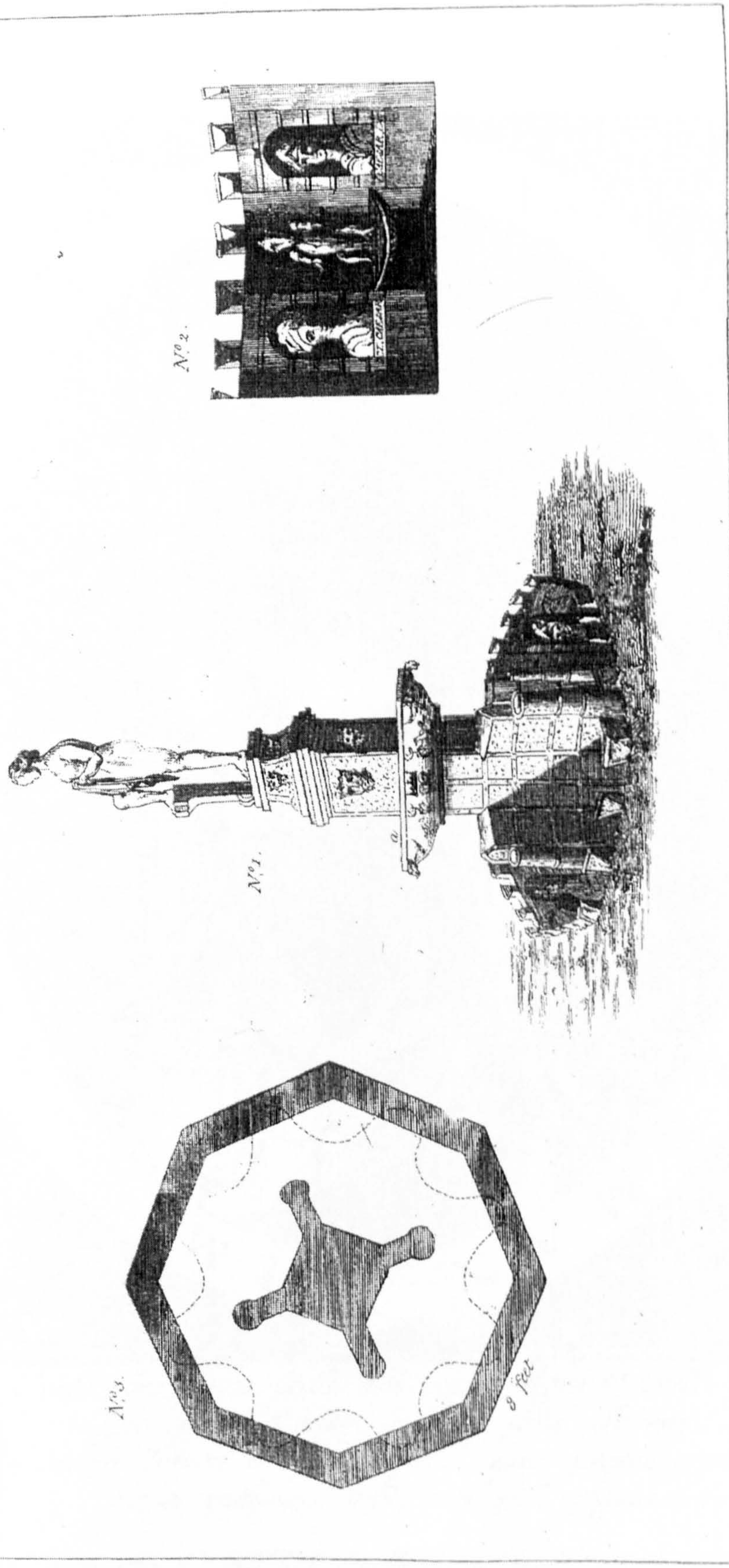
2.33 Engraving, by Thod. van Kesel after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the Terrace Range front, Bolsover Castle, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 35, following p.182.



2.34 Engraving, by Petr. van Lisebetten after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the Little Castle and fountain, Bolsover Castle, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 31, following p.182.



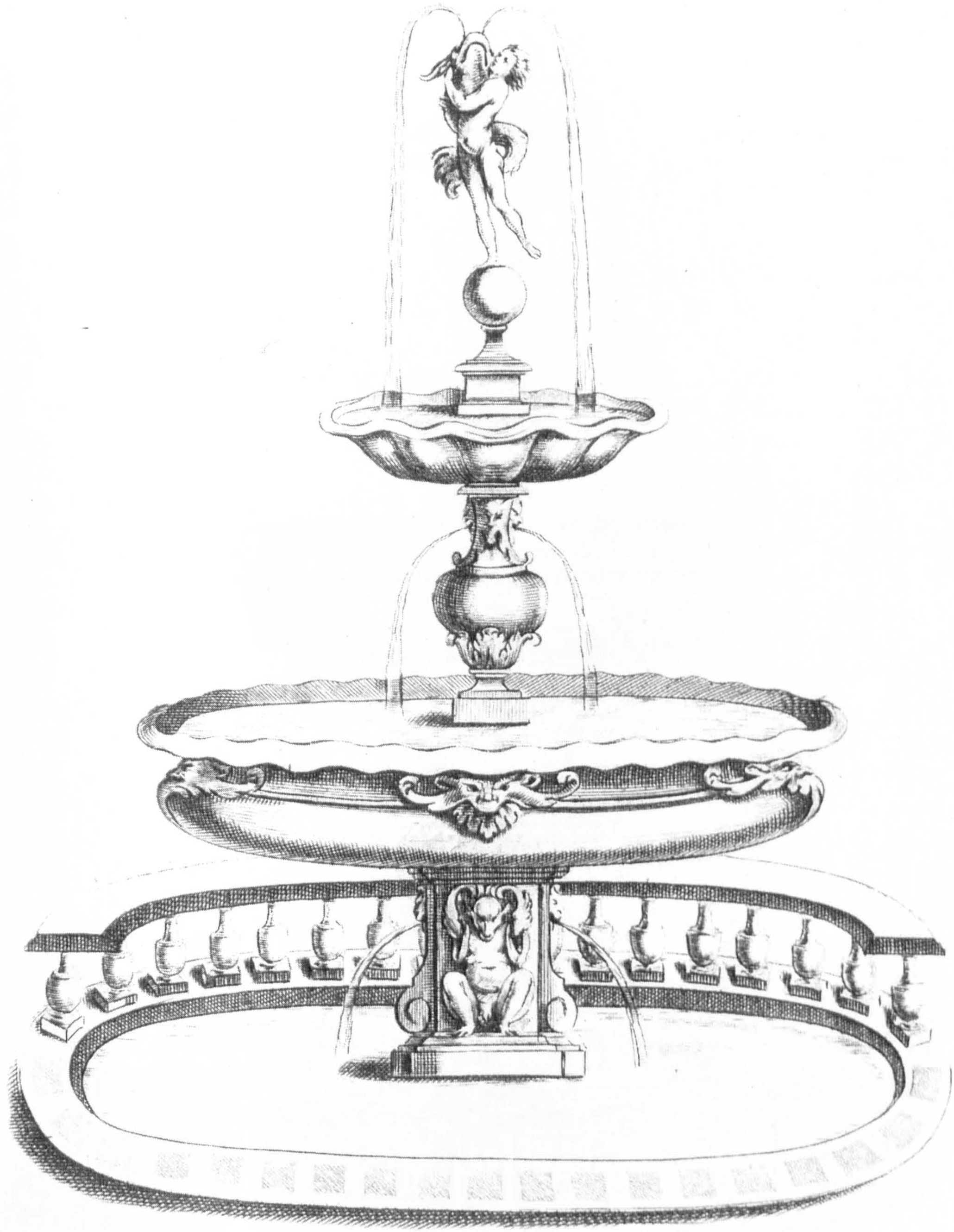
2.35 Engraving, by Petr. van Lisebetten after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the south front of the Little Castle and garden wall, Bolsover Castle, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 31, following p.182.



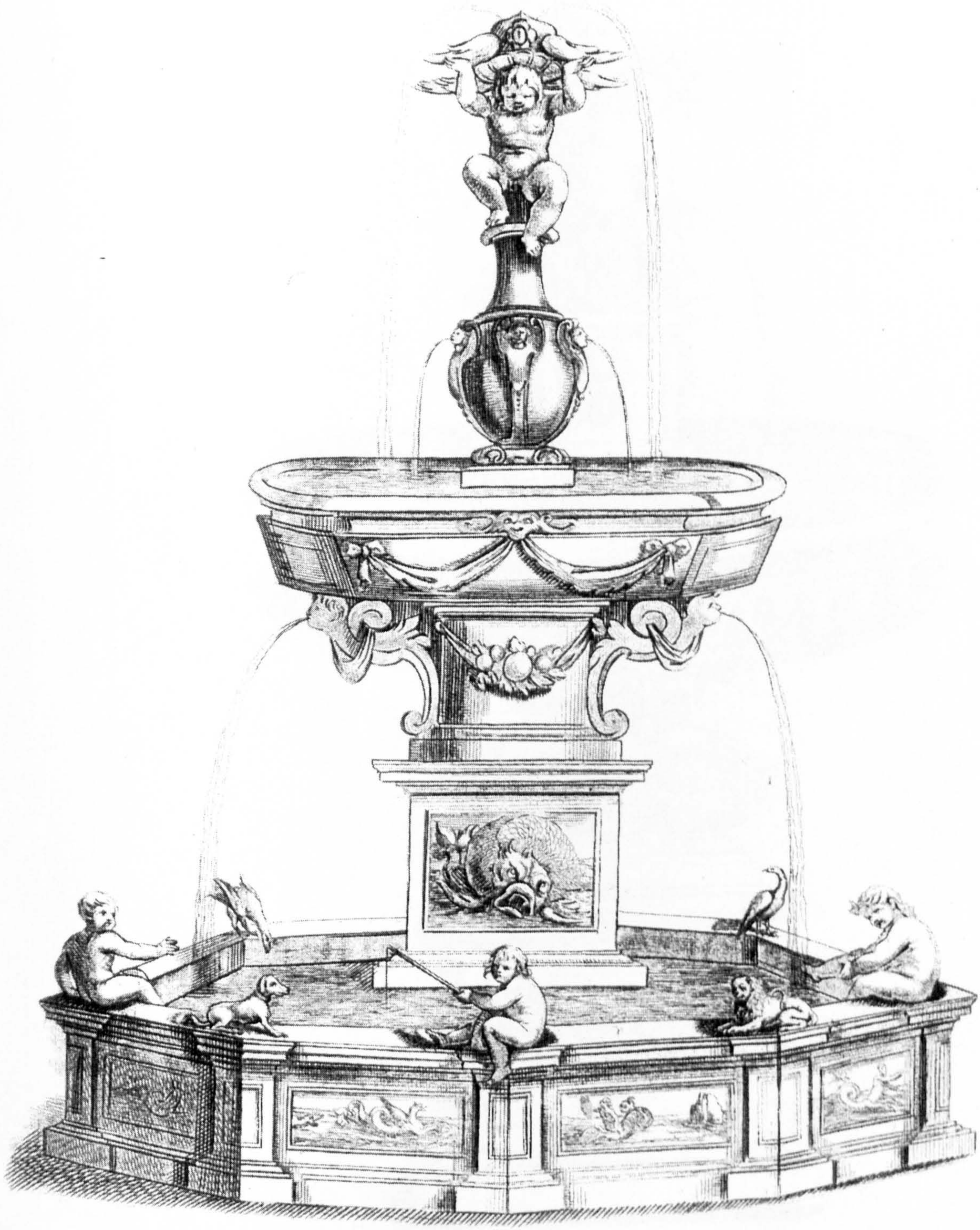
2.36 Engraving after Hayman Rooke of the Venus Fountain, Bolsover Castle, plate in Pegge, S., *Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles*, Vol.32 of *Bibliotheca Topographica Brittannica*, London, 1785. *By permission of the British Library*, shelfmark 10350.f.19.

2.37 Plate from Sadeler, Justus, *Caesars XII: Caeserum qui prima Rom. imperarunt Effigies; cum Ausonii in eosdem tetratichis*, Venice, 1608, *Yale University Library*.

2.38 Plate from Sadeler, Justus. *Caesars XII: Caeserum qui prima Rom. imperarunt Effigies; cum Ausonii in eosdem tetratichis*. Venice, 1608, *Yale University Library*.

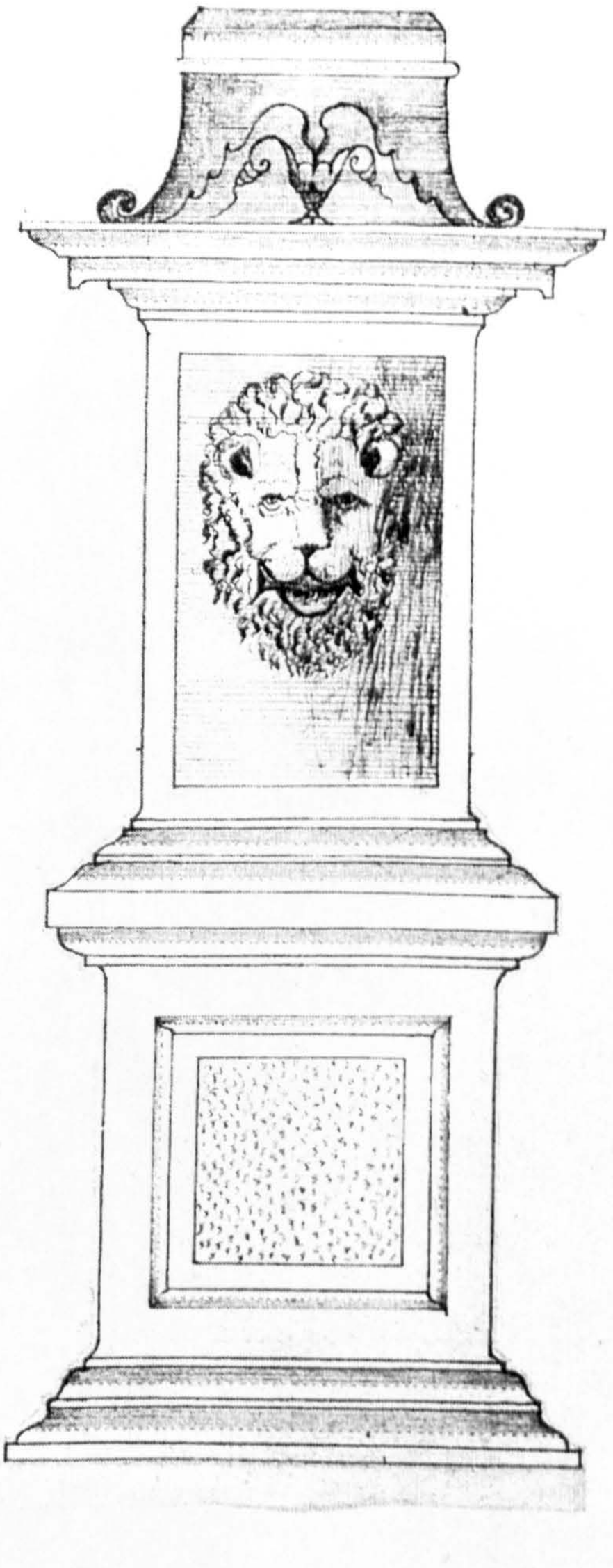


2.39 Plate from Fanelli, Francesco, *Fontaines et Iet d'eau*, Paris, 1660, p.206, *The British Museum*.



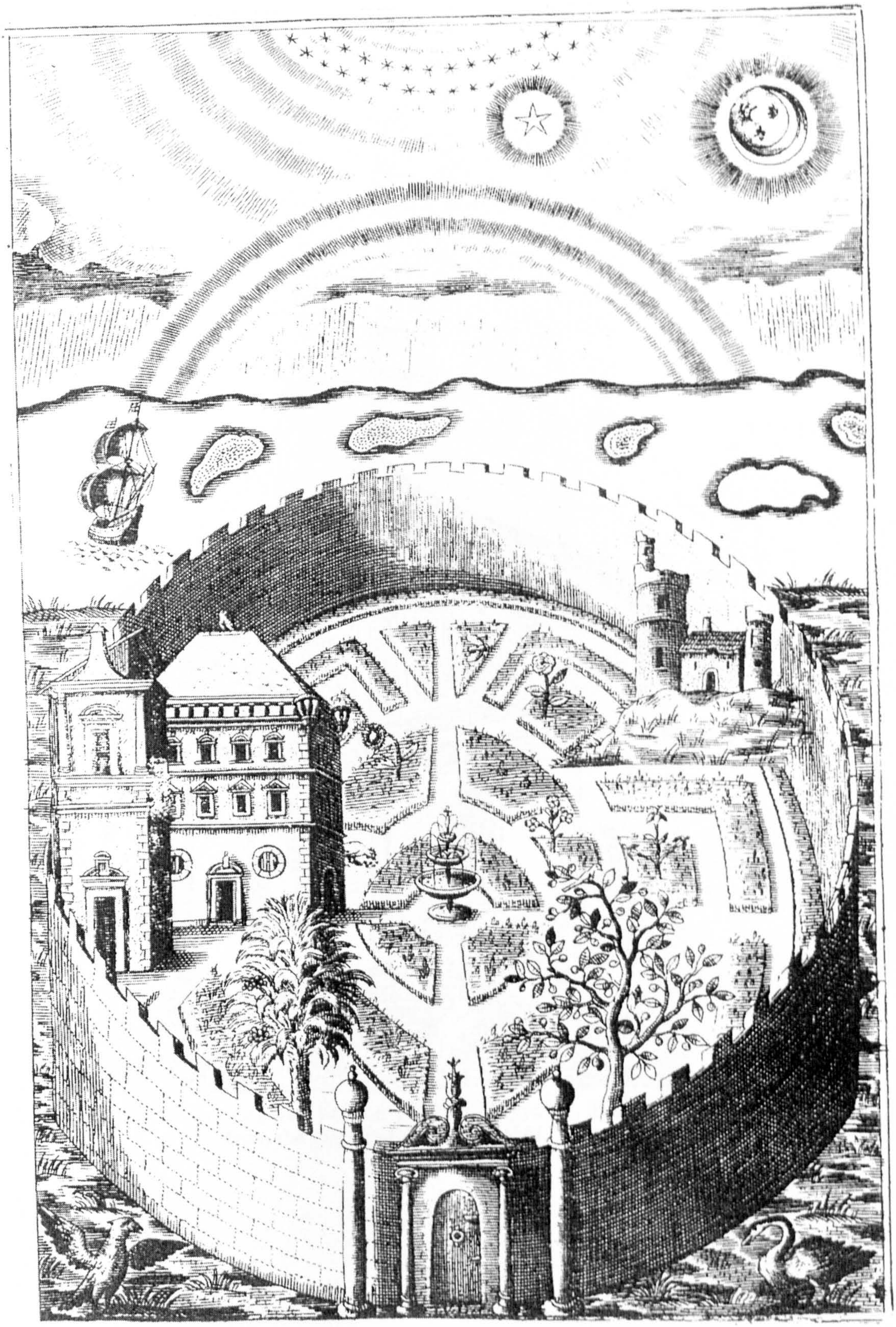
2.40 Plate from Fanelli, Francesco, *Fontaines et Iet d'eau*, Paris, 1660, p.203, *The British Museum.*

2.41 Plate from Fanelli, Francesco, *Fontaines et Iet d'eau*, Paris, 1660, p.201, *The British Museum.*

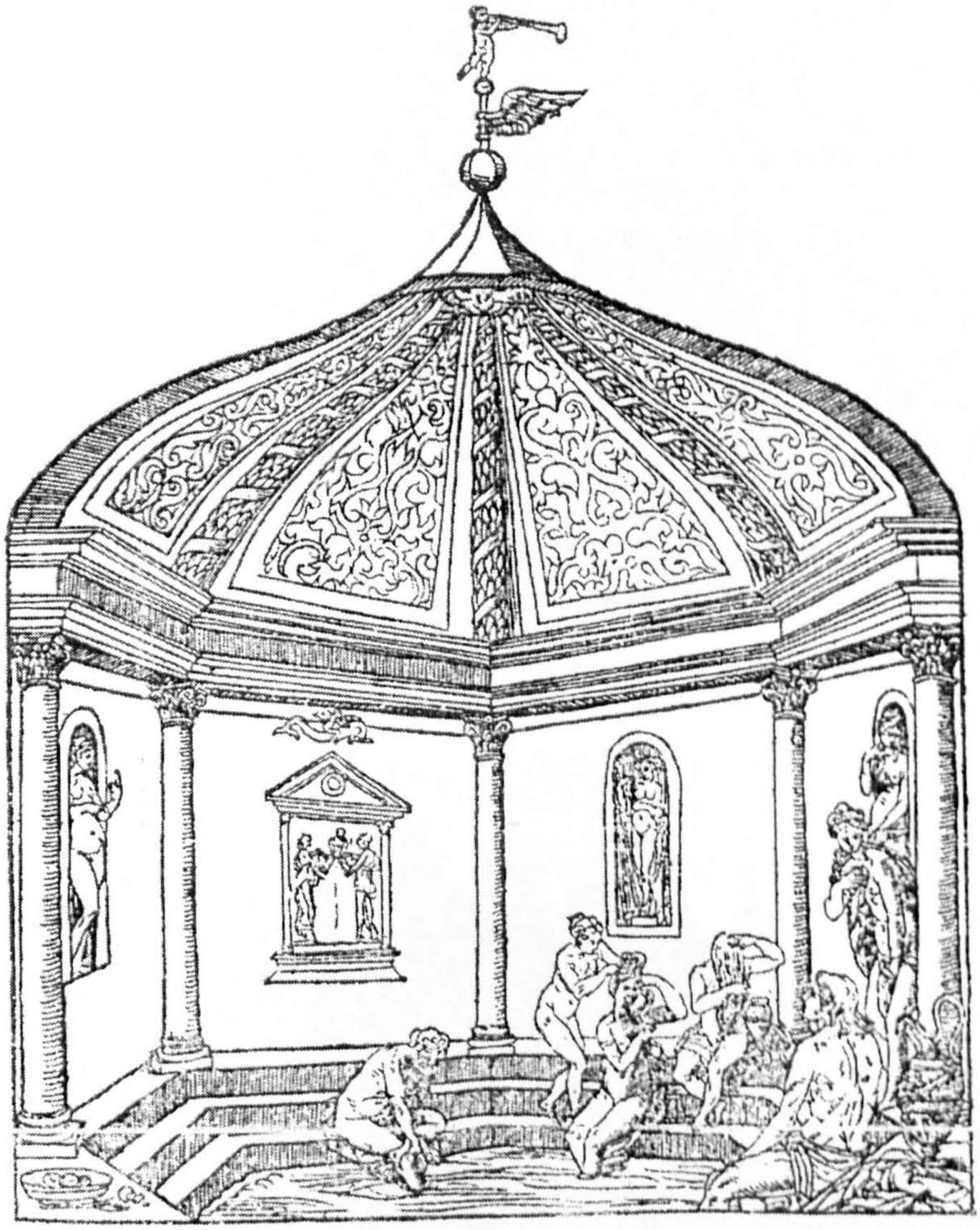


2.42 John Smithson's design for a lion mask for the fountain at Bolsover, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (12).

2.43 Fragment of one of the beasts, probably a nineteenth-century copy of the seventeenth-century original, from the fountain, Bolsover Castle, *English Heritage*.

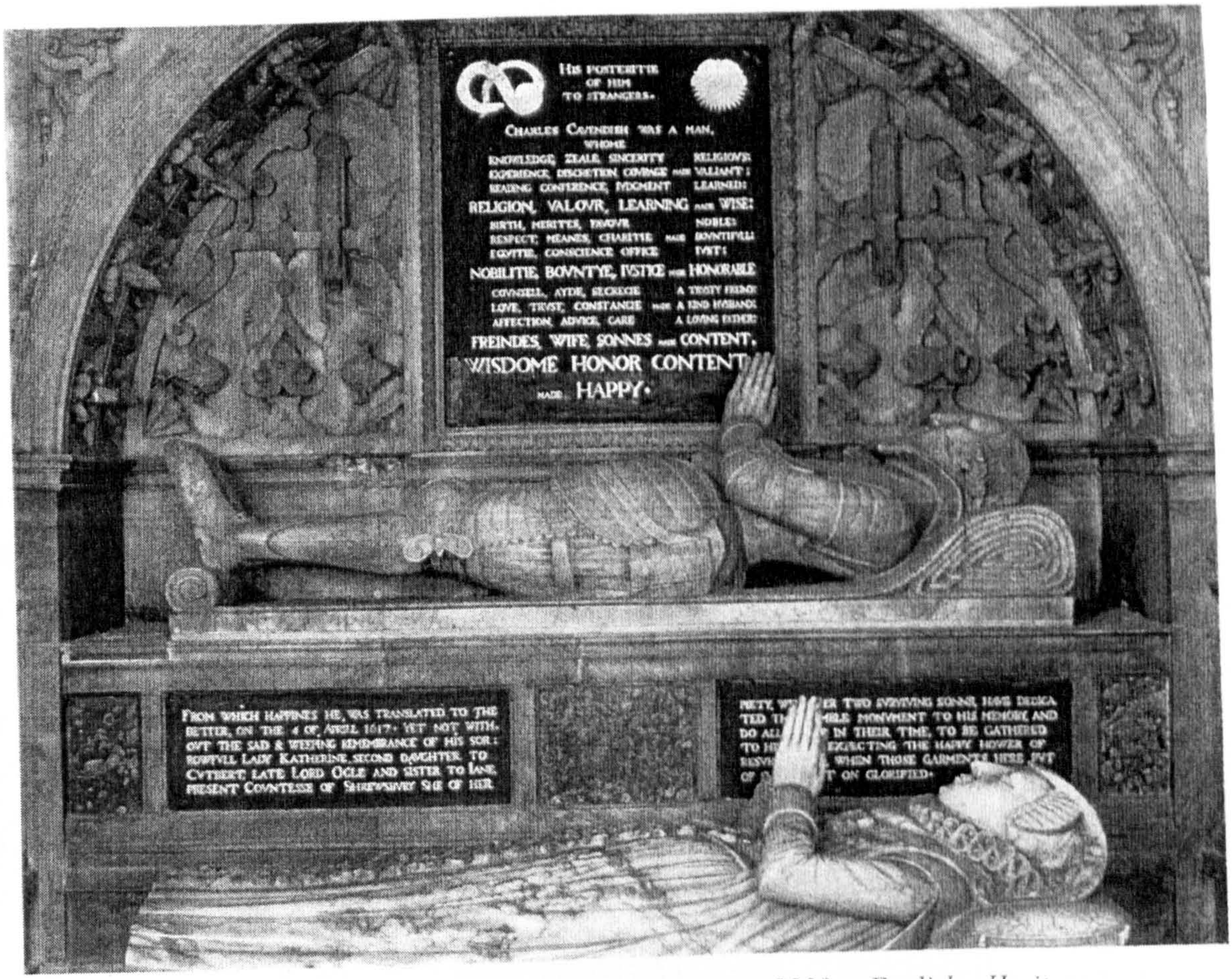


2.44 Hawkins, Henry, *Partheneia Sacra. Or the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes; Symbolically set forth and enriched with Pious Devises and Emblemes for the entertainement of Devout Soules...*, Rouen, 1633, plate facing p.1.



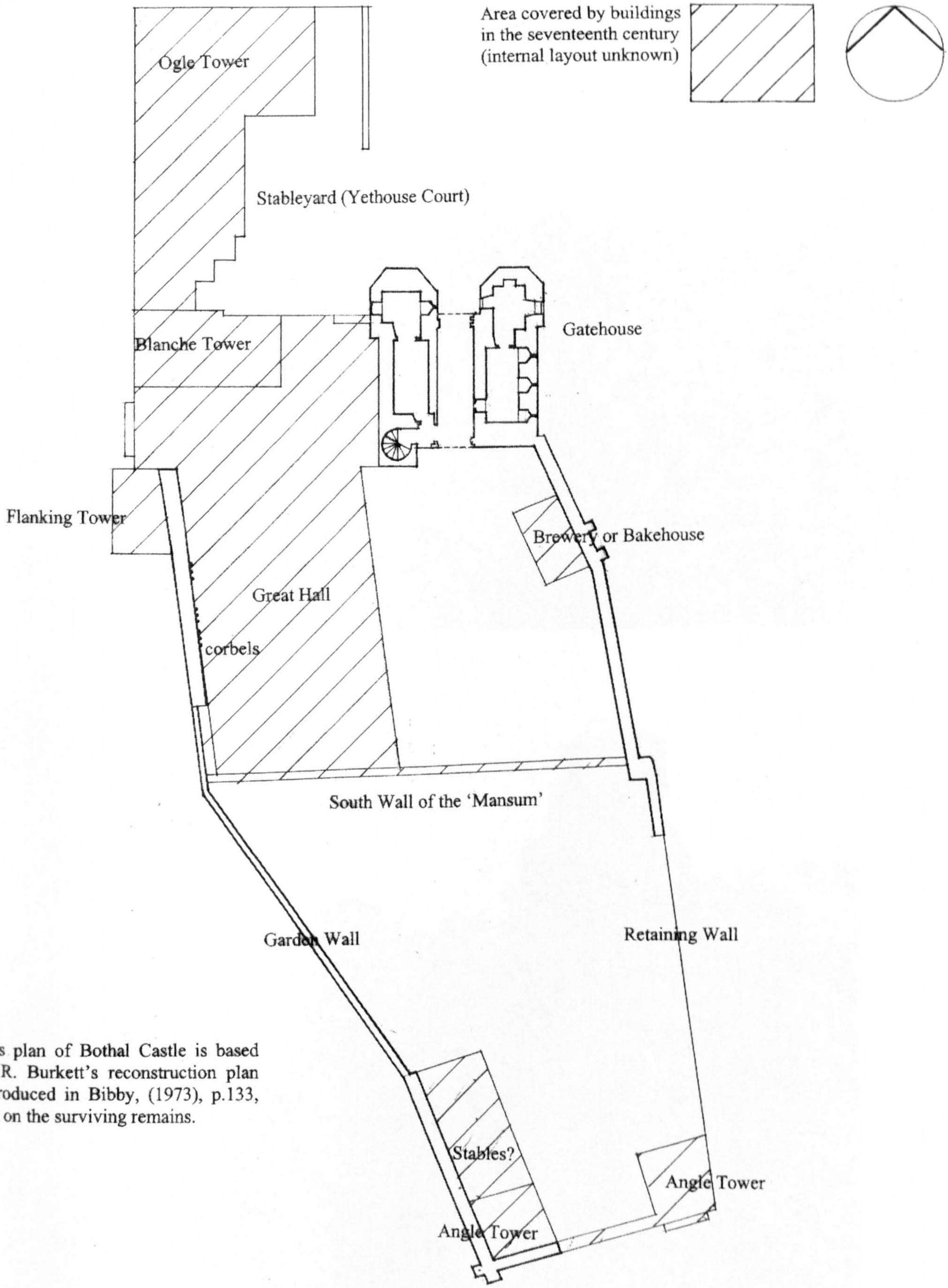
Interior of an octagonal bathing pavilion. A typical illustration from the *Hypnerotomachi Poliphili*

2.45 Plate from *Hypnerotomachi Poliphili*, reproduced in Less-Milne, James, *Tudor Renaissance*, London, 1951, p.143



2.46 The Cavendish tomb, St James' Church, Bolsover, 2000, *English Heritage Photographic Library*.

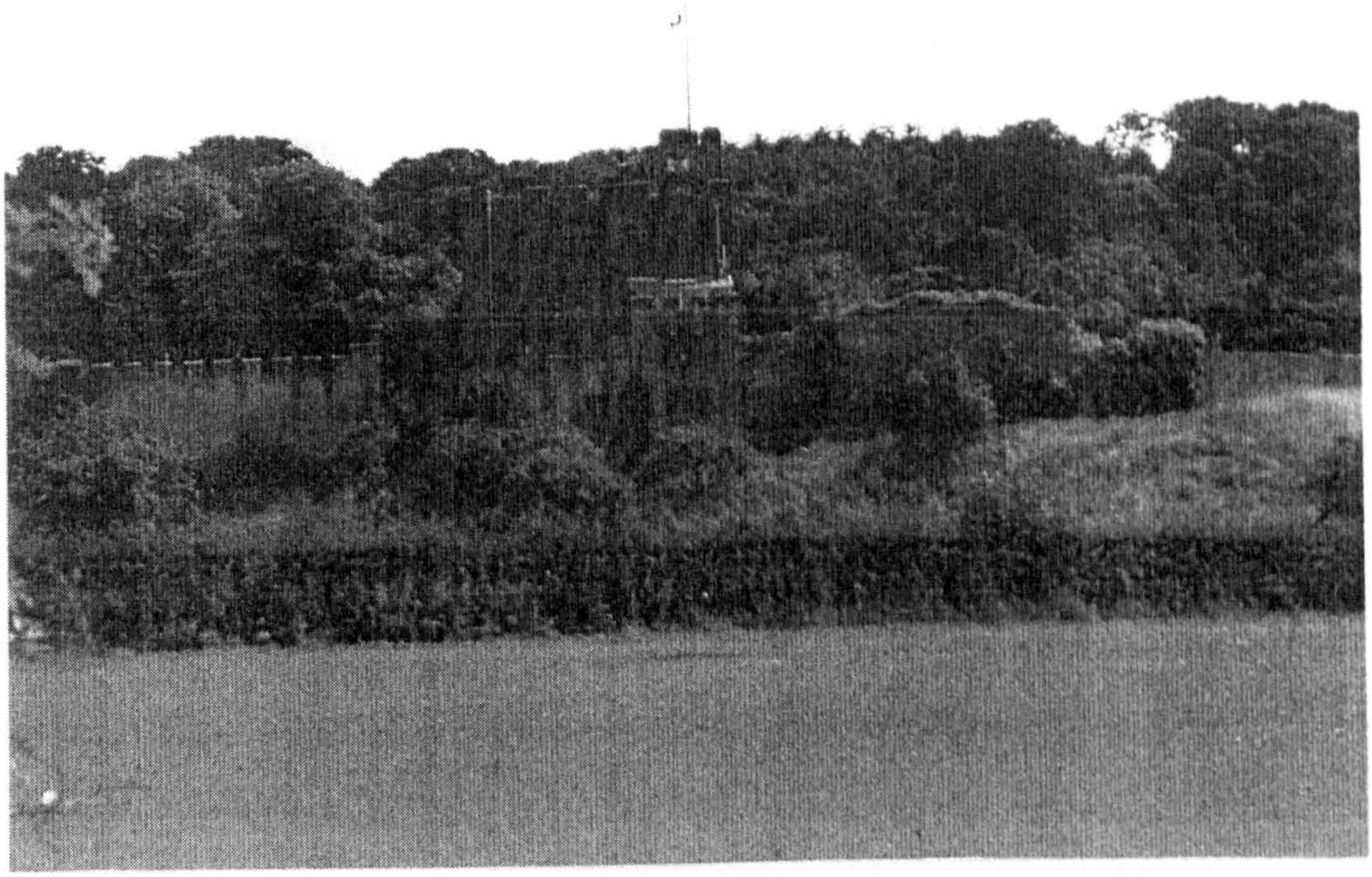
2.47 The Cavendish chapel, exterior, St James' Church, Bolsover, 2001



This plan of Bothal Castle is based on R. Burkett's reconstruction plan reproduced in Bibby, (1973), p.133, and on the surviving remains.

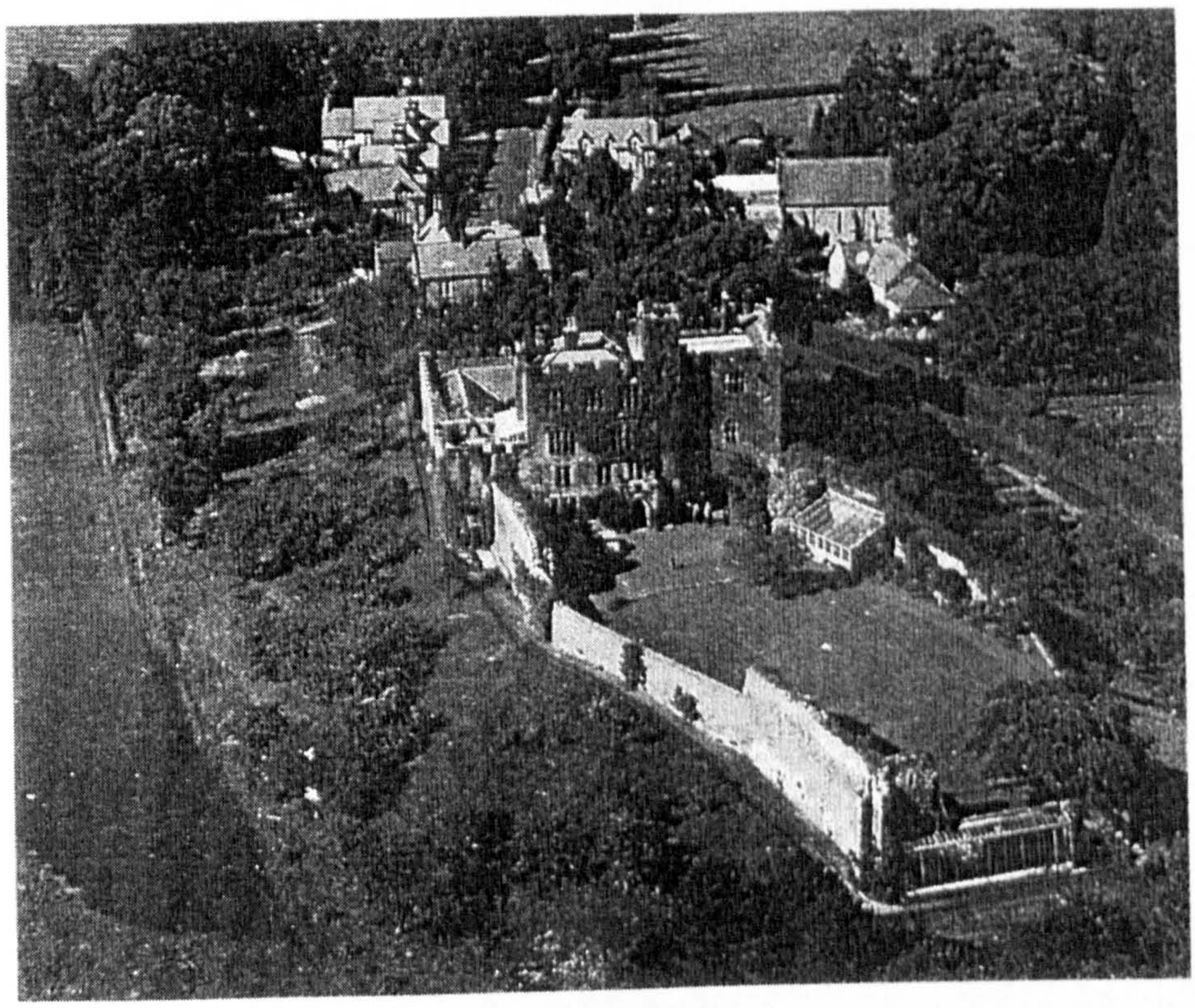
BOTHAL CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND
Illustration 3.1

Reconstruction plan of the Castle in the seventeenth century.

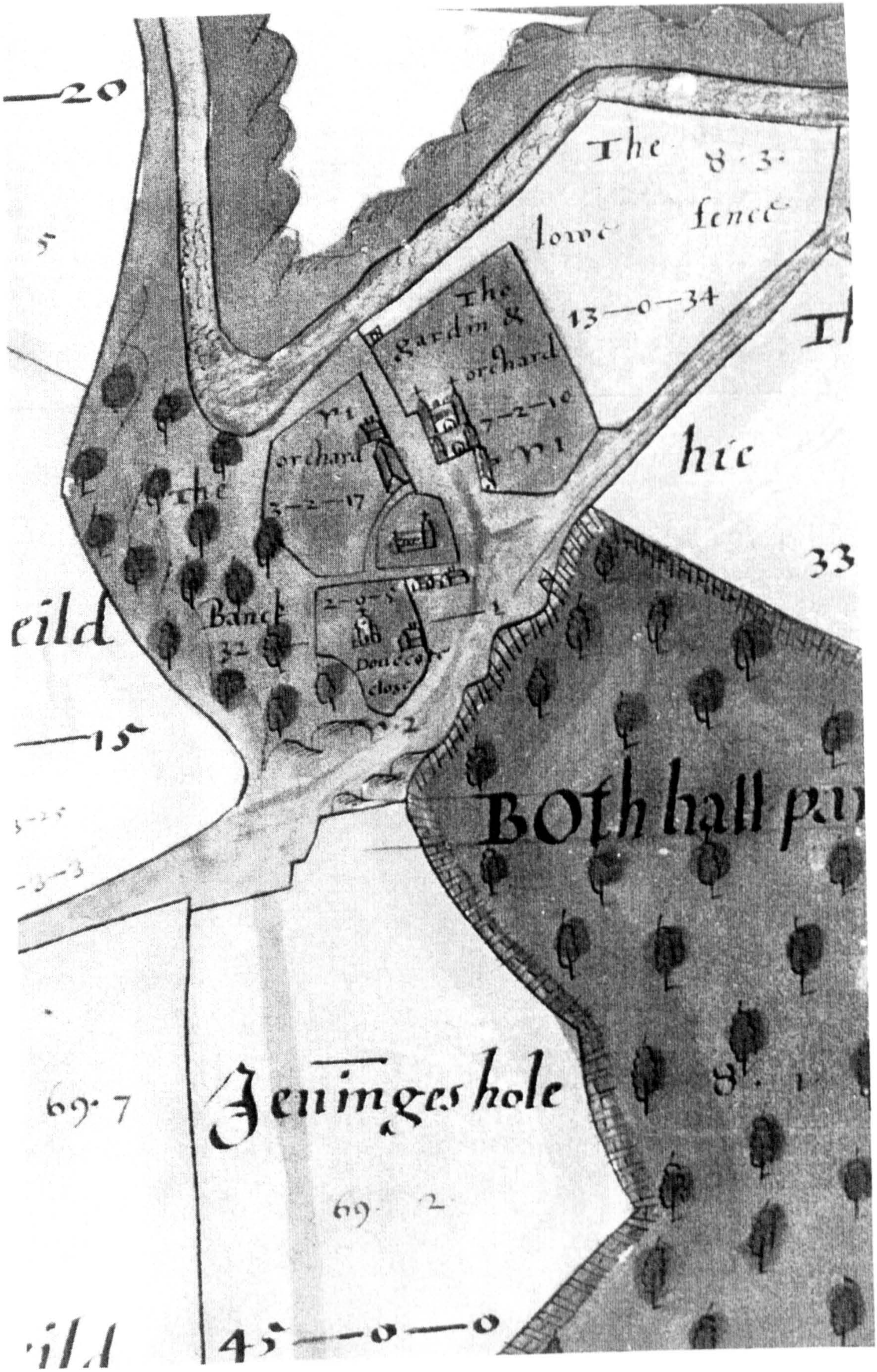


3.2 Bothal Castle, Northumberland, 2000.

3.3 Figures on the gatehouse roof, Bothal Castle, Northumberland, 2000.

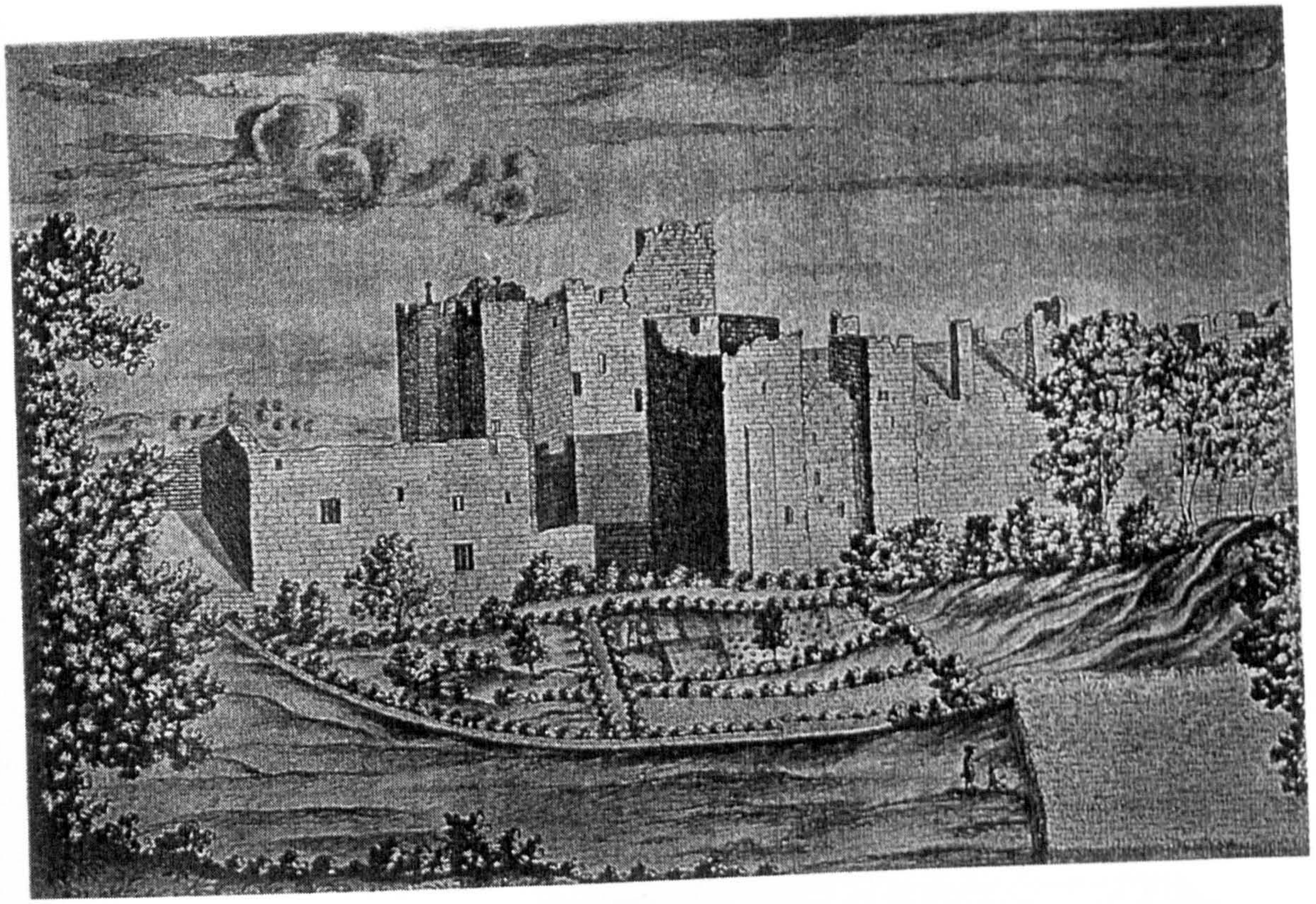


3.4 An aerial view of Bothal, reproduced from Bibby, Roland, *Bothal Observed: a survey of a Northumbrian Castle, Village and Church*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973.

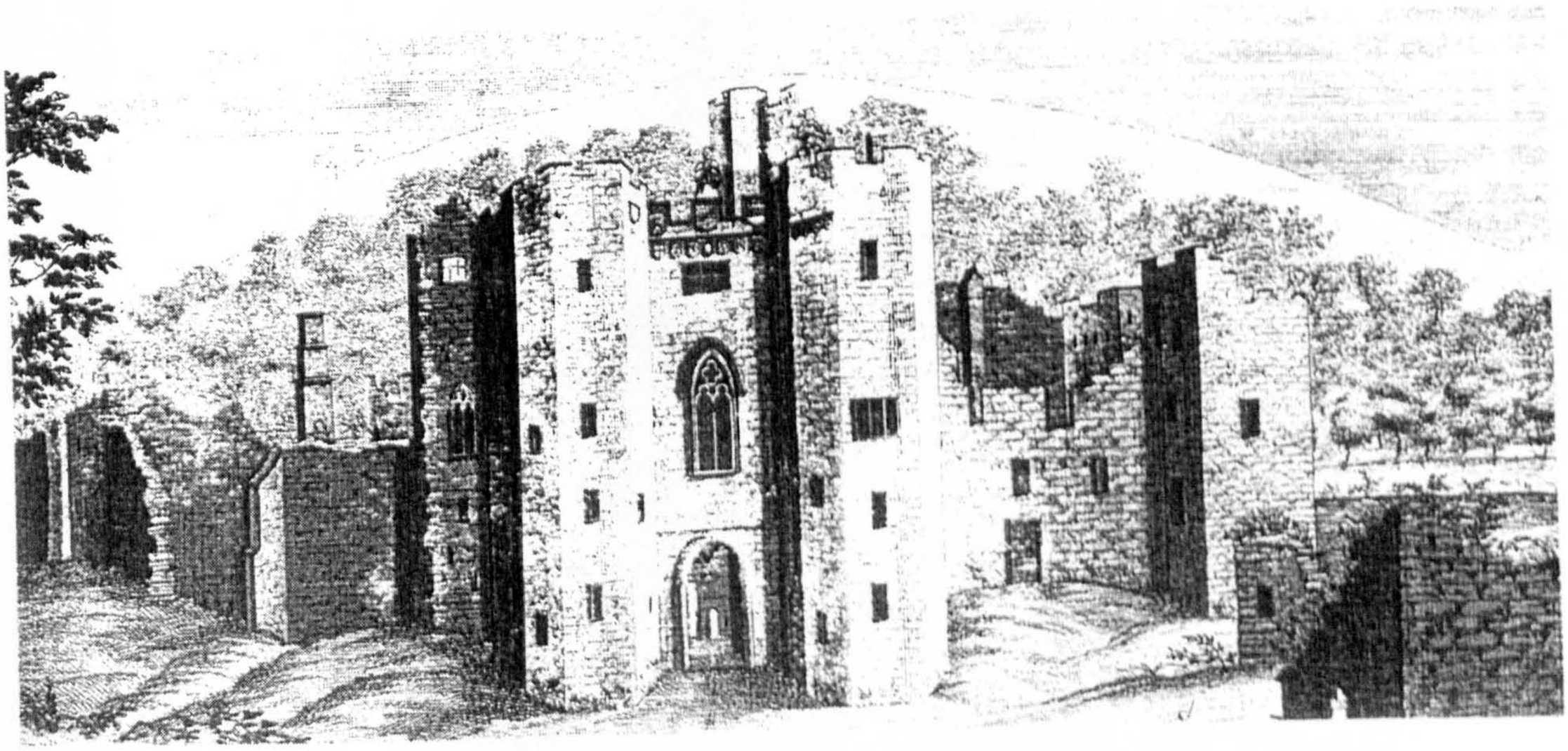


3.5 A survey of Bothal Castle by William Senior, 1632, *Private Collection*, image provided by *Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts*.

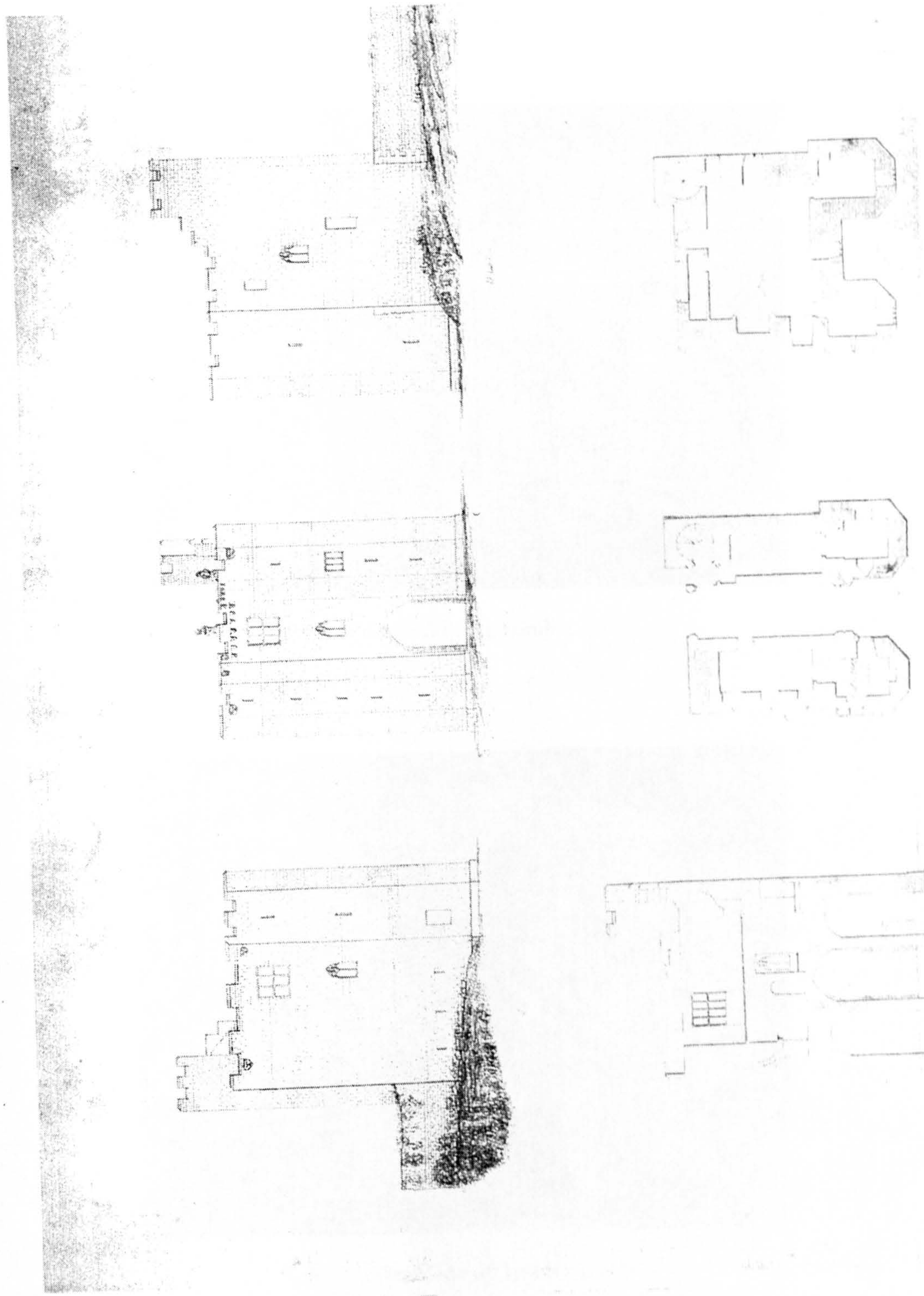
3.6 Engraving, by Lucas Vorstermans after Abraham Diepenbeke, of Bothal Castle in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux,* Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 41 following p.262.



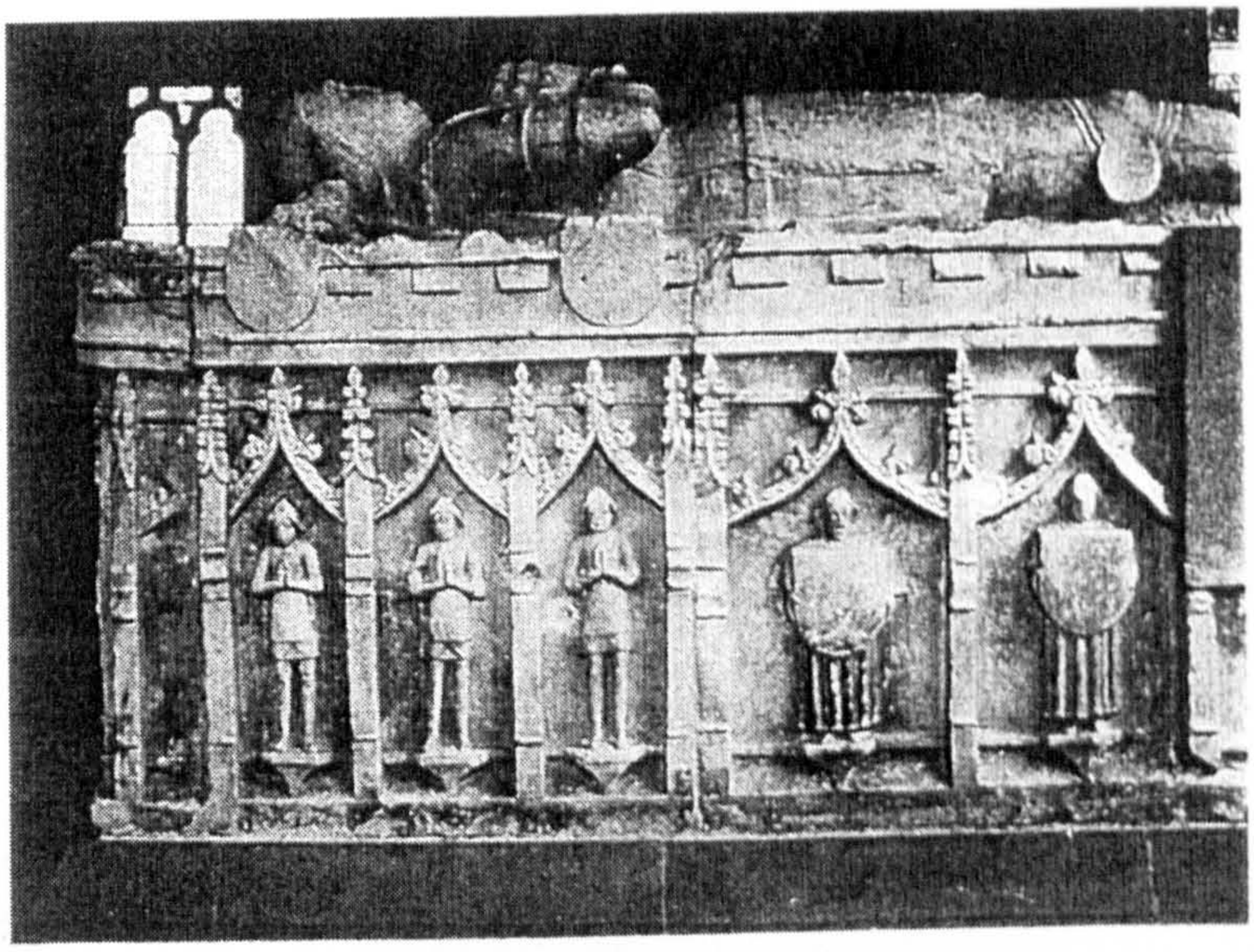
3.7 The 'Saunders' view of Bothal Castle, 1724, original in the possession of the Newcastle upon Tyne Society of Antiquaries, reproduced in Bates, C.J., 'The Border Holds of Northumberland,' *Archaeologia Aeliana*, new series, Vol.14, London, 1891, facing p.392.



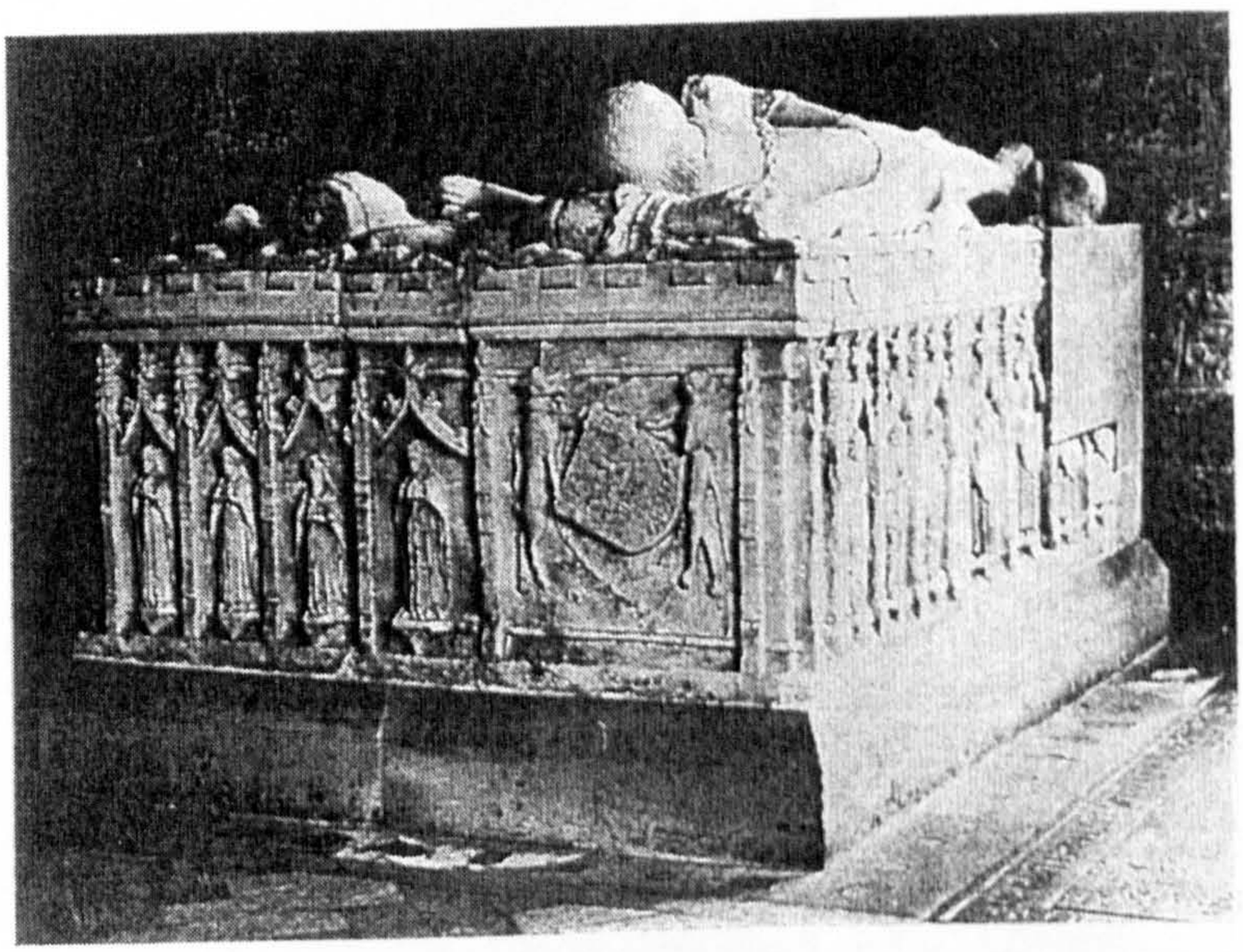
3.8 Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 'The North View of Bothal Castle in Northumberland,' 1728.



3.9 Plans and sections of Bothal Castle, Northumberland, drawn by Andrew Oliver, nineteenth century, *Northumberland Record Office* MS ZSA 51.33.1.

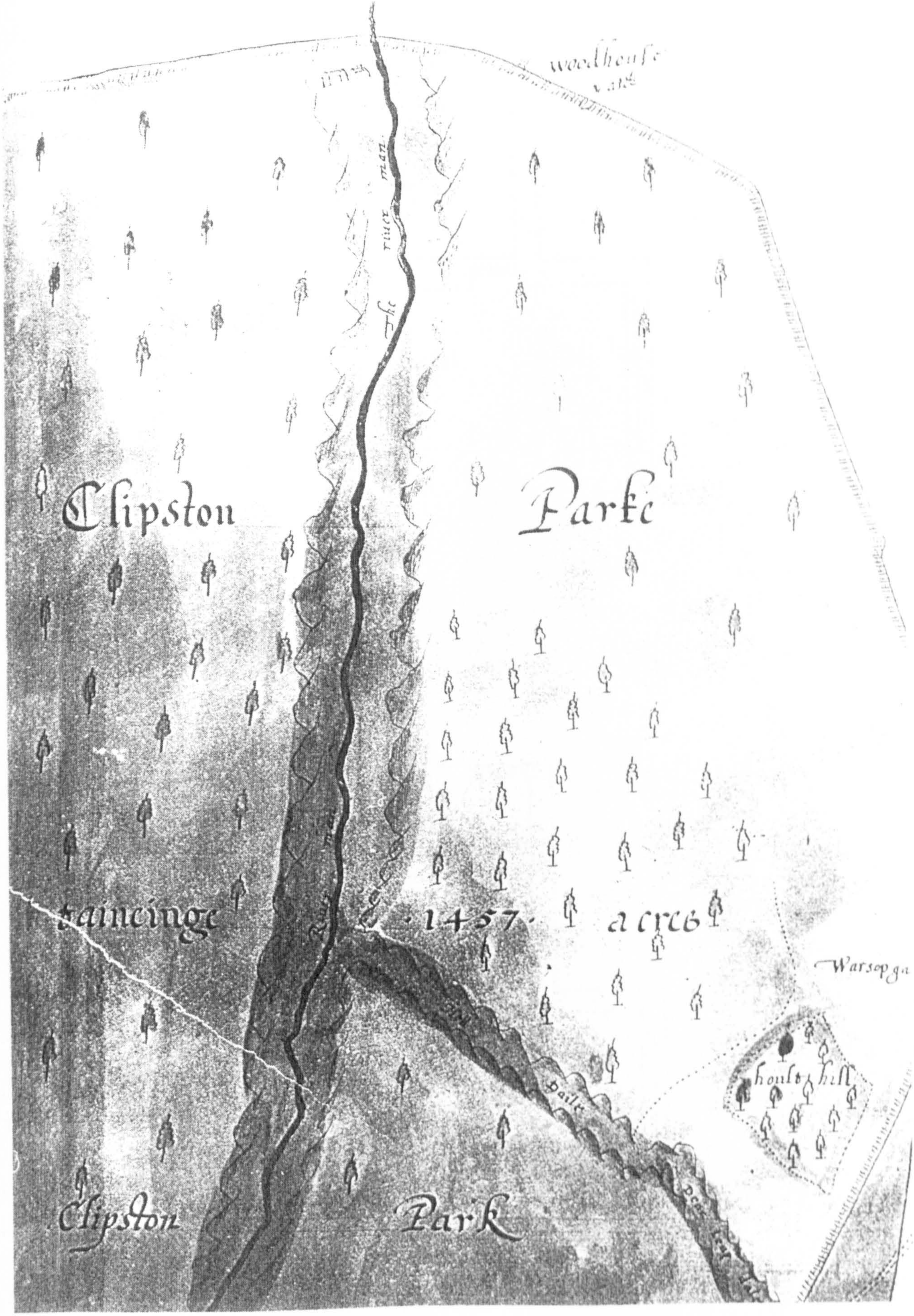


South Side of Tomb

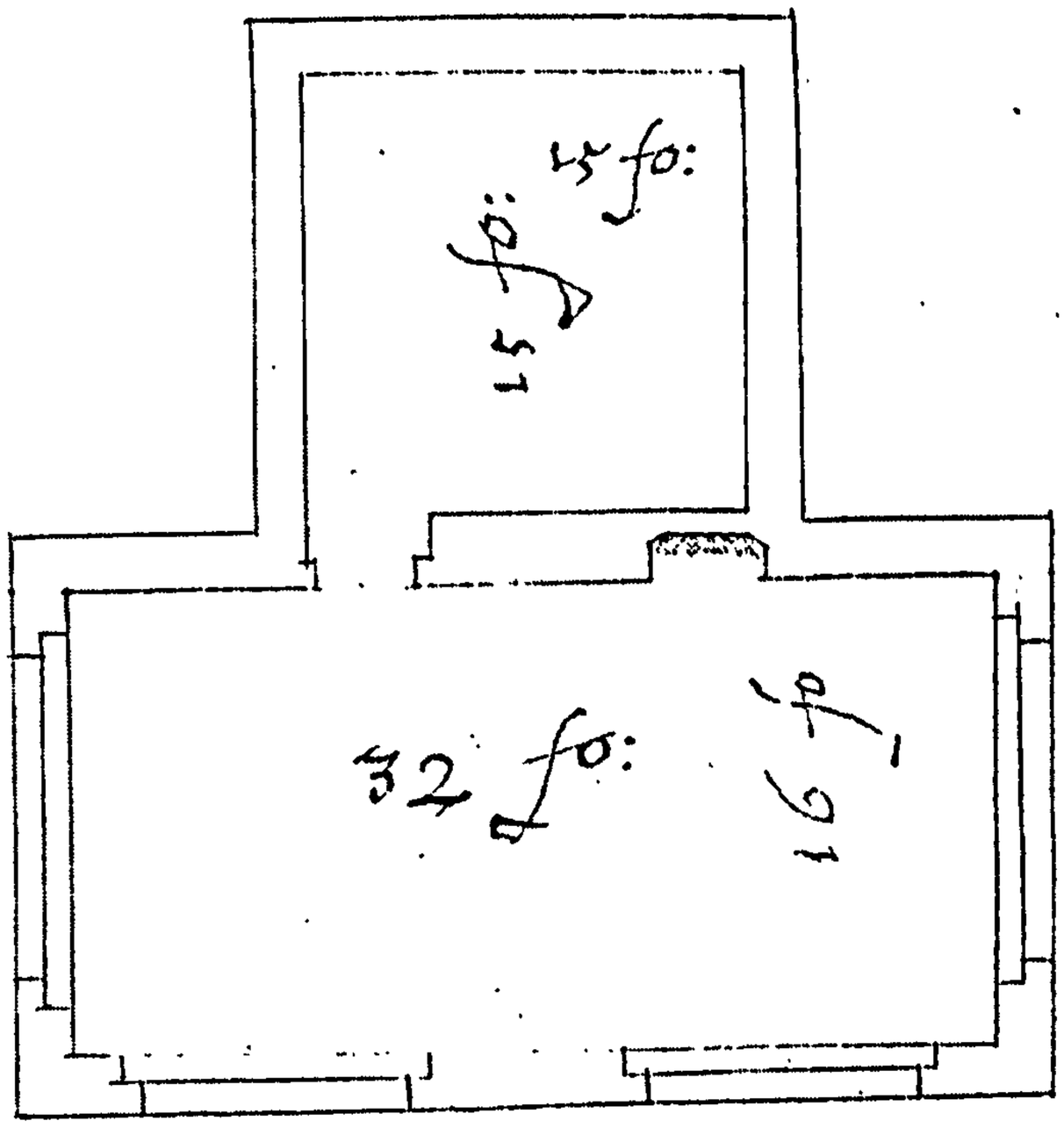


West Side of Tomb

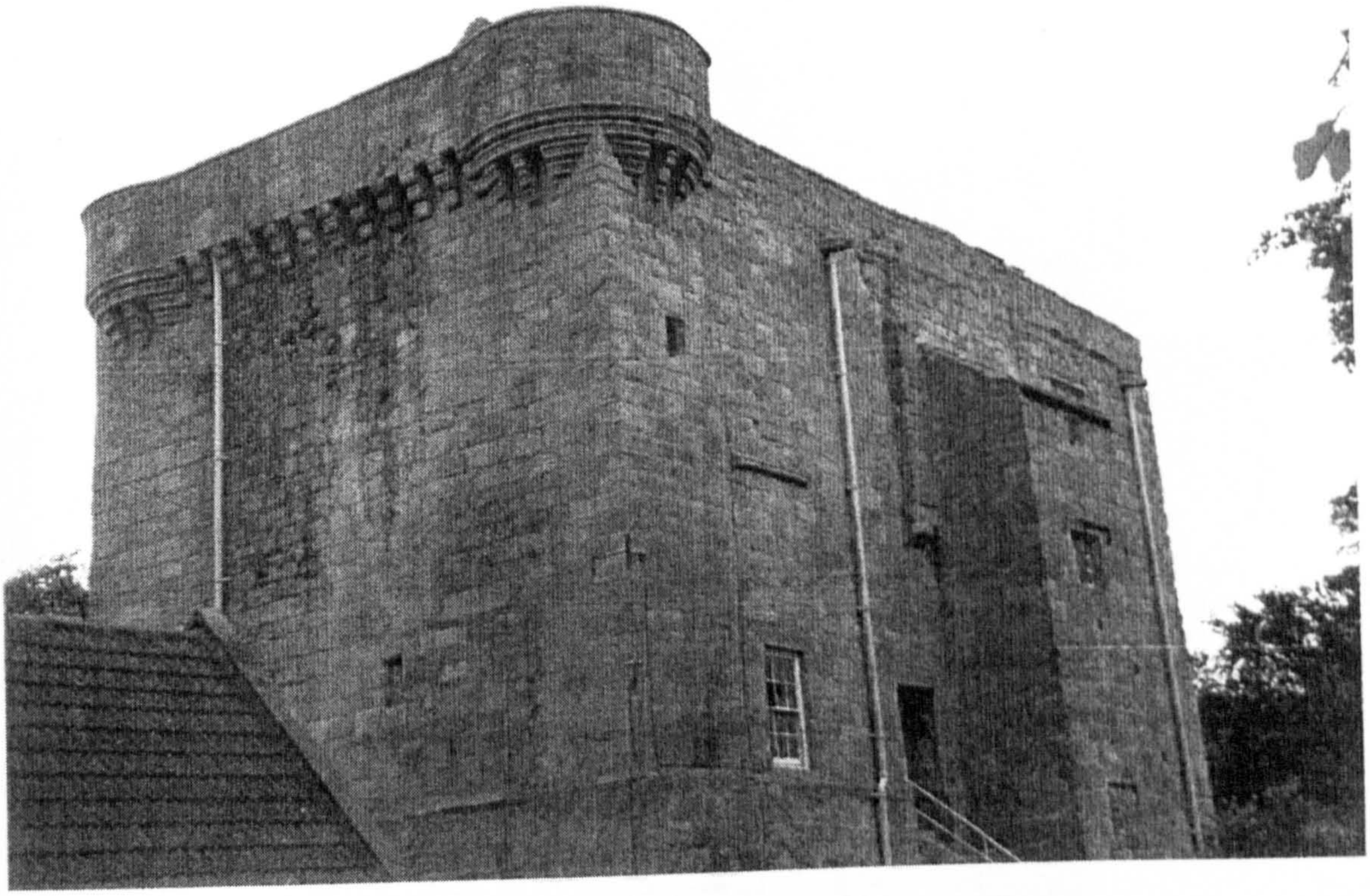
3.10 The Ogle Tomb, Bothal Church, Northumberland, reproduced from Bibby, Roland, *Bothal Observed, a survey of a Northumbrian Castle, Village and Church*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973.



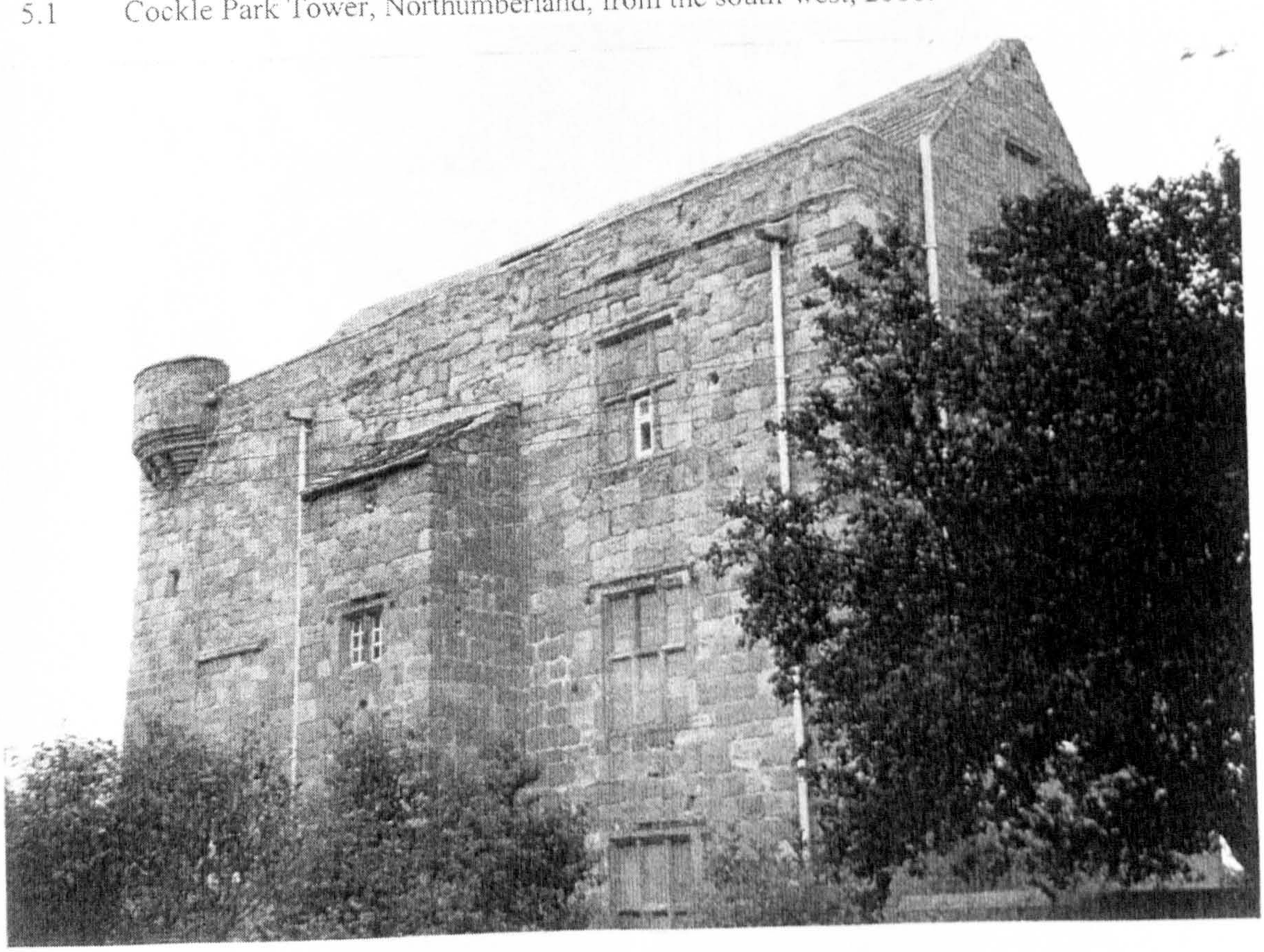
4.1 A survey of Clipstone by William Senior, 1630, *Private Collection*, image provided by *Nottinghamshire County Council, Community Servies, The Nottinghamshire Archives.*



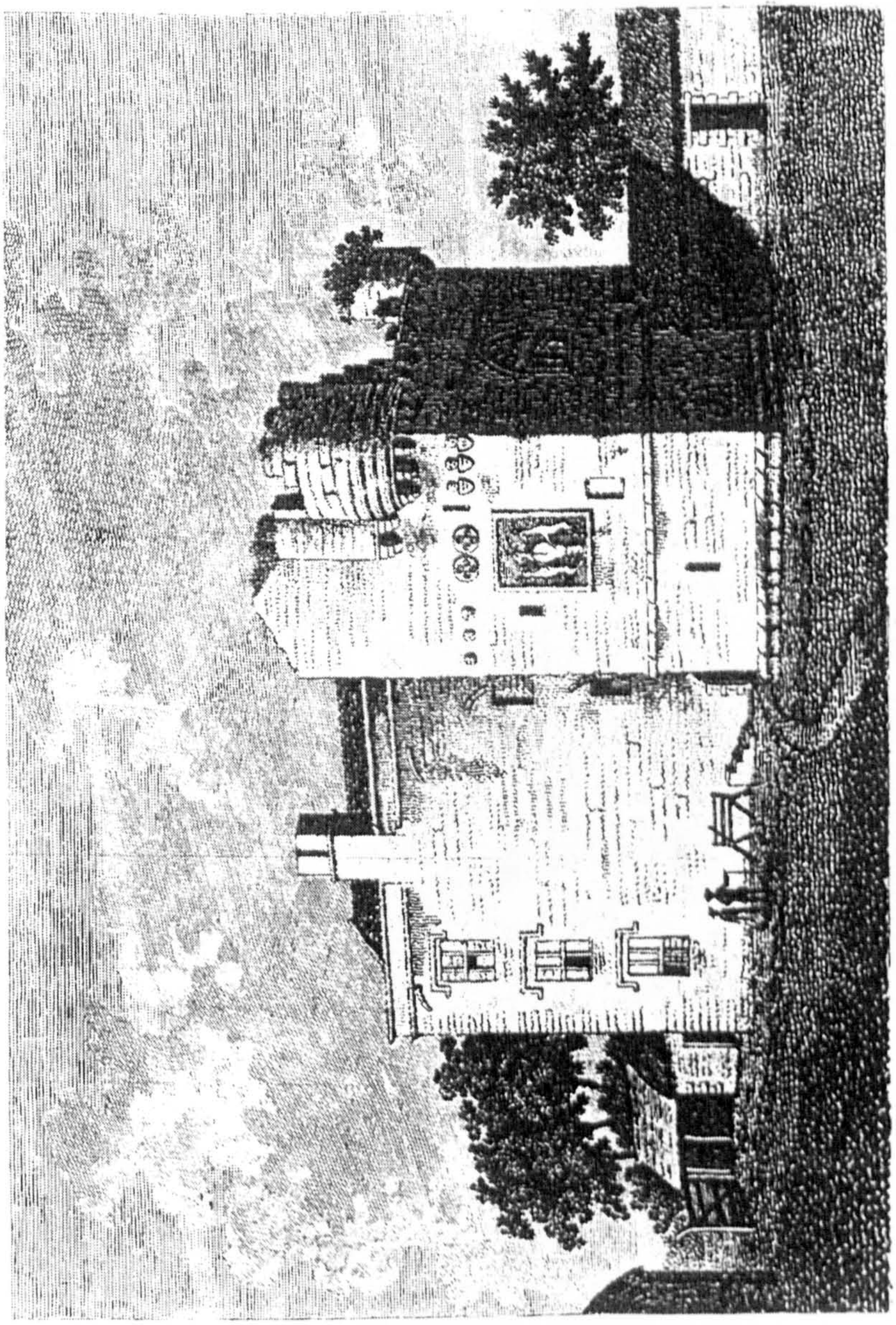
4.2 Plan for a proposed stand, Clipstone Park, Nottinghamshire, *Nottinghamshire County Council, Community Services, The Nottinghamshire Archives* MS DD4P.70.41.



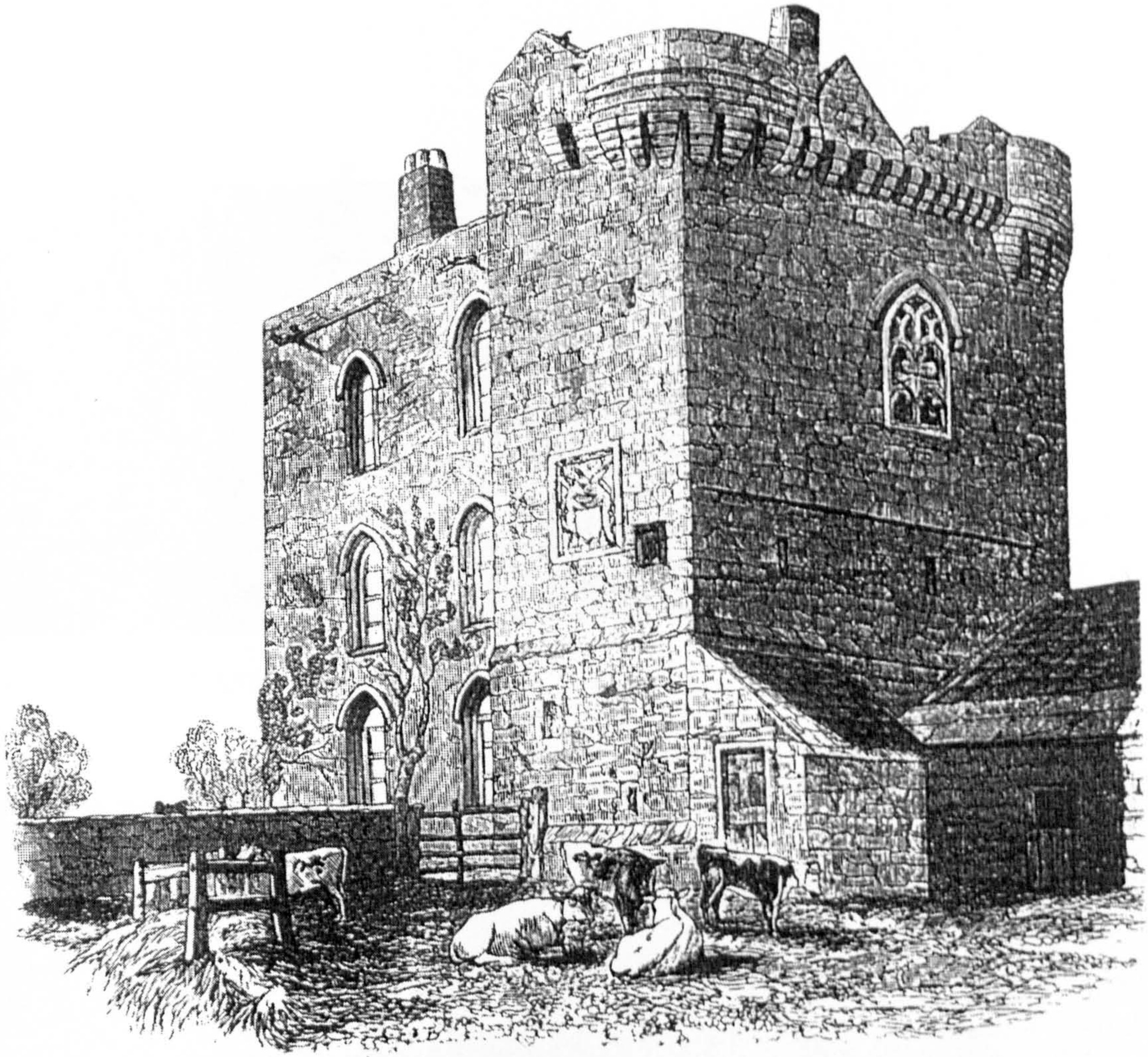
5.1 Cockle Park Tower, Northumberland, from the south-west, 2000.



5.2 Cockle Park Tower, Northumberland, south front, 2000.



5.3 Cockle Park Tower, Northumberland, by S. Hooper, 1785.

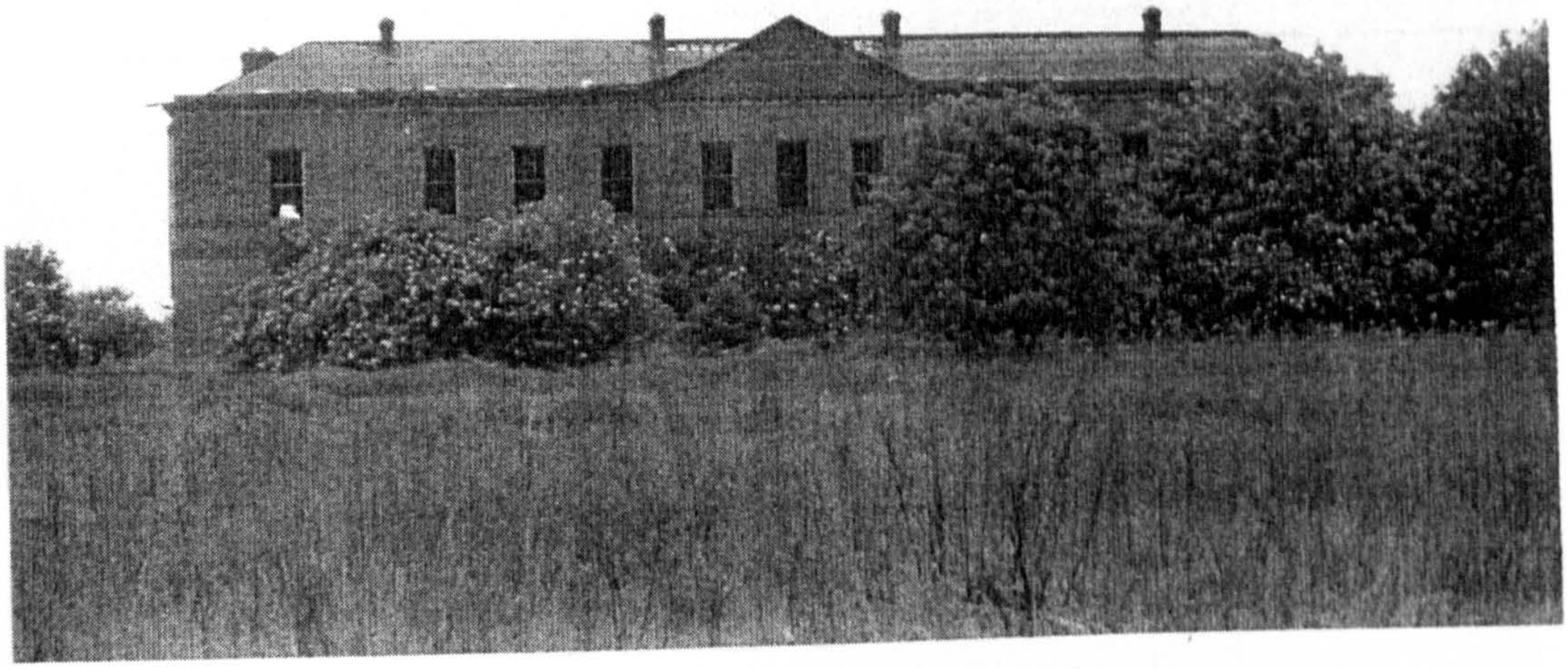


COCKLE PARK TOWER,

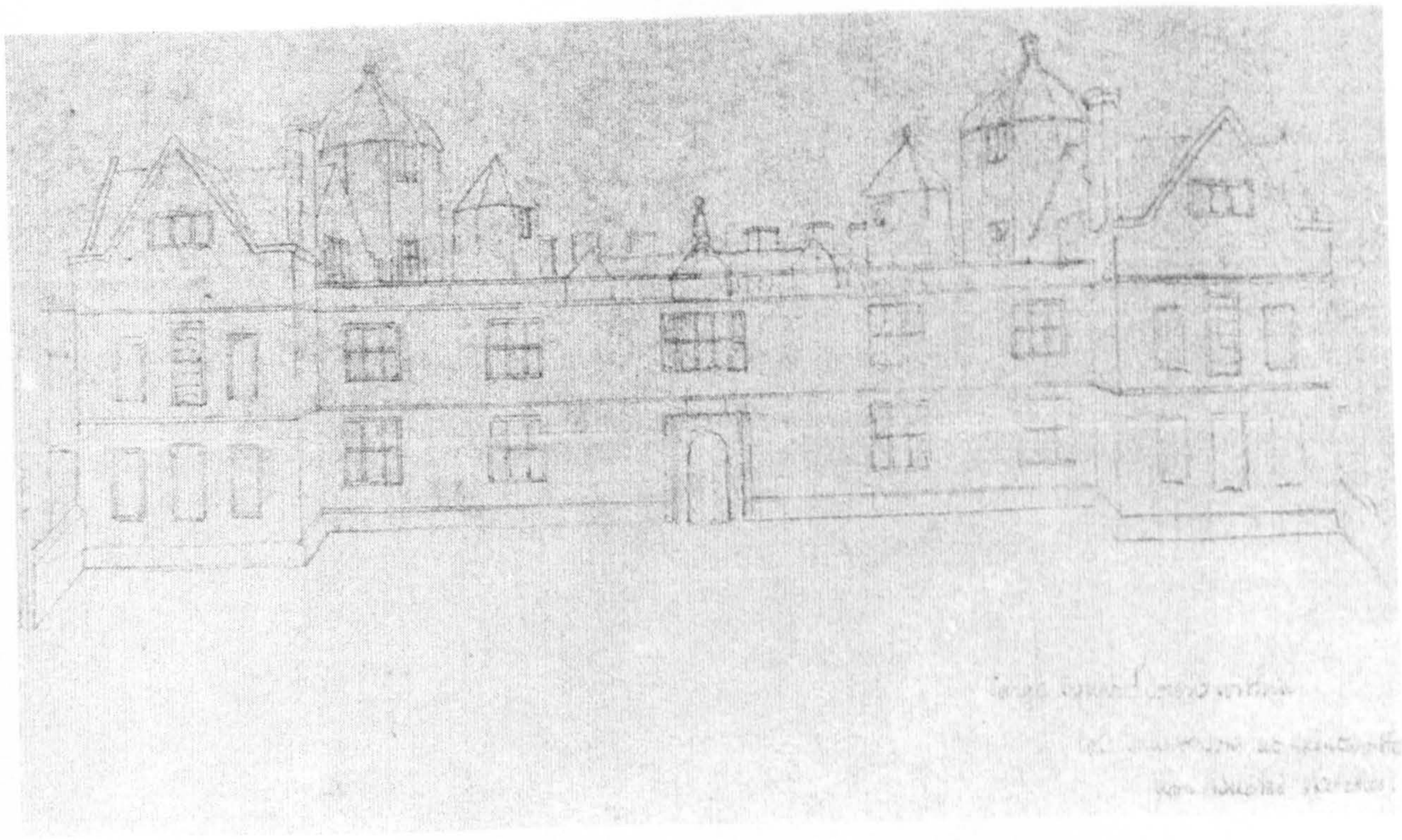
FROM THE NORTH-EAST,

IN ABOUT 1830.

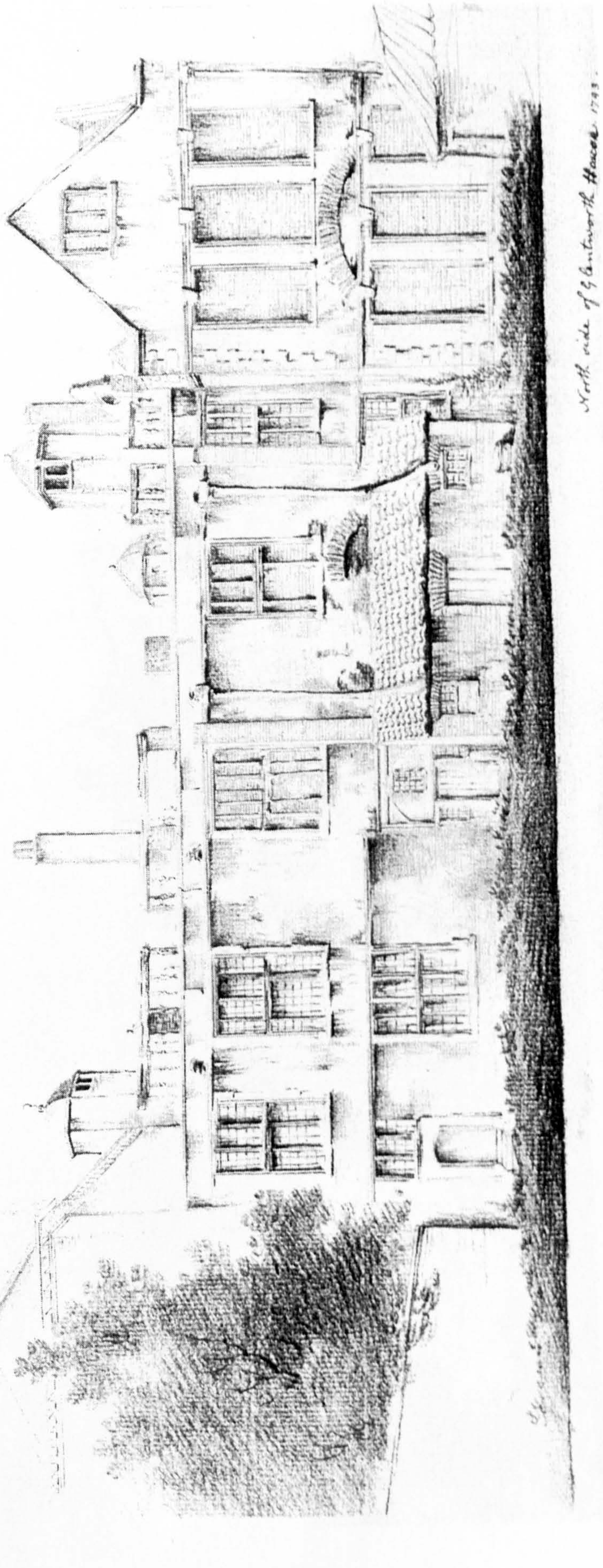
5.4 Cockle Park Tower, Northumberland, 'from the north-east, in about 1830,' reproduced in in Bates, C.J., 'The Border Holds of Northumbria,' *Archaeologia Aeliana*, New Series, Vol.14, London, 1891, facing page 391.



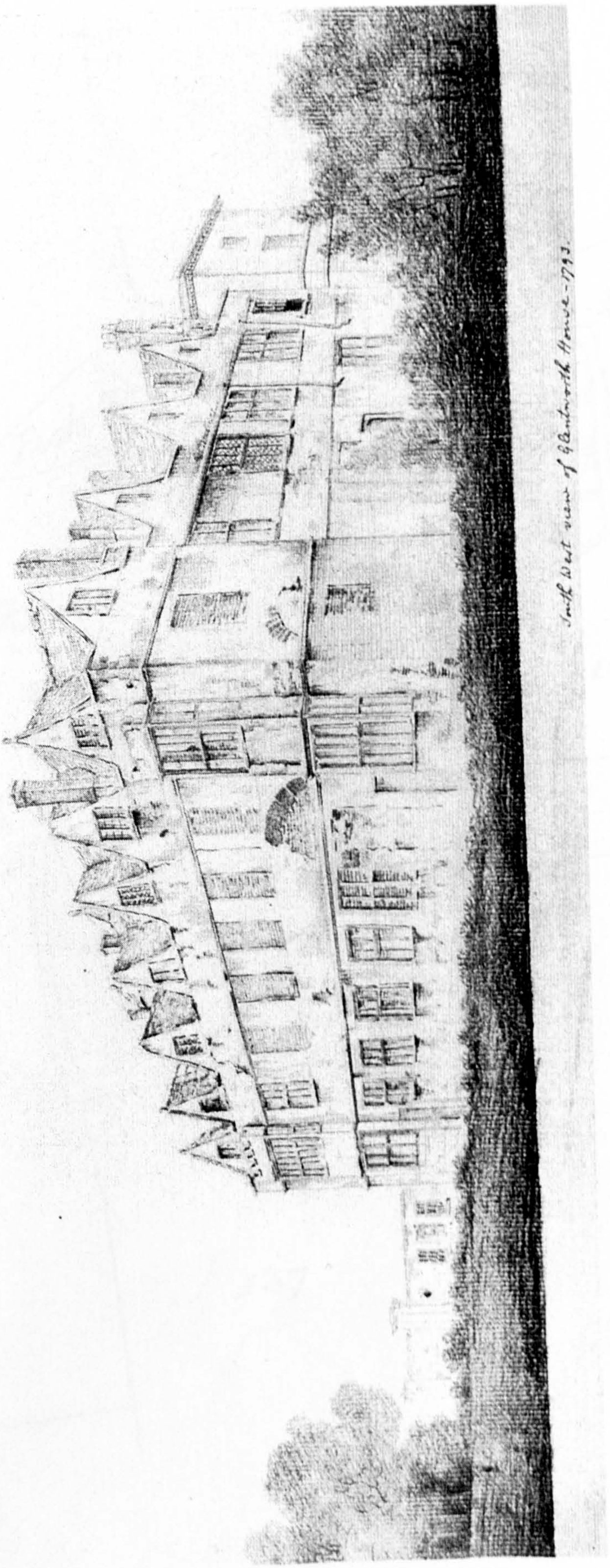
6.1 Glentworth Hall, Lincolnshire, 1999.



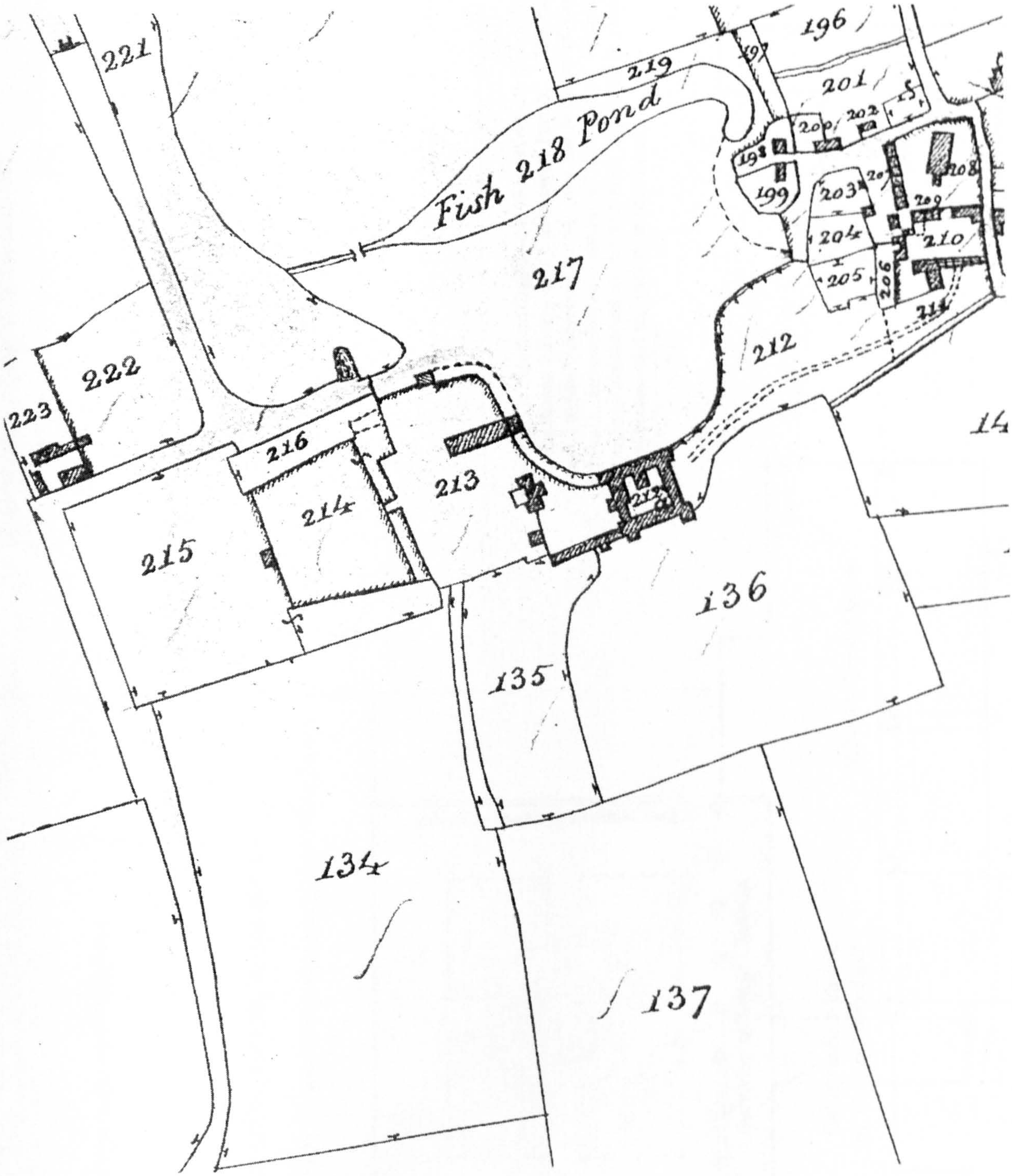
6.2 Glentworth Hall, early eighteenth-century sketch, Lincoln City Library, Ross Manuscripts, Vol.4, p.164, *by permission of the trustees of the tenth Lord Monson,* image provided by *Lincoln City Library.*



6.3 'North side of Glentworth House 1793,' by Claude Natte, *Lincoln City Library*.



6.4 'South West view of Glentworth House - 1793,' by Claude Natte, *Lincoln City Library*.

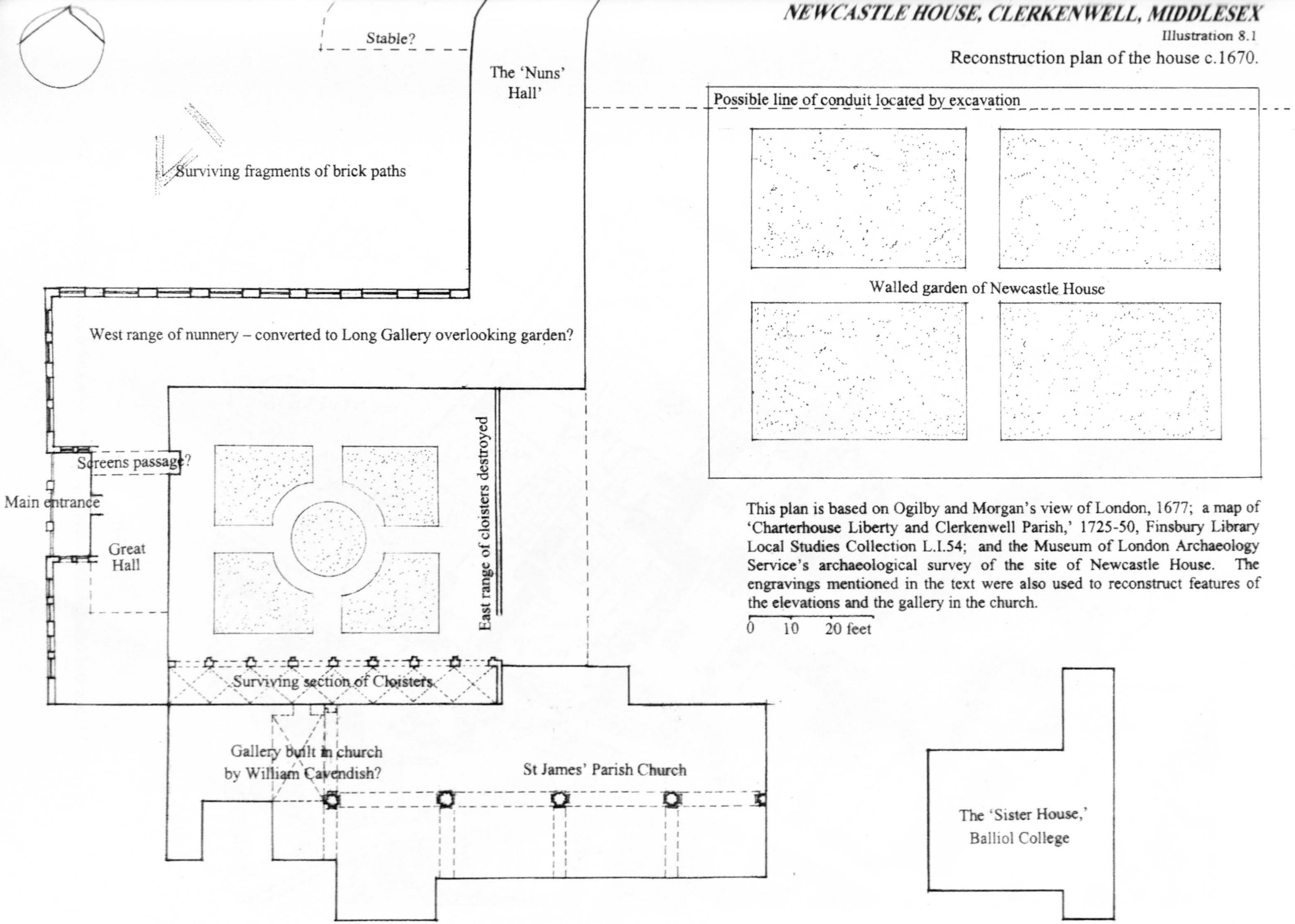


6.5 Sketch of the Parish of Glentworth, 1813, by Edward Gee, surveyor, *Lincolnshire Record Office*.

NEWCASTLE HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, MIDDLESEX

Illustration 8.1

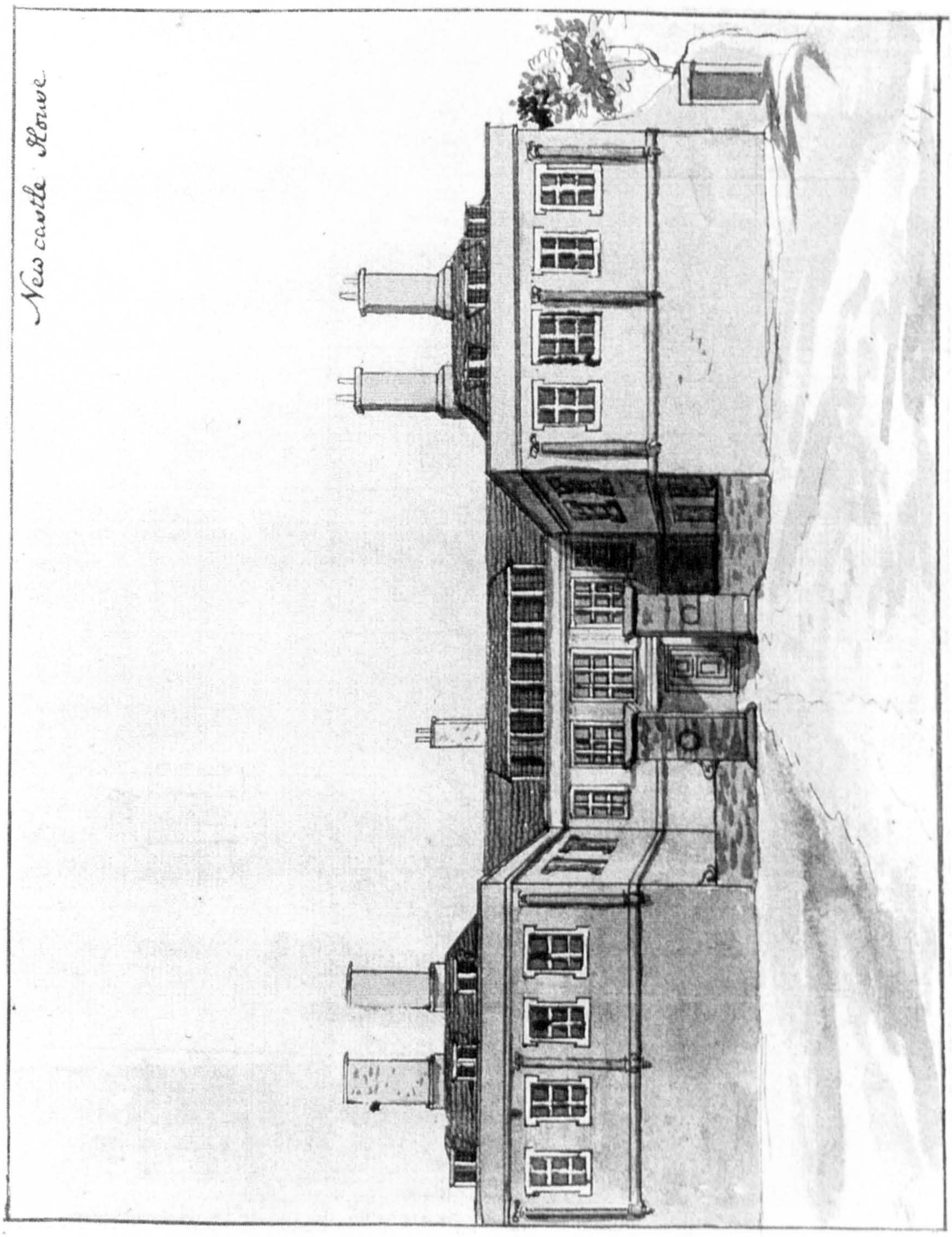
Reconstruction plan of the house c.1670.



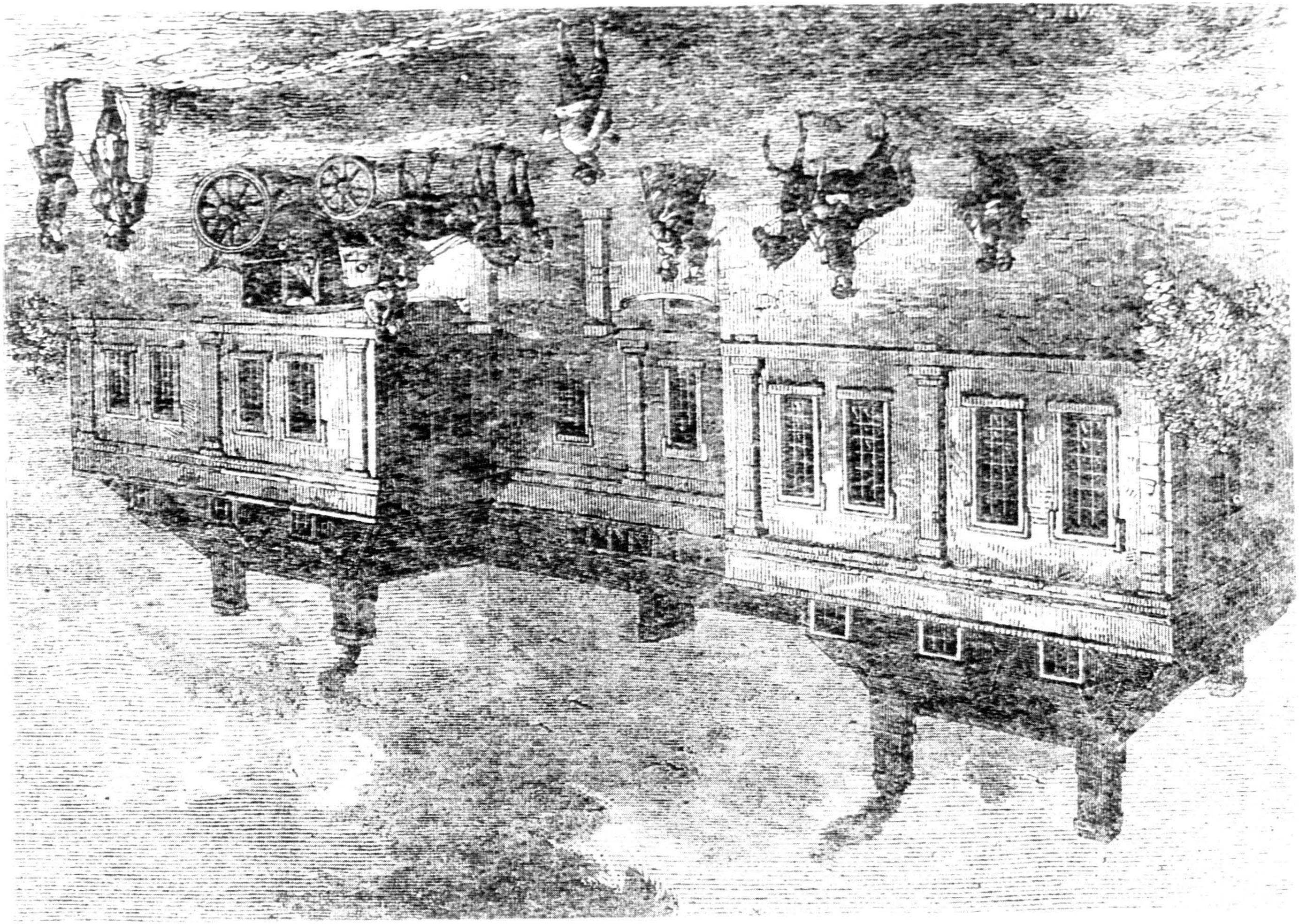
This plan is based on Ogilby and Morgan's view of London, 1677; a map of 'Charterhouse Liberty and Clerkenwell Parish,' 1725-50, Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection L.I.54; and the Museum of London Archaeology Service's archaeological survey of the site of Newcastle House. The engravings mentioned in the text were also used to reconstruct features of the elevations and the gallery in the church.

0 10 20 feet

8.2 Clerkenwell from John Ogilby's map of London, Ogilby and Morgan, 1677.

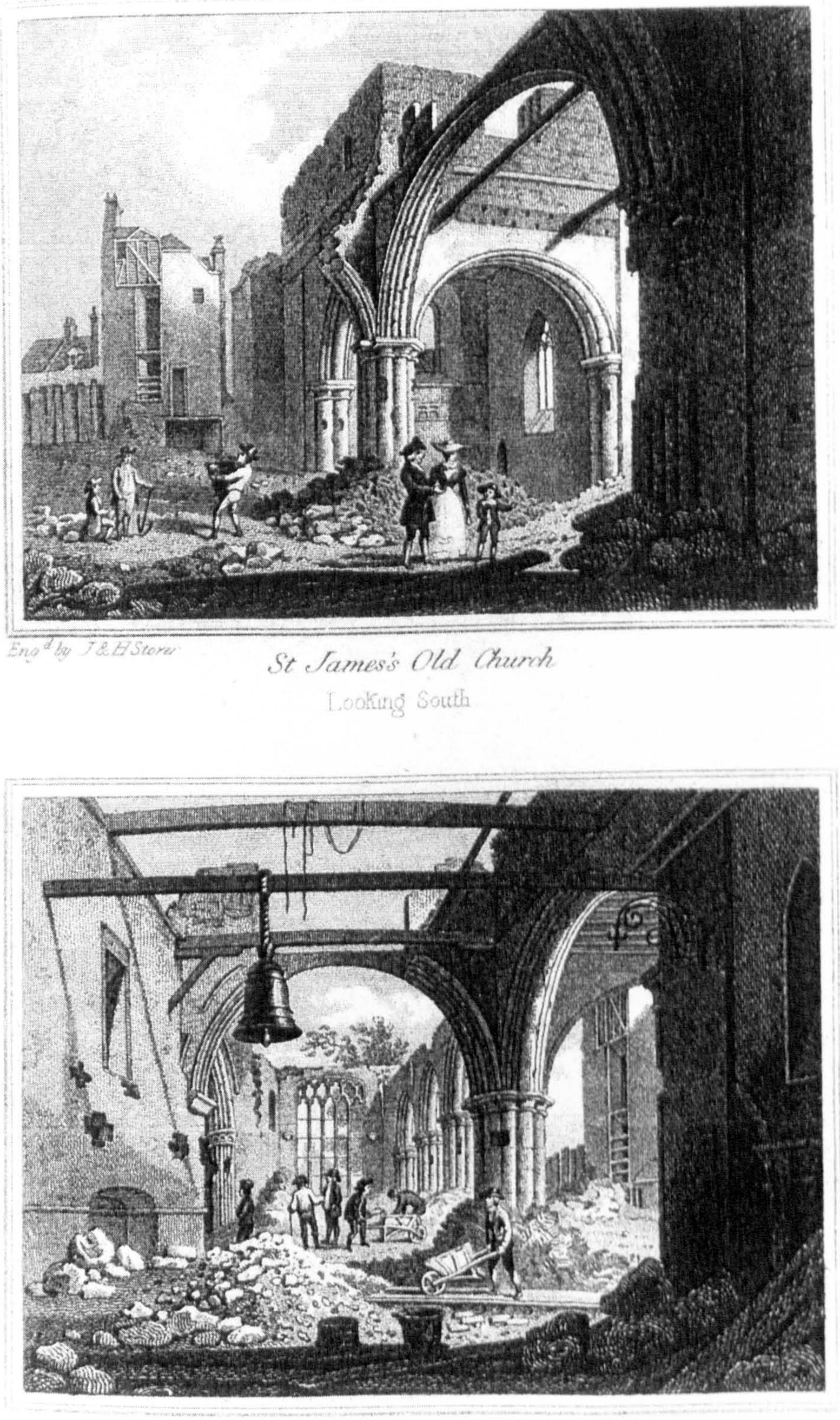


8.3 Newcastle House from the 'Crole Pennant,' the collector's edition of Thomas Pennant's *Some Account of London, Westminster and Southwark*, London, 1790, Vol.7, Plate 291, *The British Museum*.



Newcastle House, (opposite Hanover Square,) as it appeared on the 18th of last April, when the Duke of Newcastle's Funeral Procession passed it.

8.5 'St James's Old Church Looking South,' reproduced from Cromwell, T.K., *A history and description of the Parish of Clerkenwell*, London, 1828, facing p.184, *by permission of The British Library*.



Engd by J & H Storer

St James's Old Church

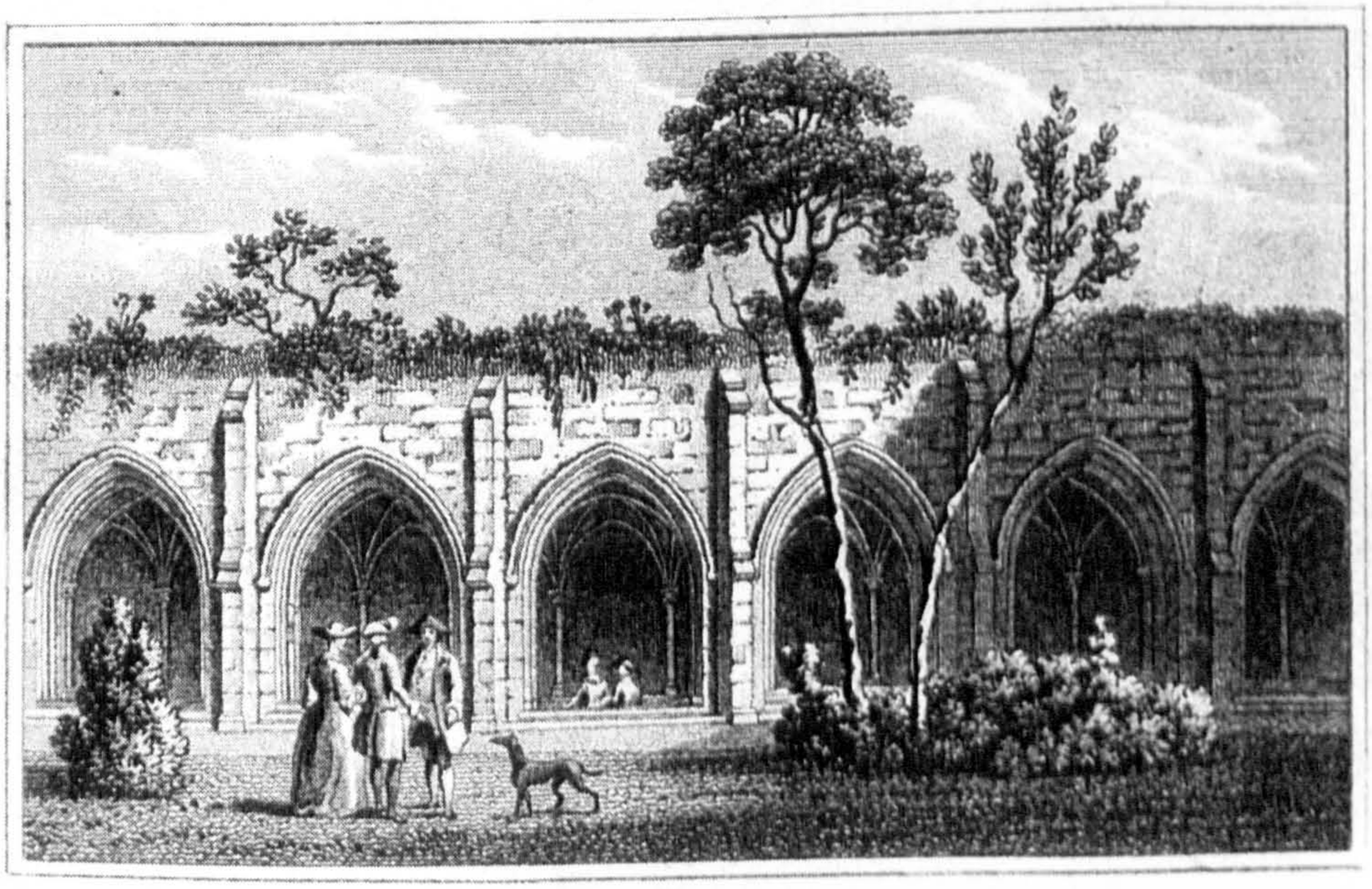
Looking South

8.6 'St James's Old Church Looking East,' reproduced from Cromwell, T.K., *A history and description of the Parish of Clerkenwell*, London, 1828, facing p.184, *by permission of The British Library*.

8.7 'St James's Old Church,' reproduced from Cromwell, T.K., *A history and description of the Parish of Clerkenwell*, London, 1828, facing p.180, *by permission of The British Library*.

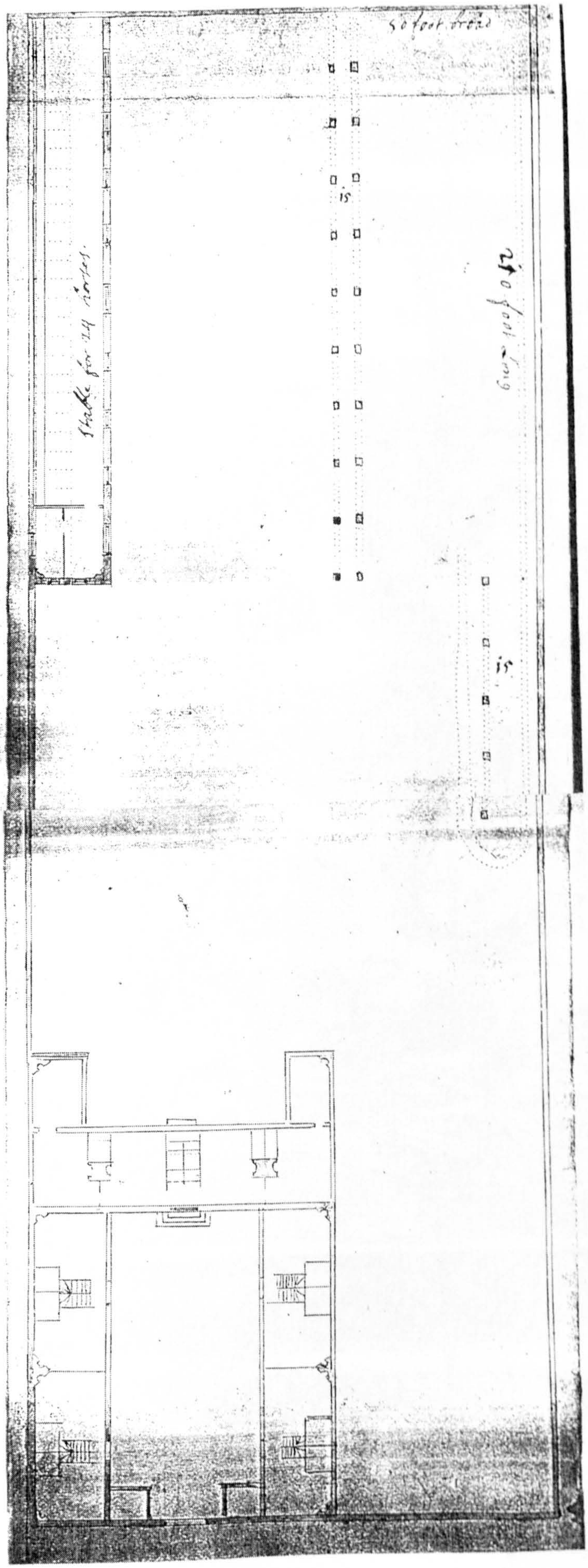
J & H S Storer del & sc.

St James's Old Church.



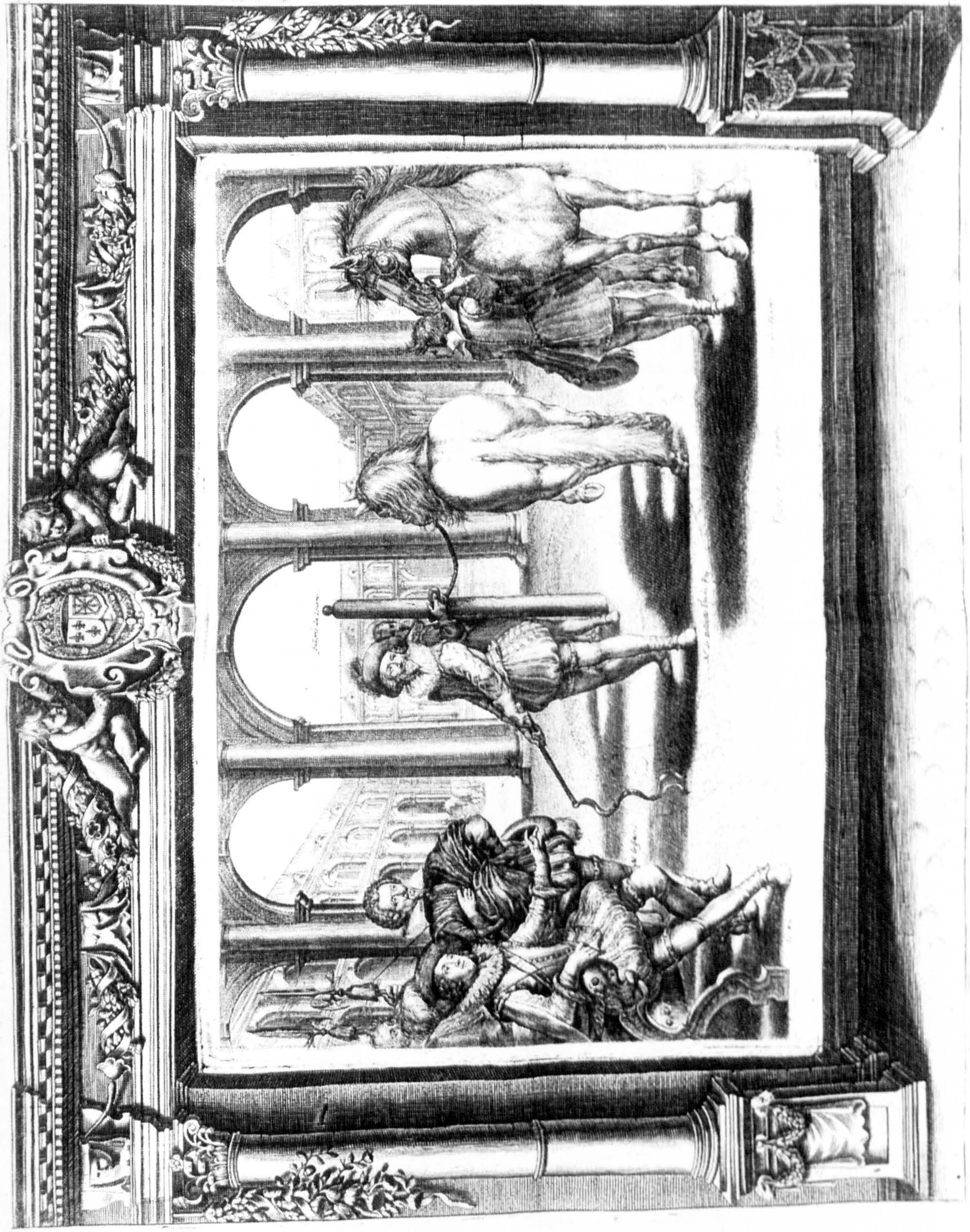
Cloisters of St Mary's Nunnery.

8.8 'Cloisters of St Mary's Nunnery,' reproduced from Cromwell, T.K., *A history and description of the Parish of Clerkenwell*, London, 1828, facing p.180, *by permission of The British Library*.



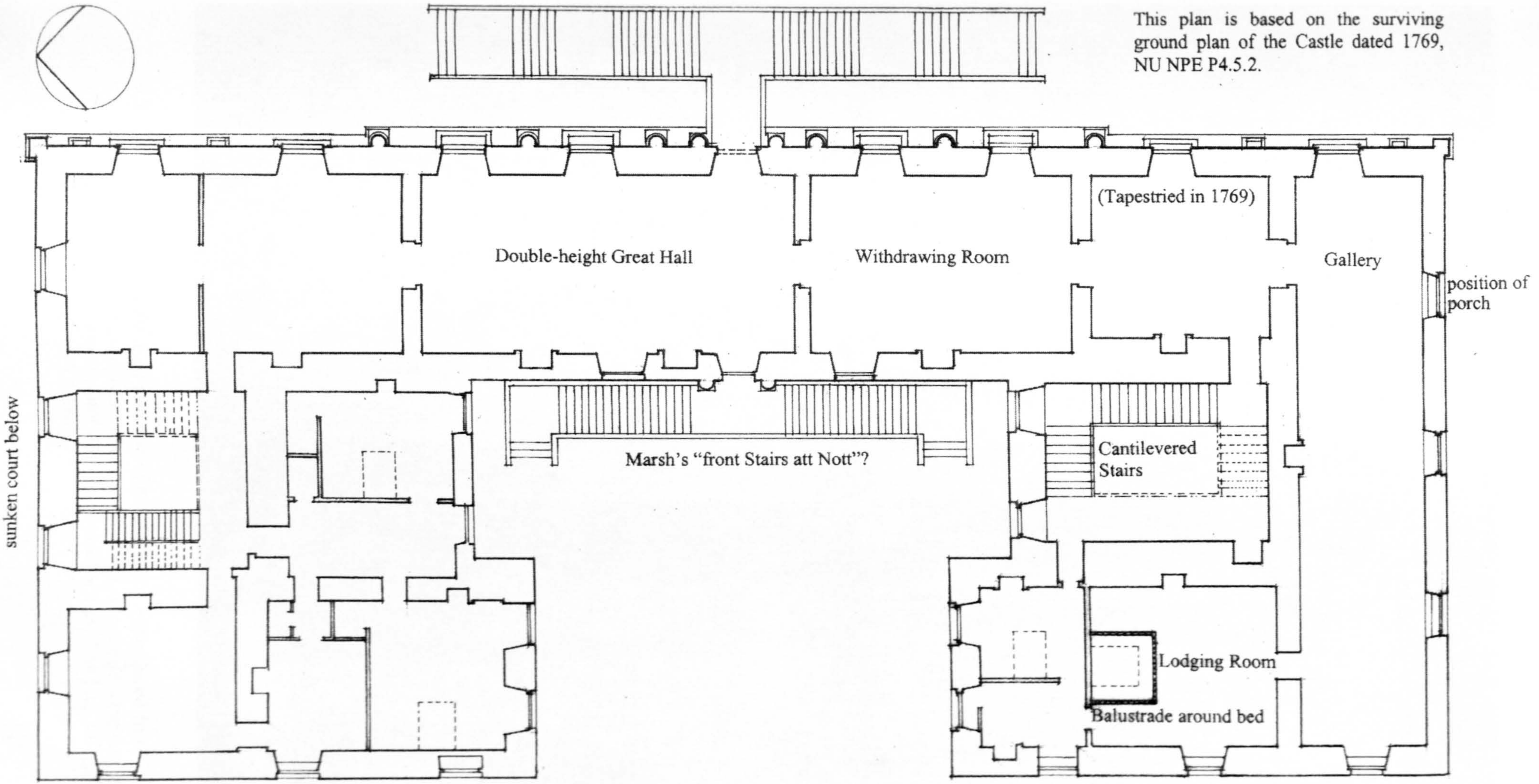
8.9 Untitled plan of a *manège* yard, *Balliol College, Oxford, Archives MS B.21.24.*

8.10 Figure 3.1, 'Le Bonite in the Stable yard,' from Pluvinel, Antione de, *L'instruction du Roy en l'exercise de monter a cheval*, Paris, 1627, following p.22, *by permission of The British Library.*



8.11 Figure 5, 'Gallerie du Louvre,' from Pluvinel, Antione de, *L'instruction du Roy en l'exercise de monter a cheval*, Paris, 1627, following p.28, *by permission of The British Library.*

This plan is based on the surviving ground plan of the Castle dated 1769, NU NPE P4.5.2.

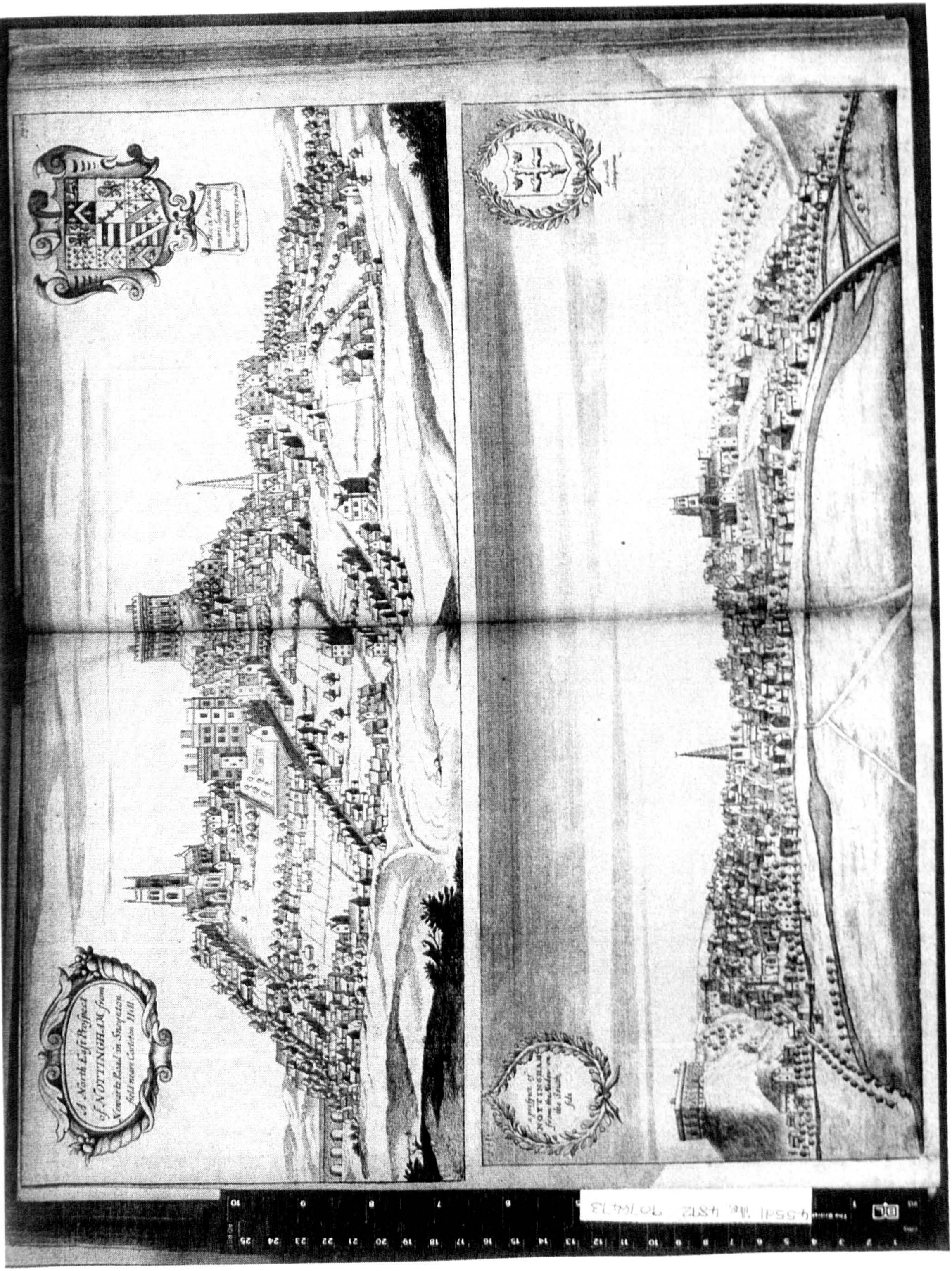


NOTTINGHAM CASTLE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

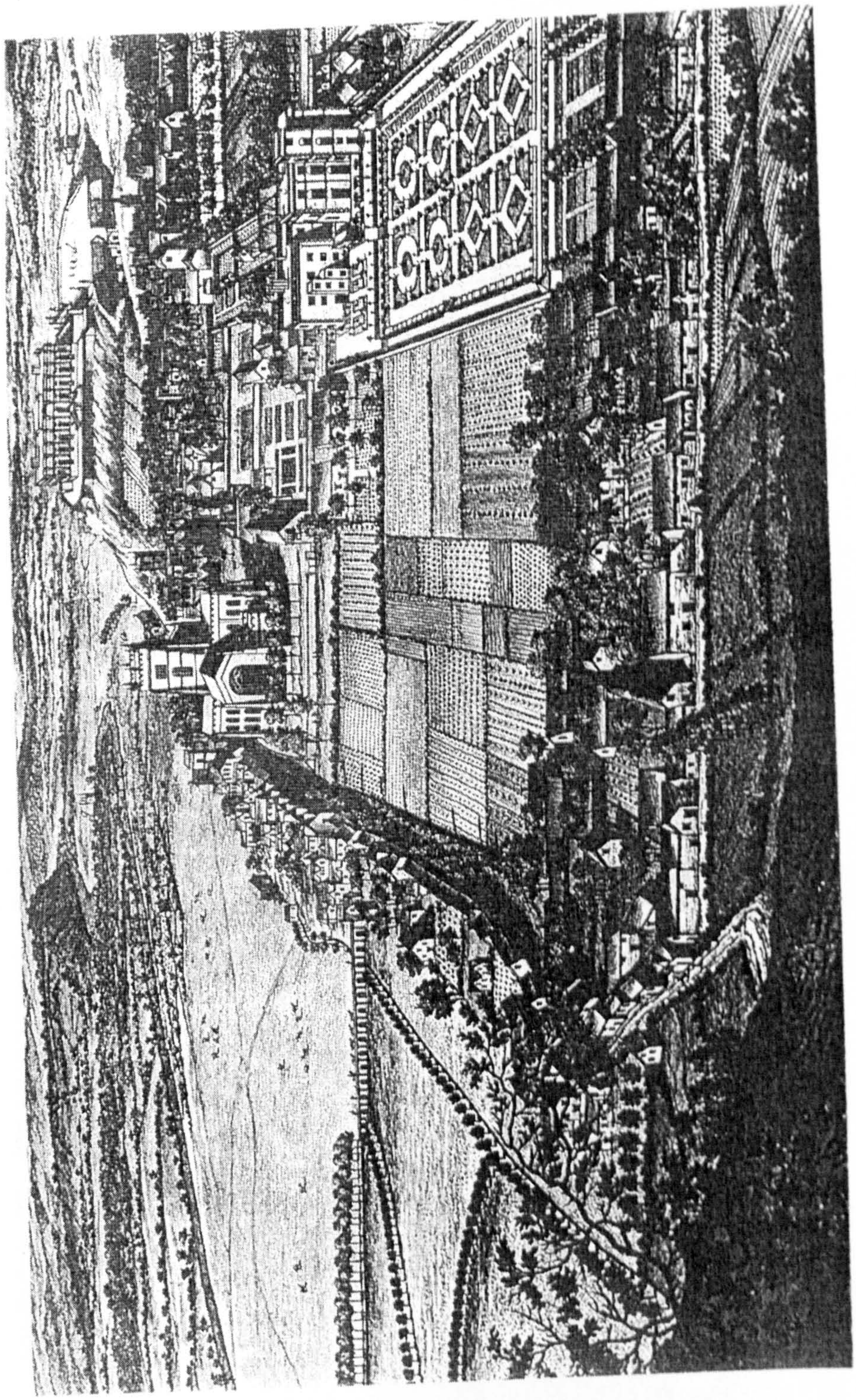
Illustration 9.1

Reconstruction plan of the house c.1690, when complete.

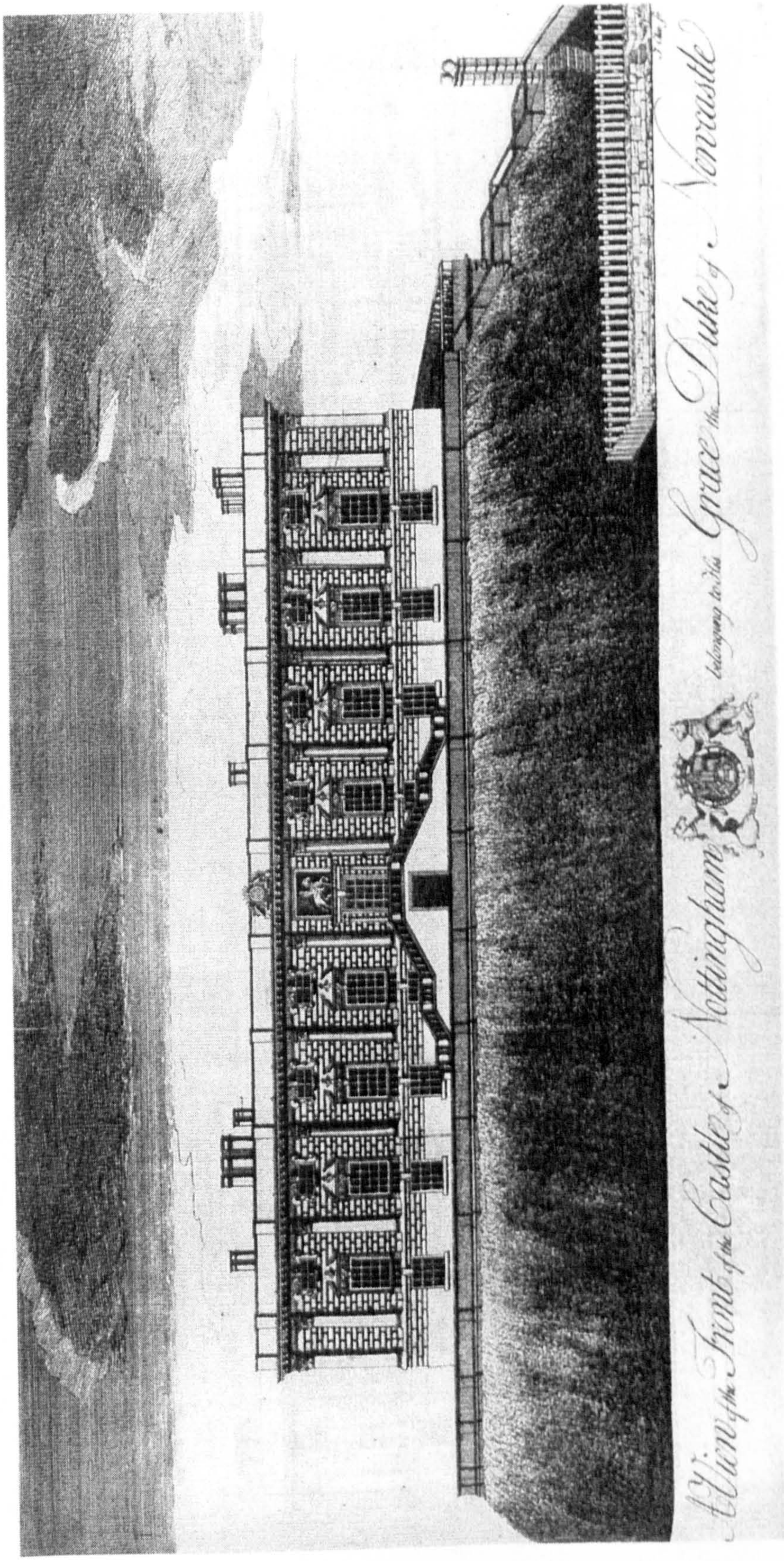
0 5 10 feet



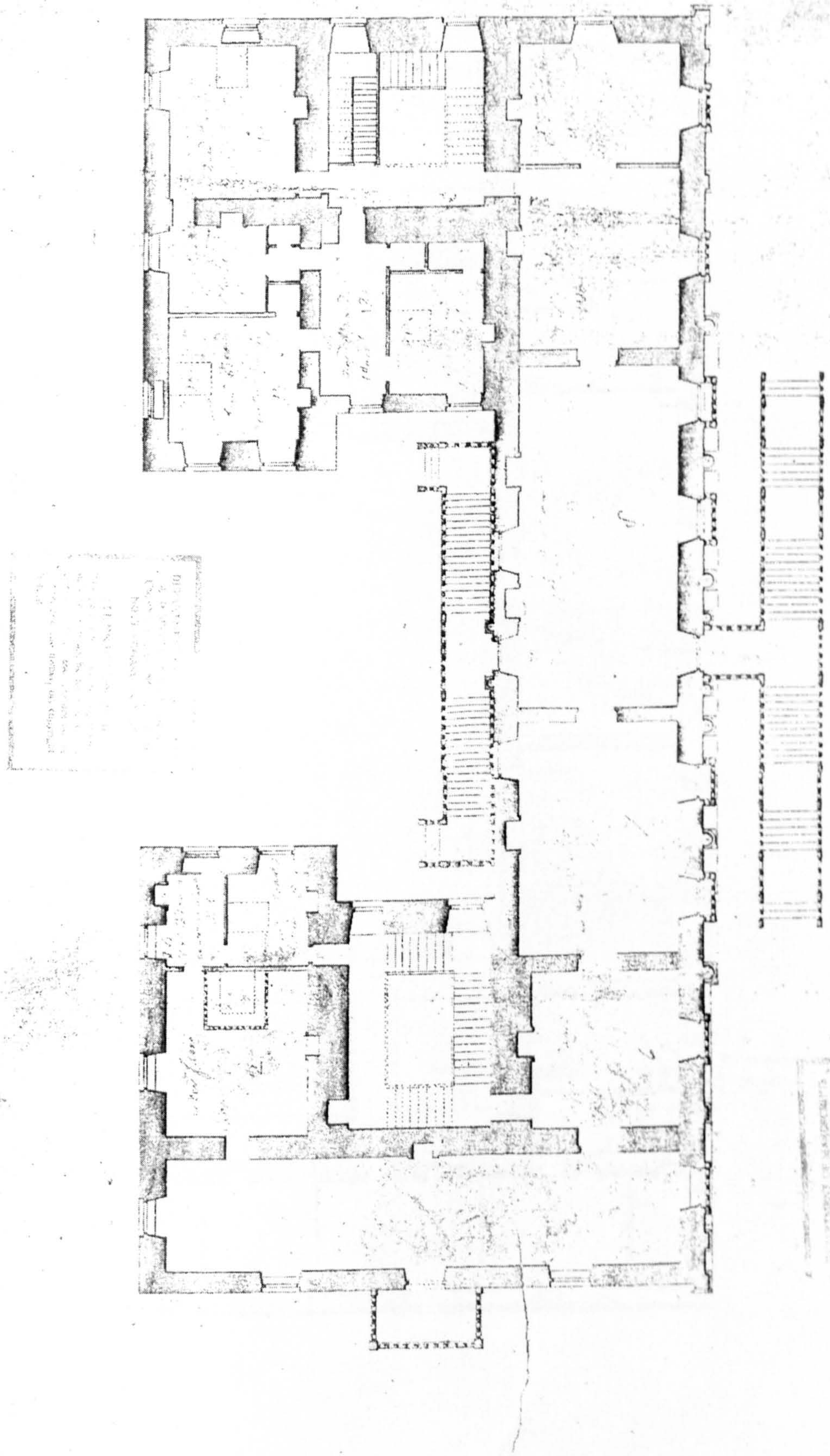
9.2 Richard Hall, 'North-East prospect of Nottingham,' reproduced from Thoroton, Robert, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire, extracted out of records, original evidences, Leger Books, other Manuscripts, and Authentick Authorities*, London, 1677, facing p.488, *by permission of The British Library.*



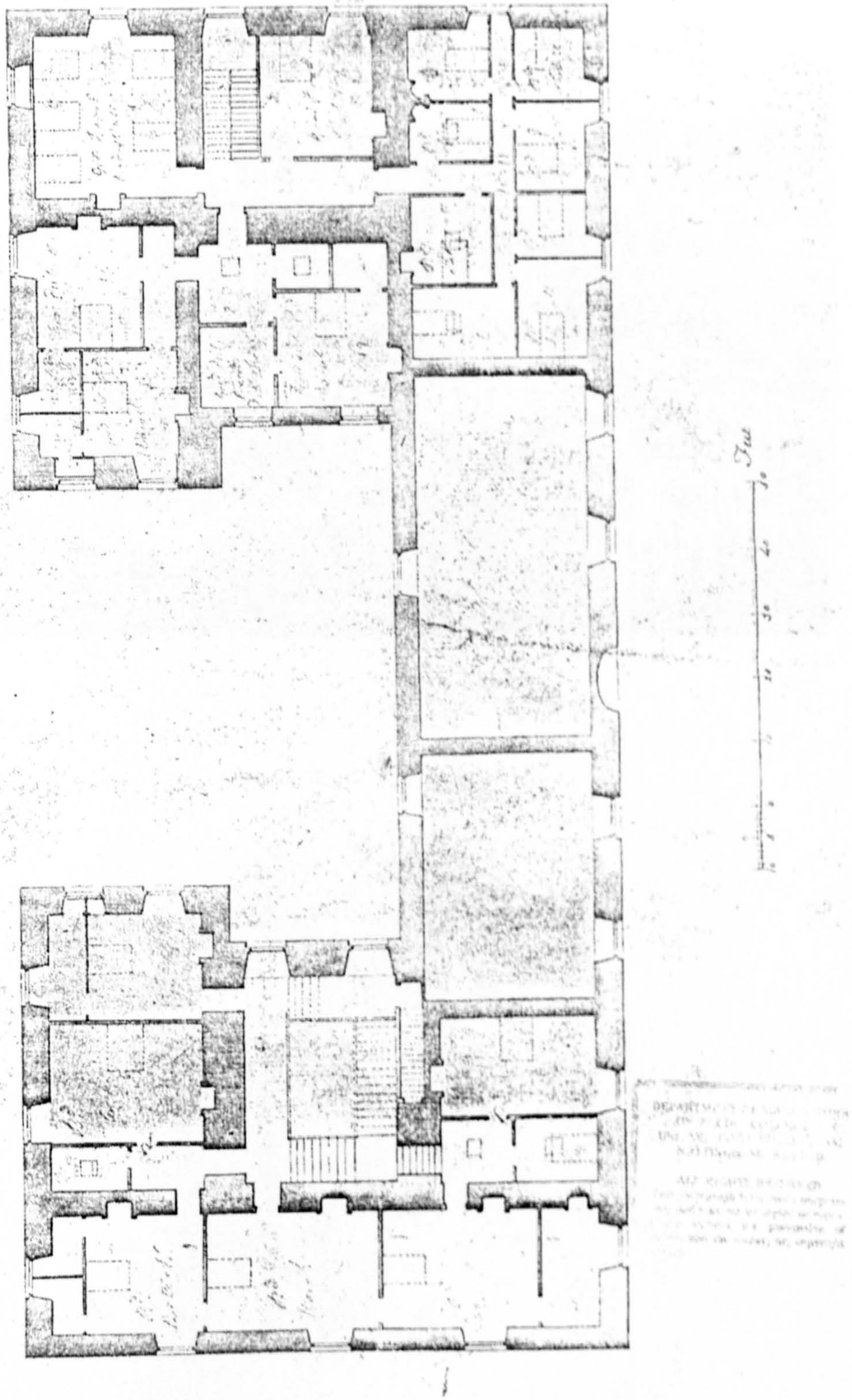
9.3 Kip, Jan, and Knyff, Leonard, view of Nottingham, commissioned 1697/8, reproduced from Trease, Geoffrey, *Nottingham, a Biography*, London, 1970, facing p.87.



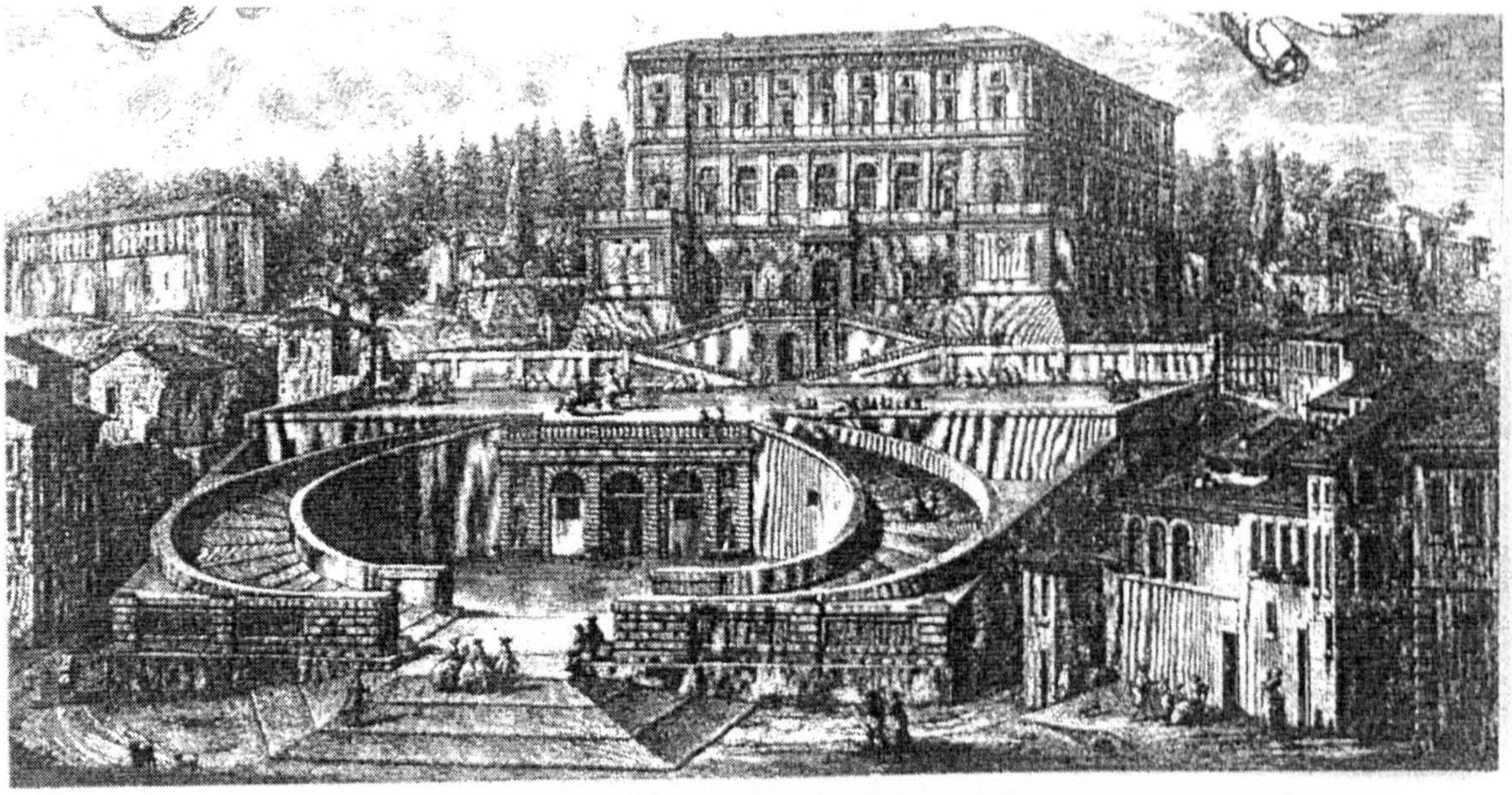
9.4 John Clee, the east elevation of Nottingham Castle, reproduced from Deering, *Nottinghamia vetus et nova, or an Historical Account of the Ancient and Present State of the town of Nottingham*, Nottingham, 1751, facing p.170, *by permission of The British Library.*



9.5 Nottingham Castle, plan of the 'Principal' storey, *Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts*, NPE P 4.5.3, 1769.

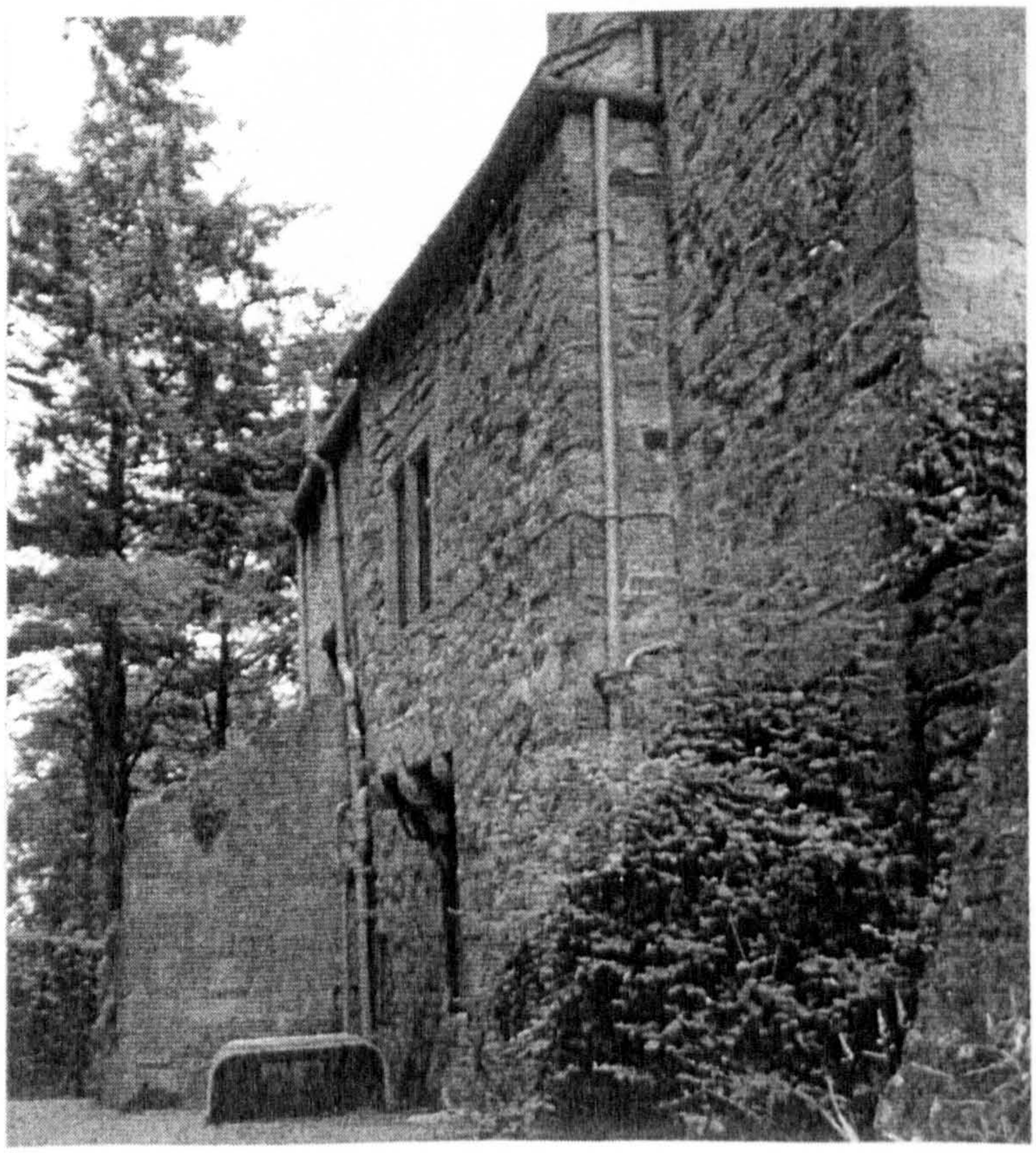


9.6 Nottingham Castle, plan of the 'Attick' storey, *Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts*, NPE P 4.5.4, 1769.

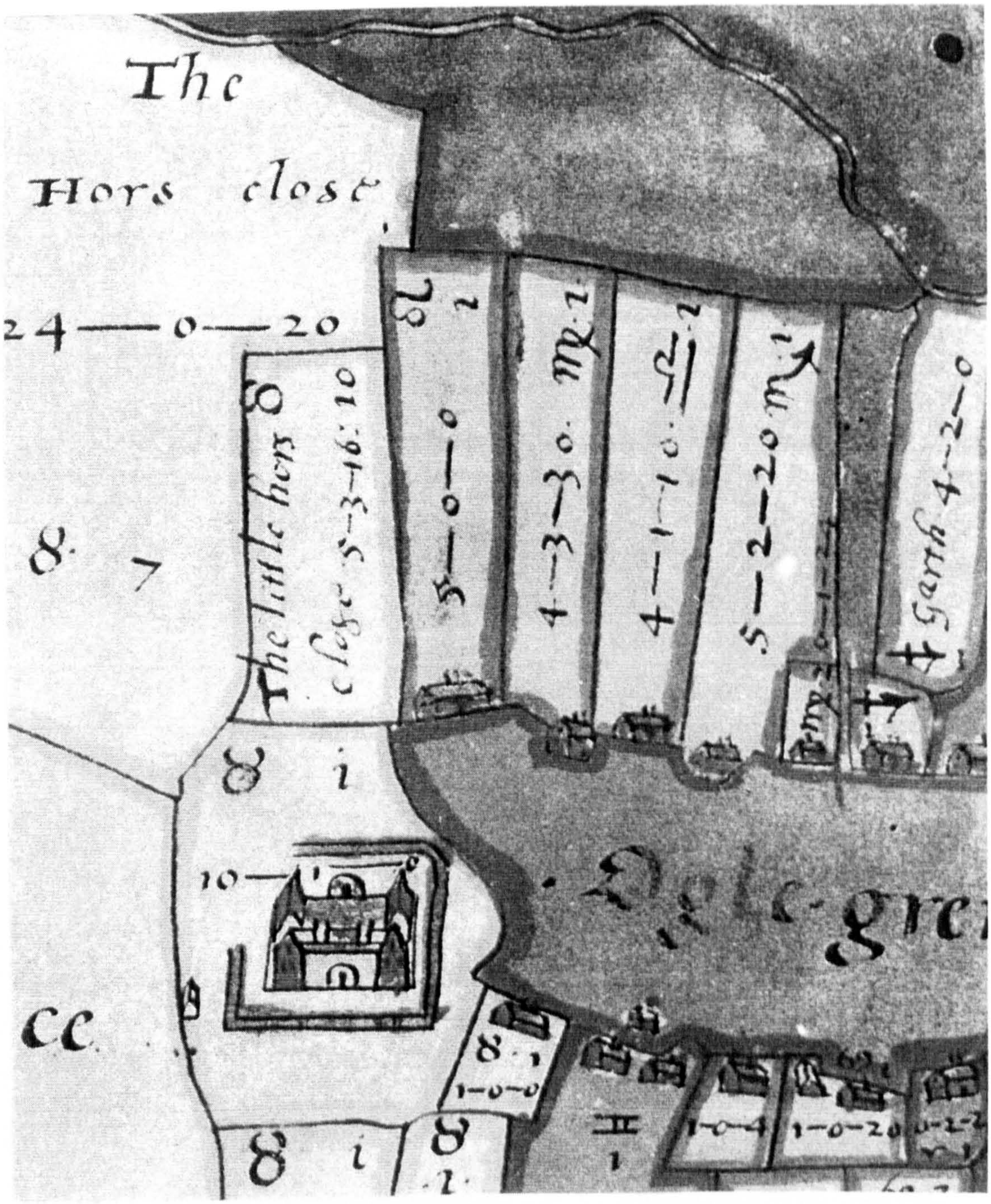


9.7 Undated eighteenth-century engraving of the Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, Italy.

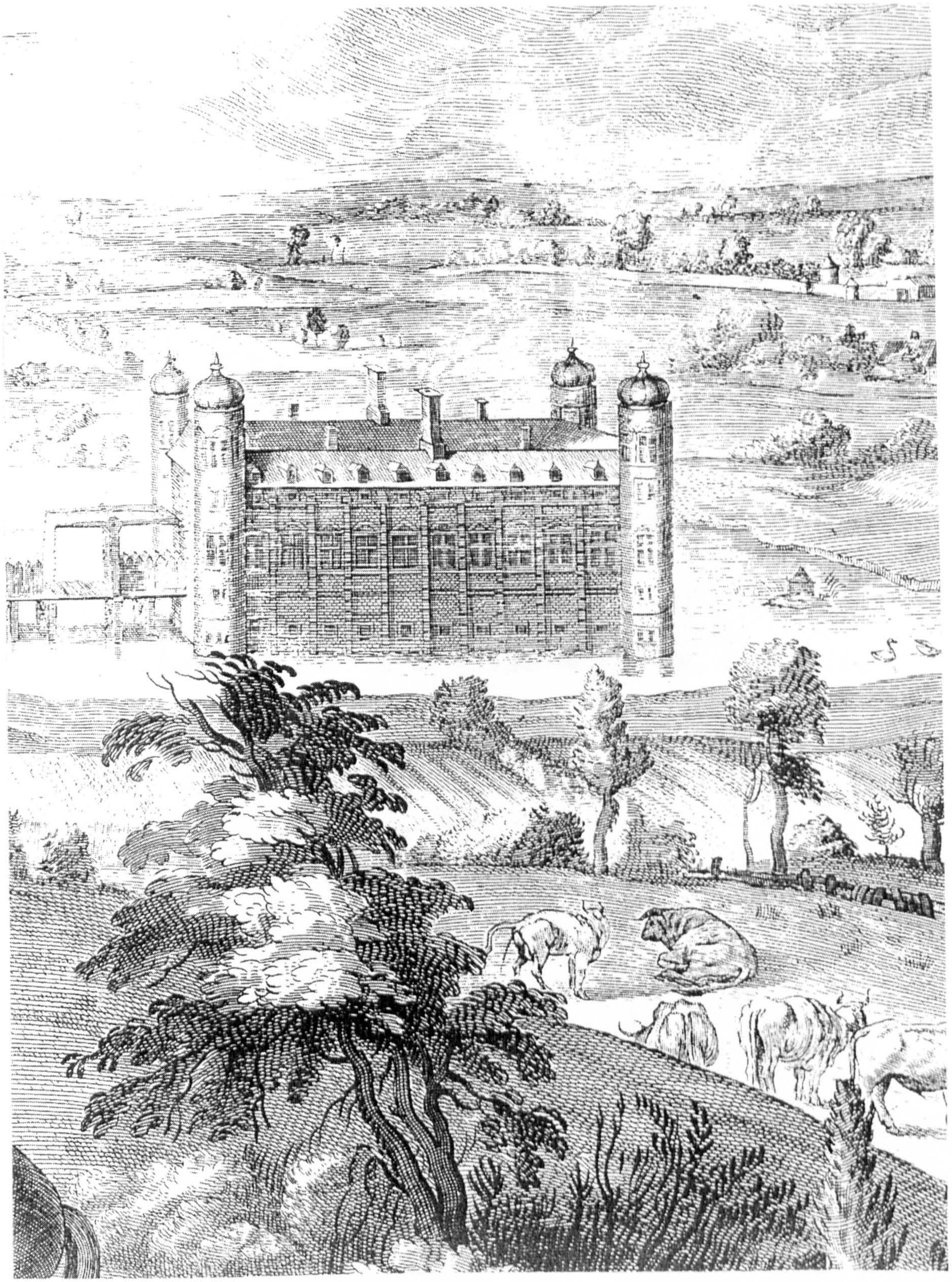
10.1 Ogle Castle, Northumberland, south front, 2000.



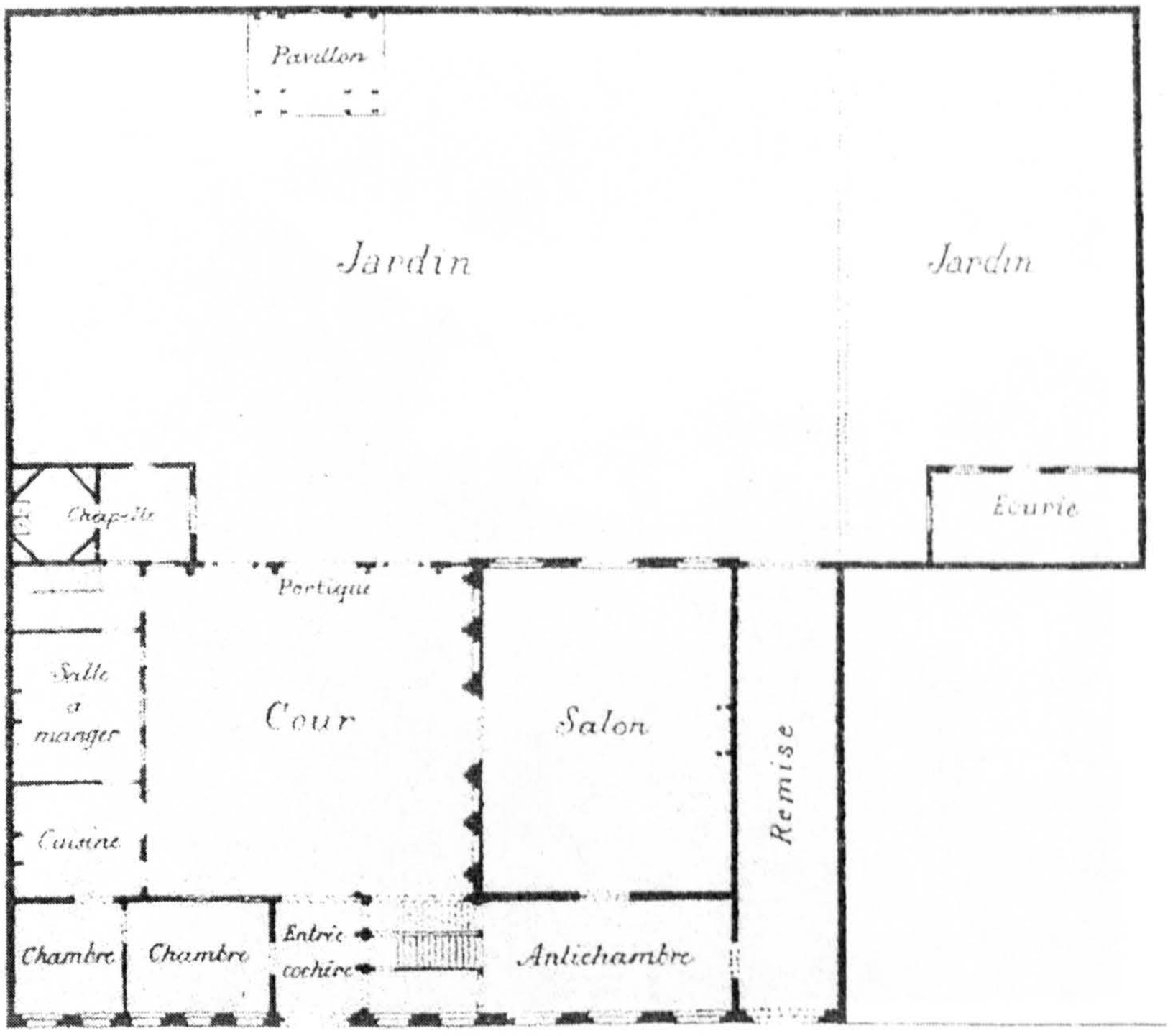
10.2 Ogle Castle, Northumberland, west elevation of the tower, 2000.

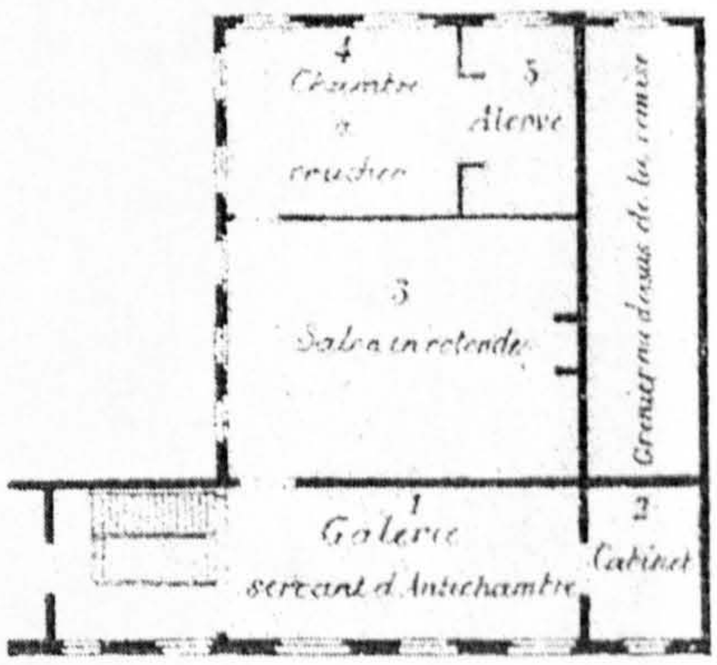


10.3 Survey by Huntingdom Smithson, 1632, *Private Collection,* image provided by *Nottingham University, Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts.*



10.4 Engraving, by Lucas Vostermans after Abraham Diepenbeke, of Ogle Castle, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux,* Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 40, following p.262.



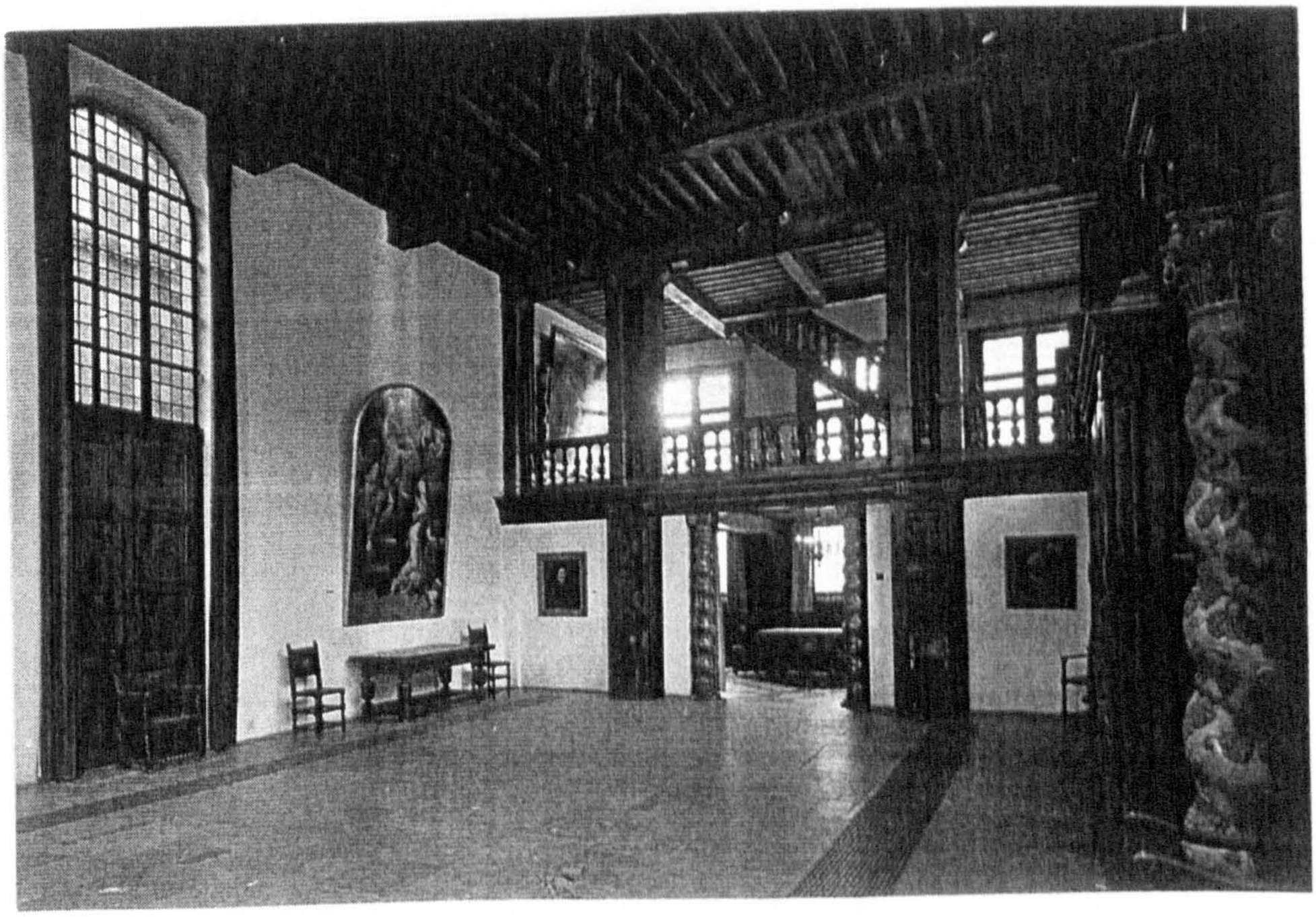


11.1 Jos Schadde, ground plan of the *Rubenshuis*, 1885, reproduced from Tijs, Rutger, *Rubens en Jordaens Barok in Eigen Huis*, Antwerp, 1983, p.161. (The studio / *manège* is labelled 'Salon.')

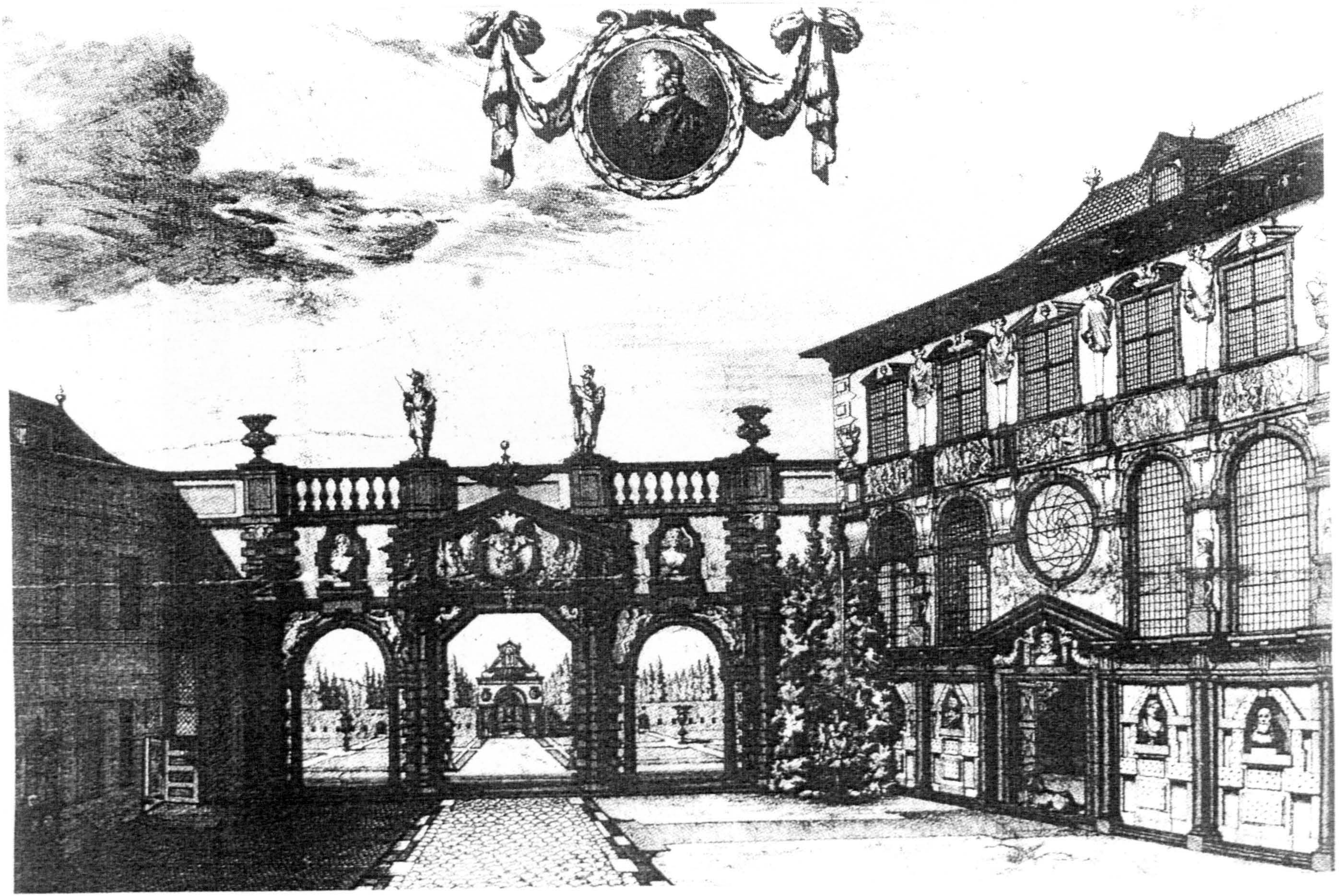
11.2 The garden front, the *Rubenshuis*, Antwerp.

11.3 The 'studio' façade, the *Rubenshuis*, Antwerp.

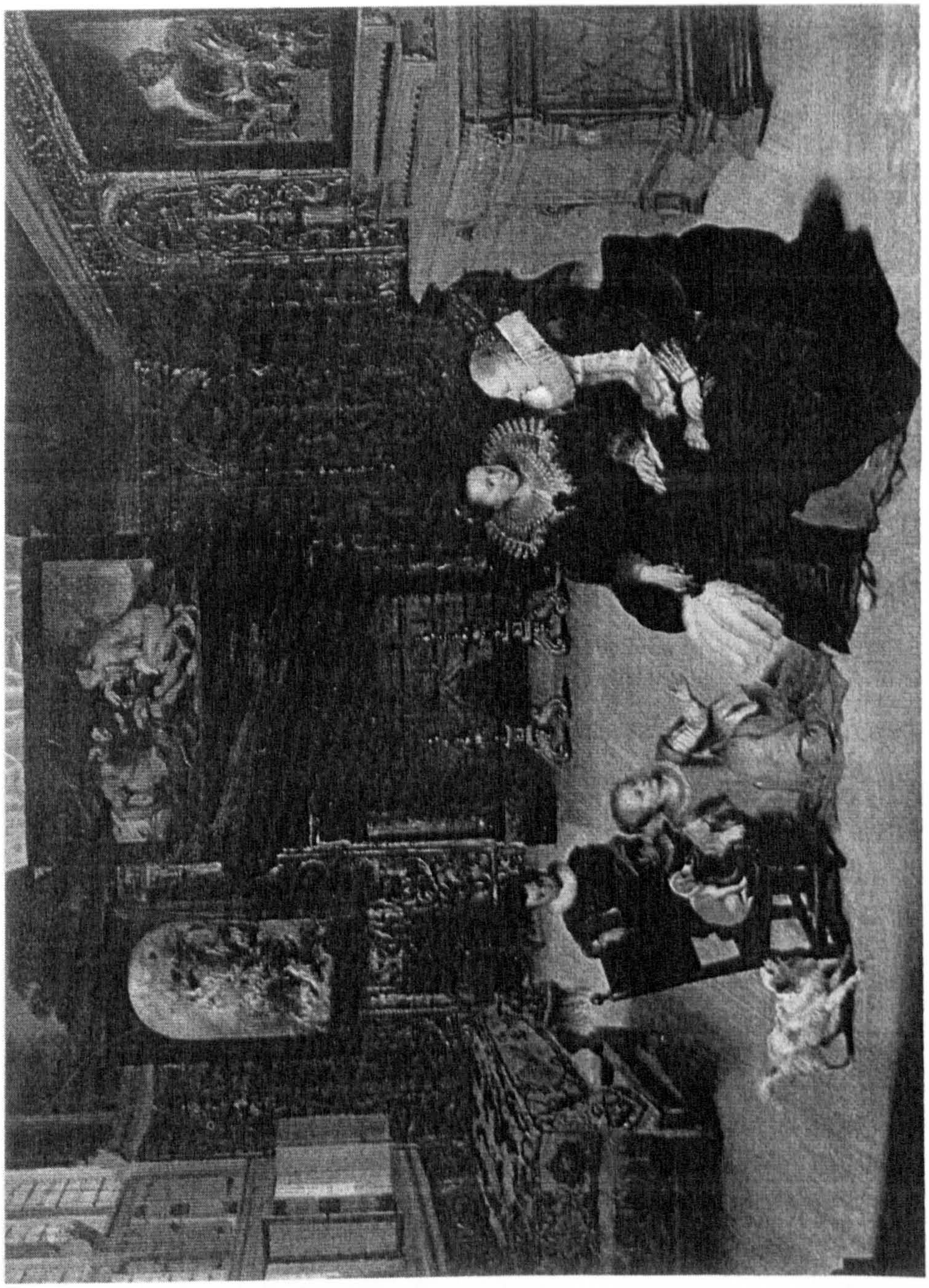
11.4 The 'museum,' the *Rubenshuis*, Antwerp.



11.5 The 'studio,' the *Rubenshuis*, Antwerp.

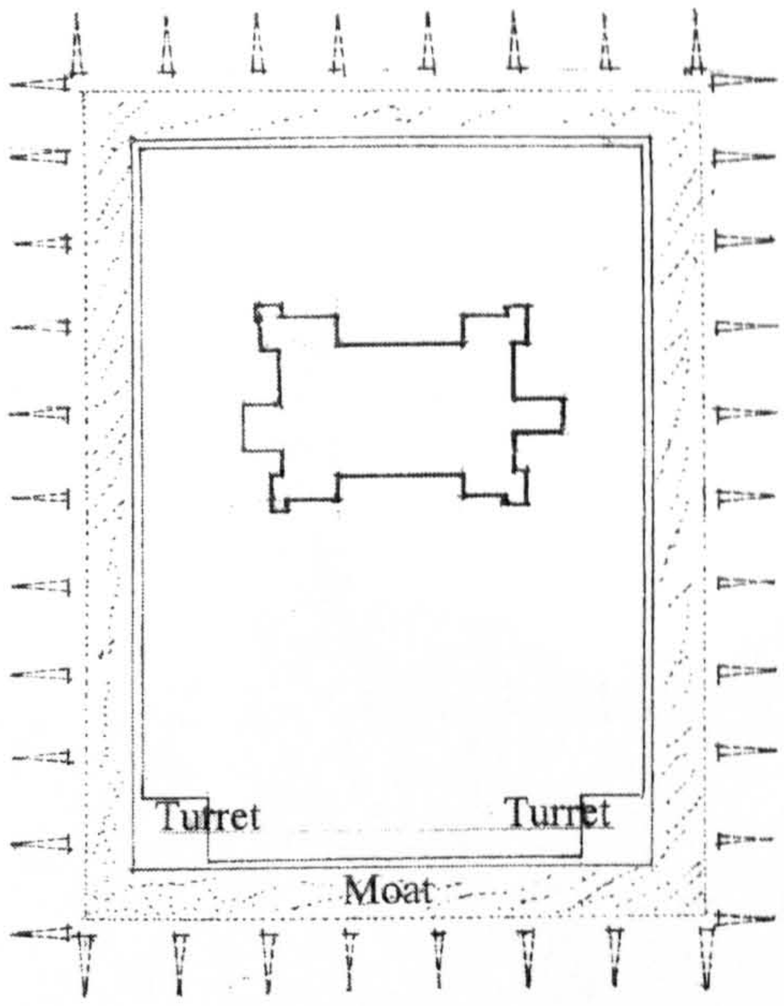


11.6 'Maison Hilwerue a Anvers dit l'hostel Rubens 1684,' courtyard view, reproduced from Tijs, Rutger, *Rubens en Jordaens Barok in Eigen Huis*, Antwerp, 1983, p.150.

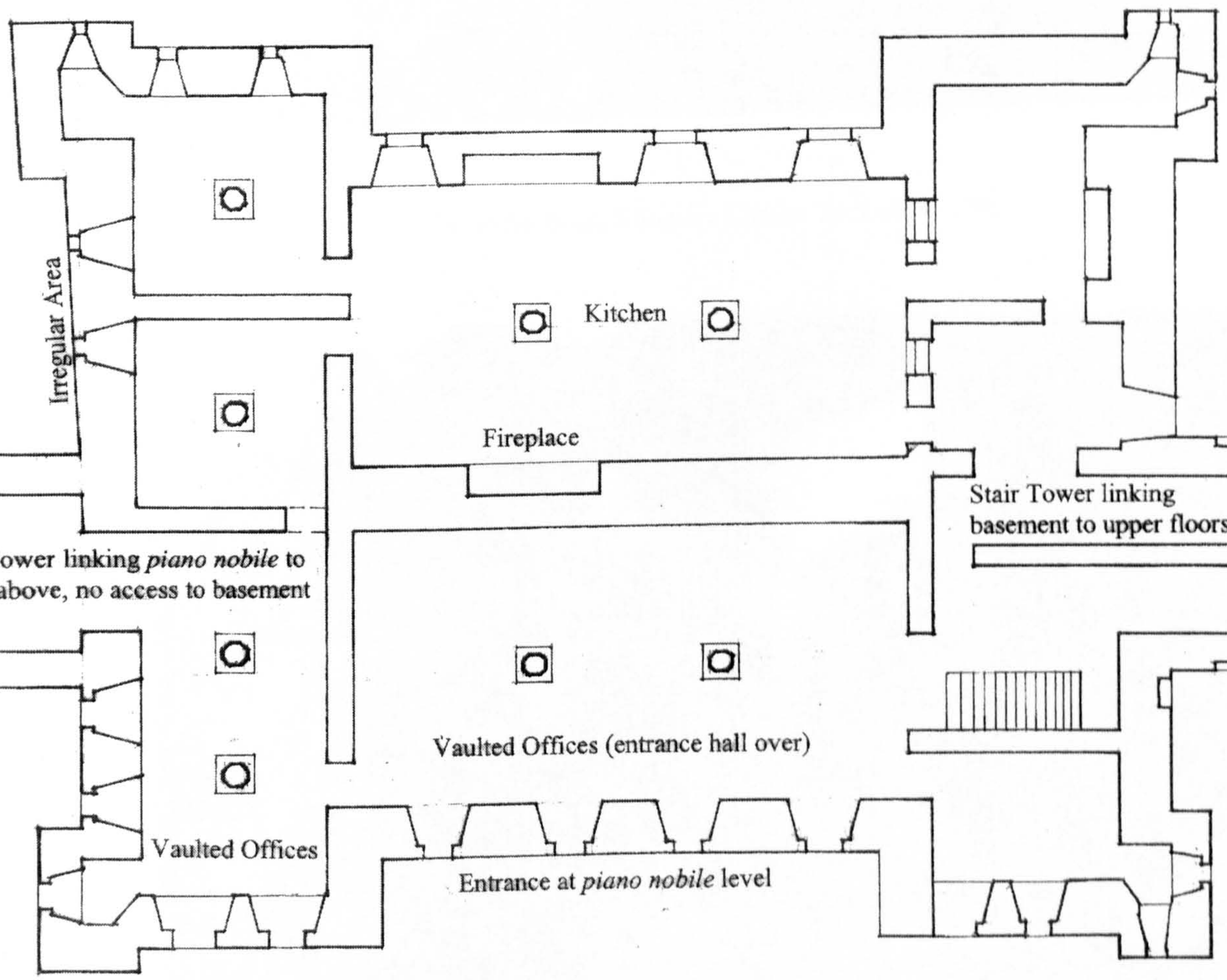


11.8 Frans Francken II, 'Living Room of Peter Paul Rubens' House in Antwerp,' National Museum, Stockholm, reproduced from Tijs, Rutger, *Rubens en Jordaens Barok in Eigen Huis*, Antwerp, 1983, p.112.

Slingsby Castle set within its moat, based on BL Harleian MS 7180, Art.2.



Reconstruction plan of the basement of Slingsby Castle in about 1640.



This plan of Slingsby Castle is based on the anonymous seventeenth/eighteenth century survey in the Worsley collection at Hovingham Hall, the plan produced by Mr Reavel, clerk of the Castle Howard Estates, published in Brooke, (1904), and on the observation of the surviving remains.

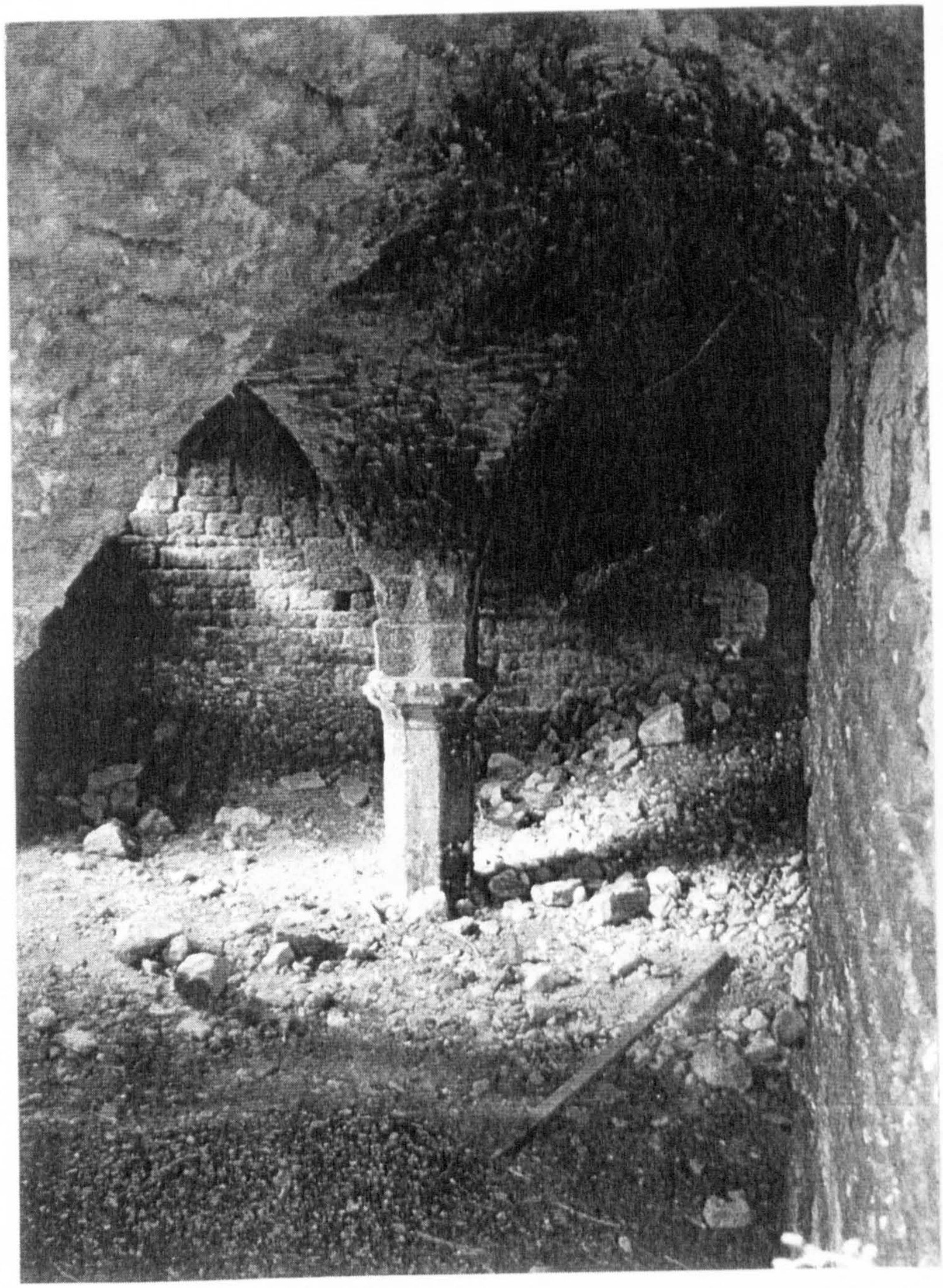
0 5 10 feet

SLINGSBY CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

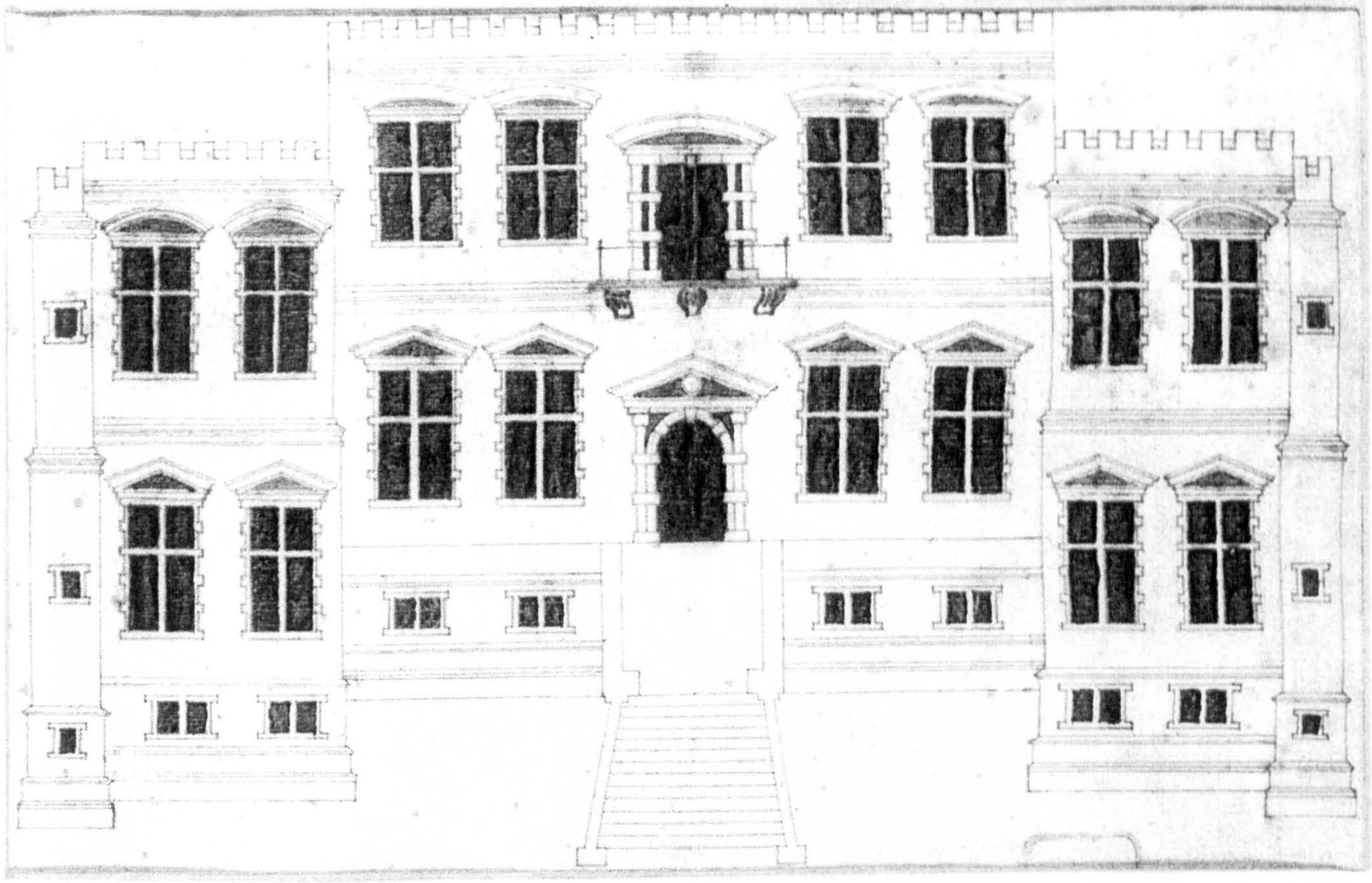
Illustration 12.1

12.2 The remains of the south front, Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.

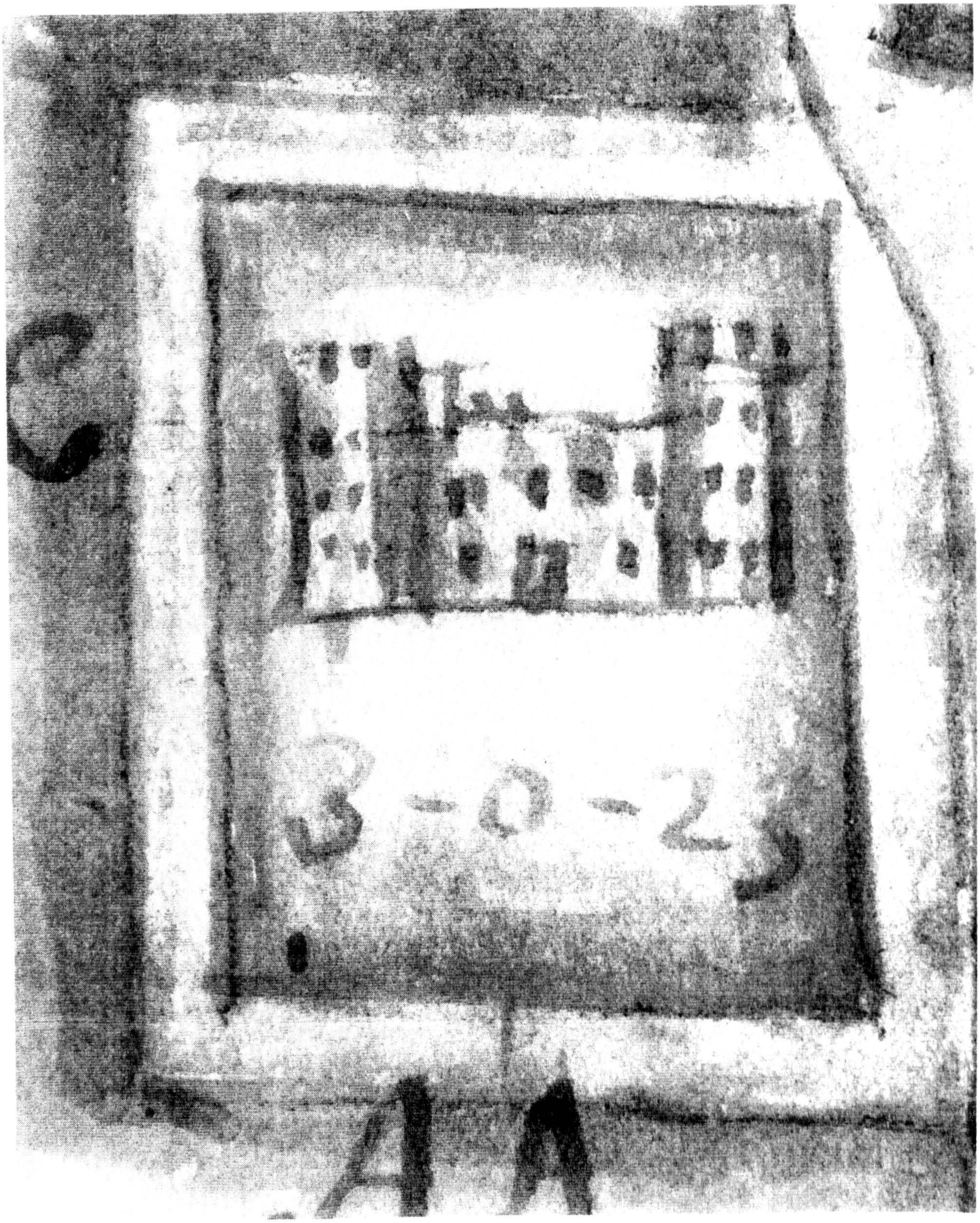
12.3 Surviving windows in the north front, Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.



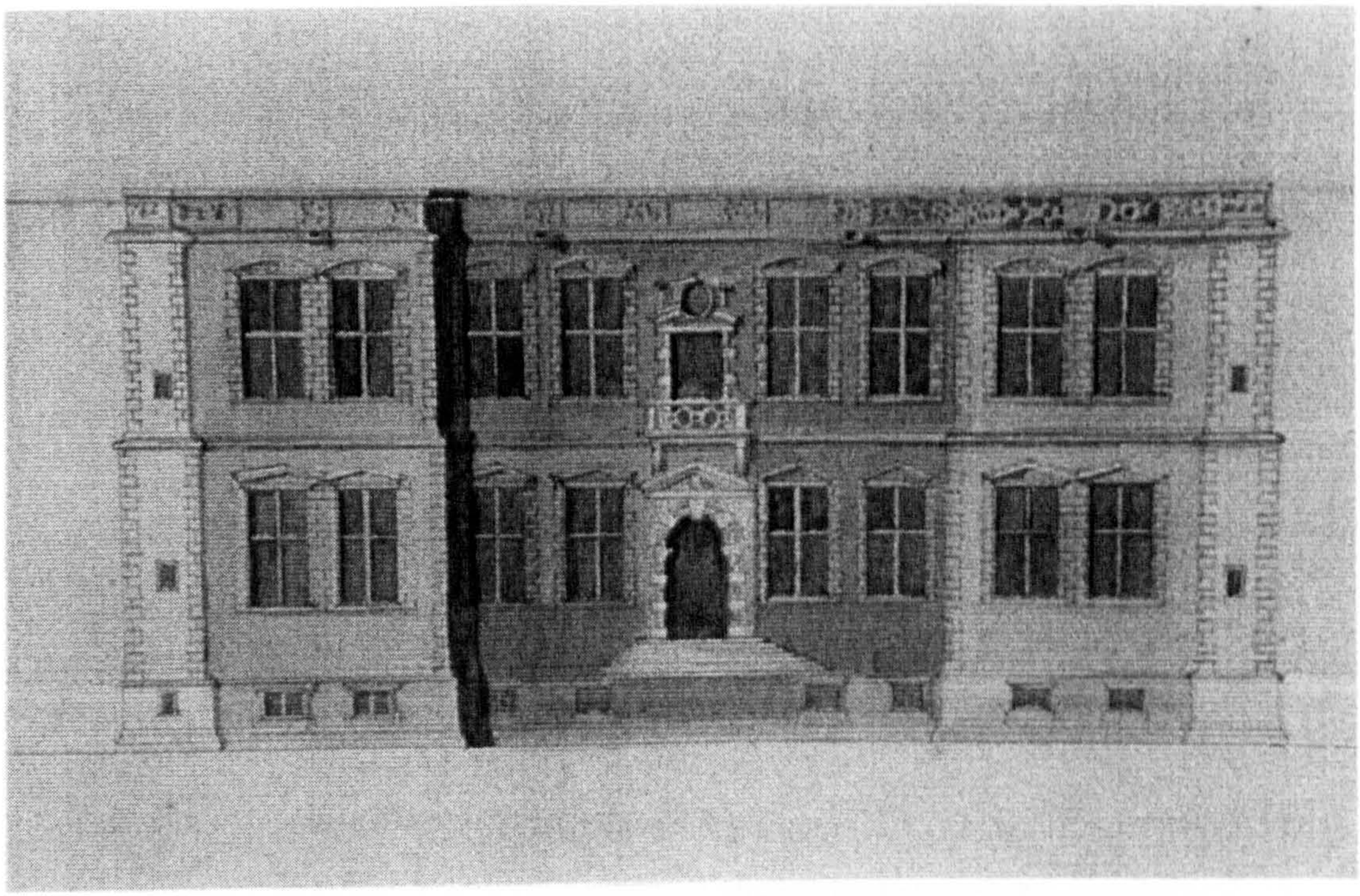
12.4 Vaulted basement offices, Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.



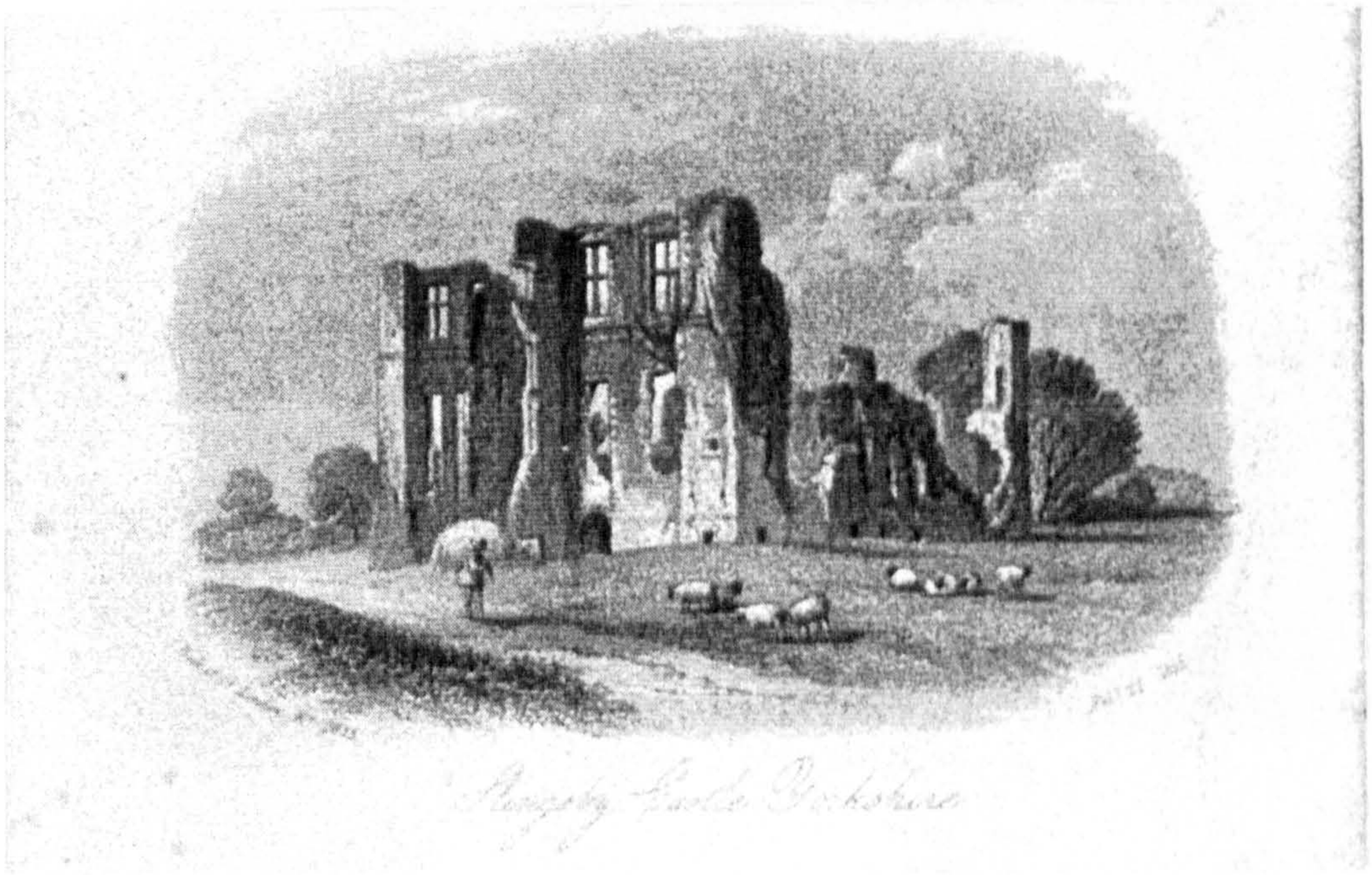
12.5 John Smithson's designs for Slingsby Castle, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/12 (1).



12.6 BL MS Harleian 7180, Art.2, 'A perfect map of the manor of Slingsby' by Edmund Browne, 1656, *by permission of The British Library*.



12.7 Undated elevational drawing of Slingsby Castle, from the archives of Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire, *by courtesy of Sir Marcus Worsley*.



12.8 Undated nineteenth-century engraving of the ruins of Slingsby Castle, *by courtesy of Patrick Wormald*.

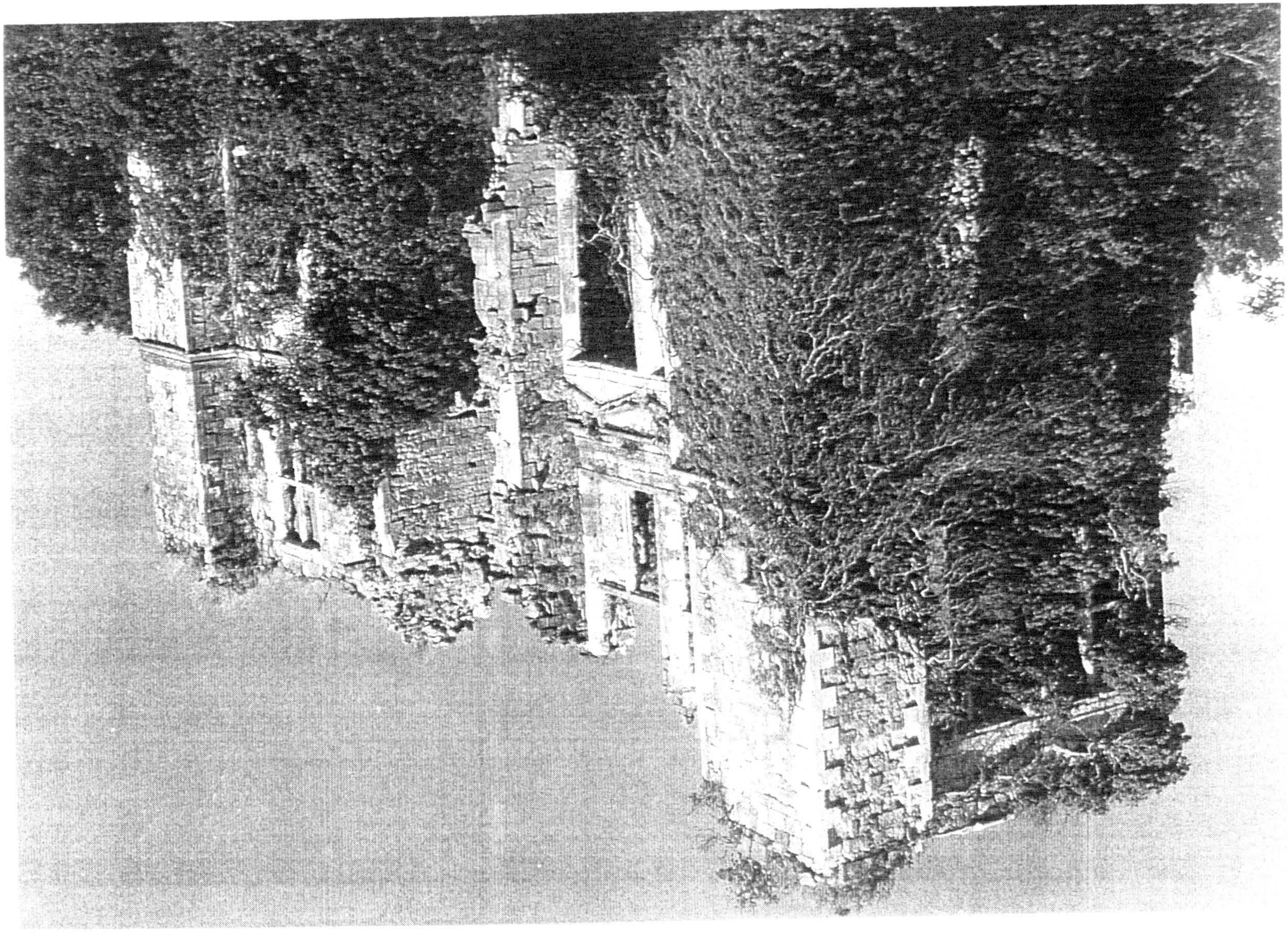
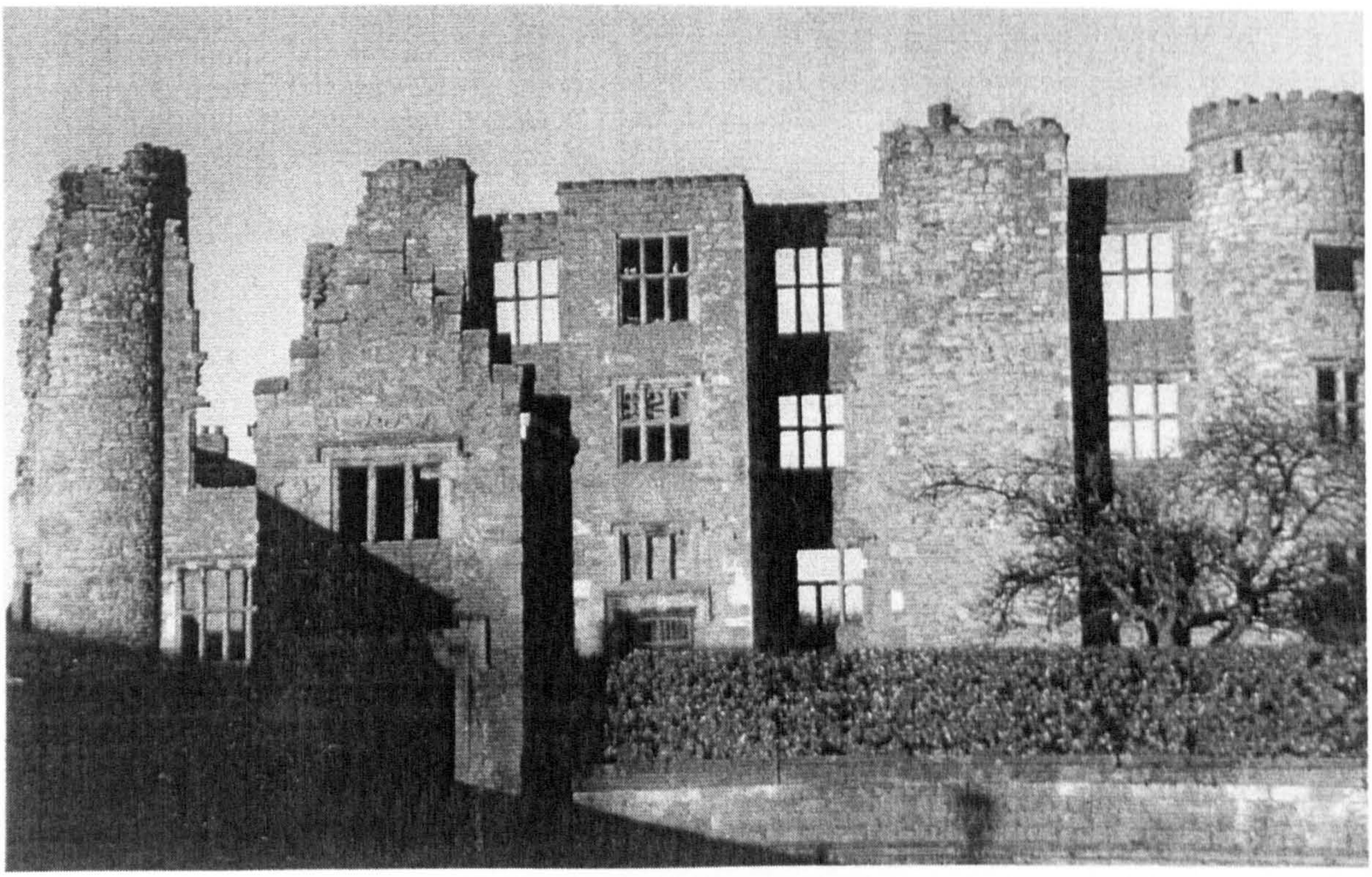
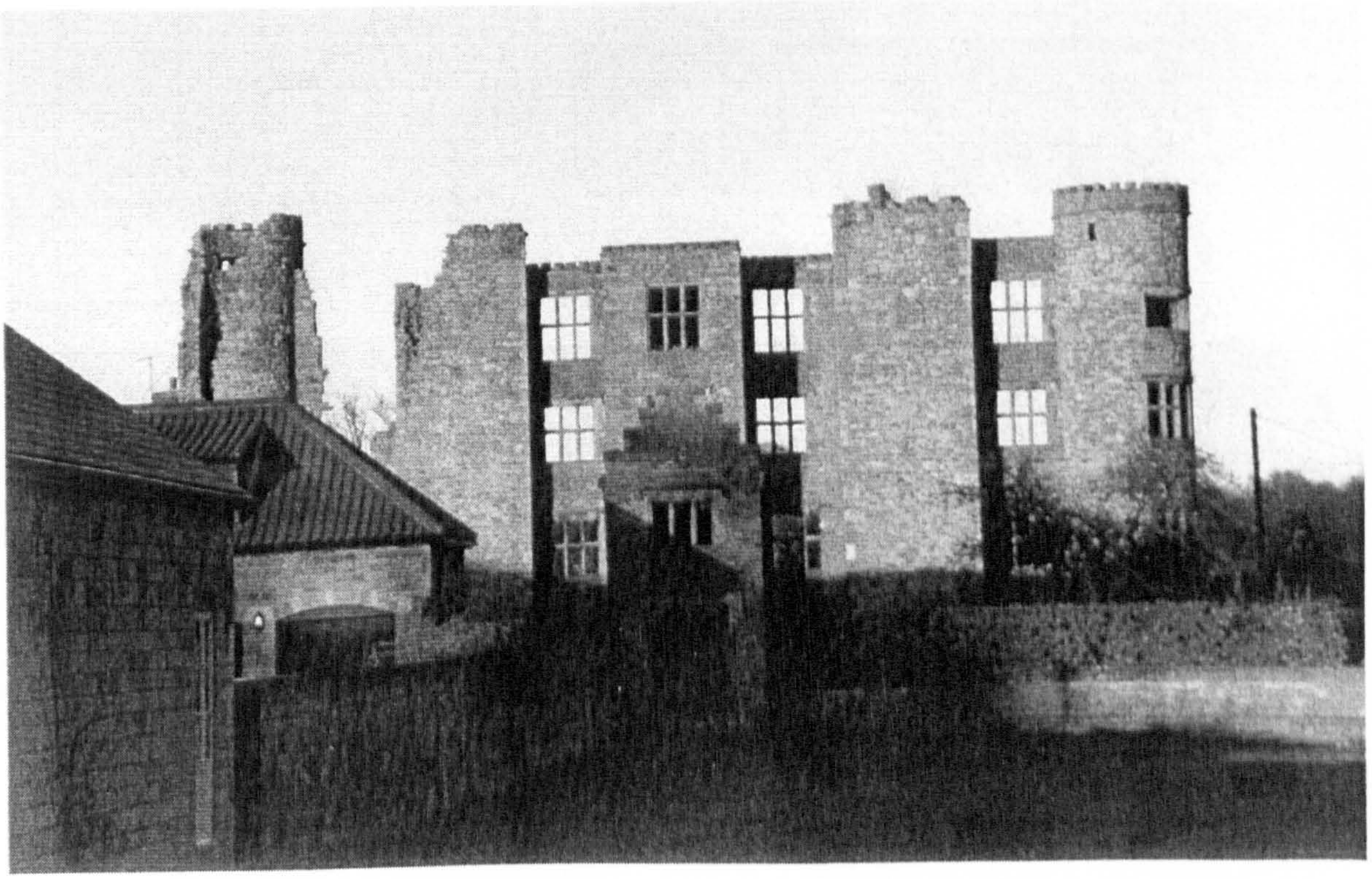


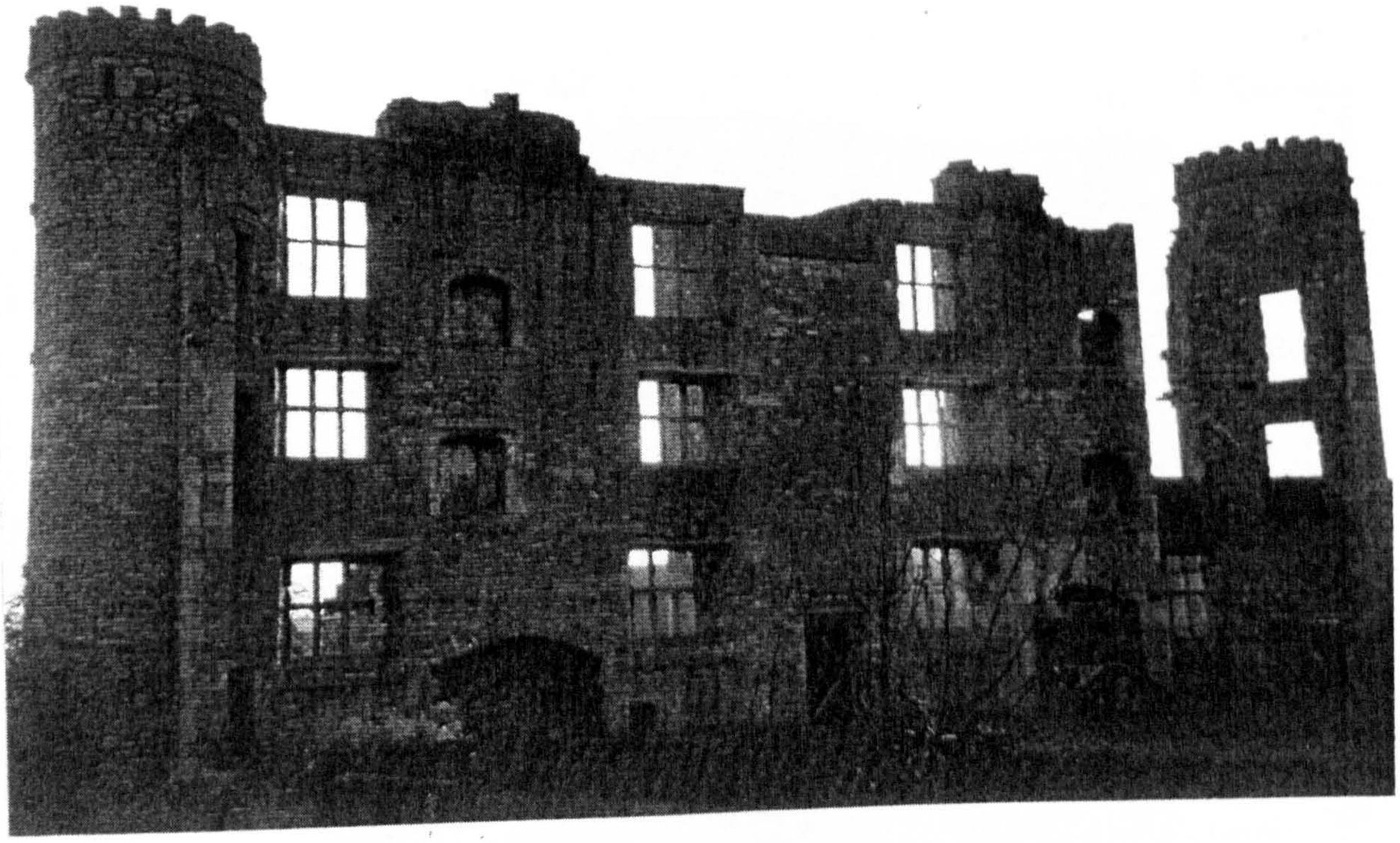
Fig. 6.1 The south elevation of Shrule Castle, showing the flight of steps leading to the first floor.



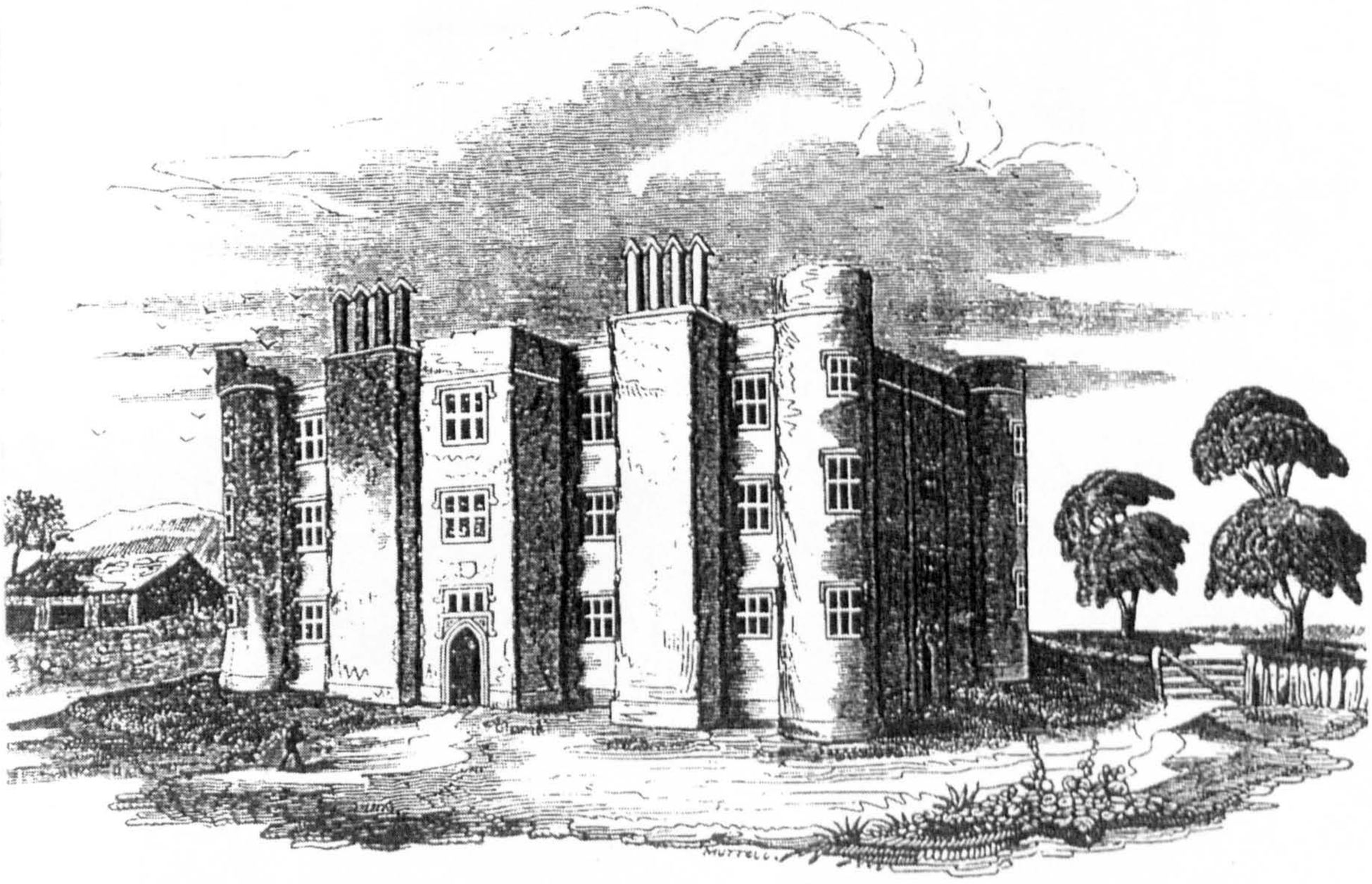
13.1 The south front, Thorpe Salvin Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.



13.2 The south front, Thorpe Salvin Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.

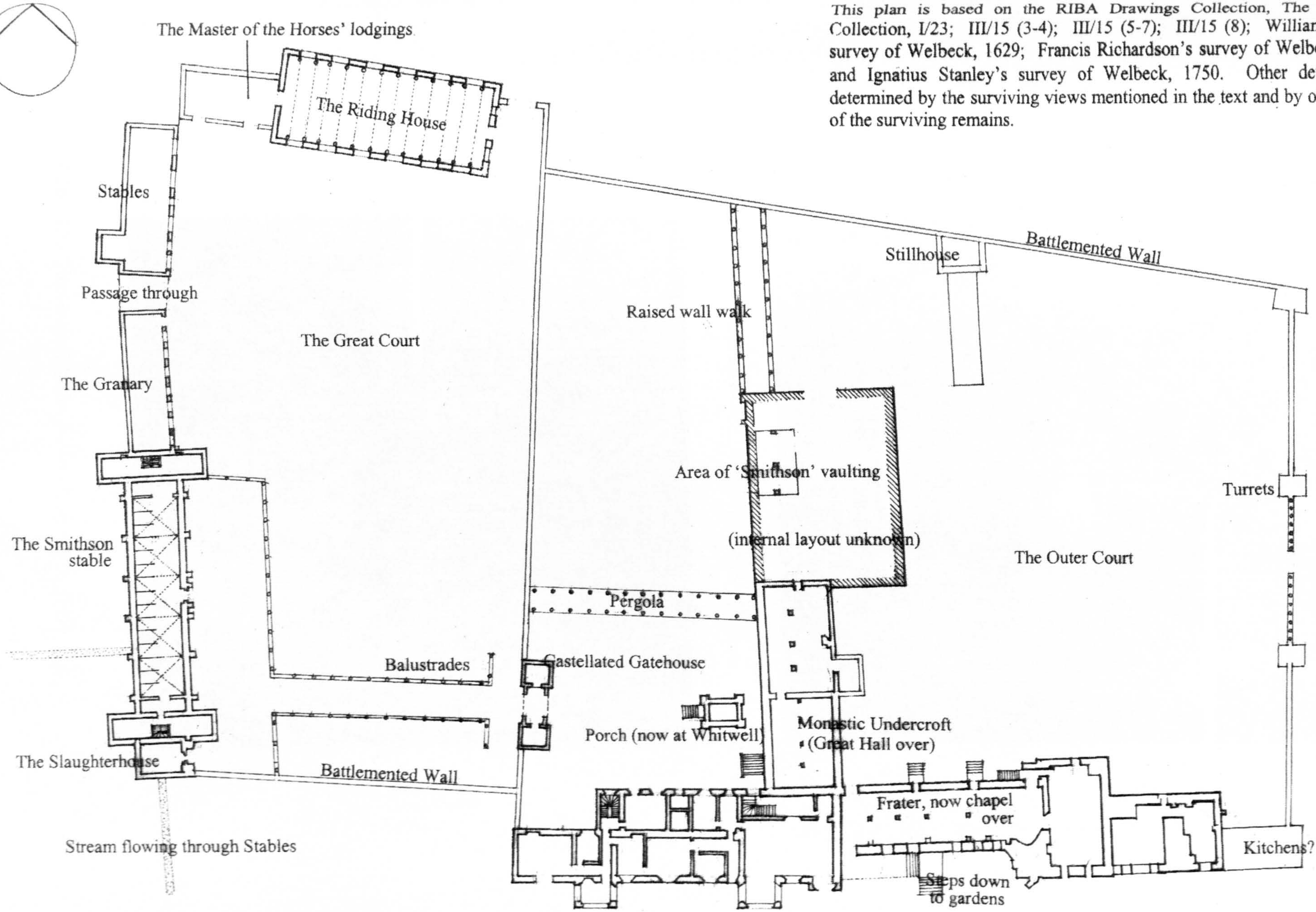


13.3 The interior of the south front, Thorpe Salvin Castle, Yorkshire, 2001.



13.4 Early nineteenth-century engraving of Thorpe Salvin Castle, Yorkshire, reproduced from Hunter, J., *Hallamshire. The history and topography of the parish of Sheffield ...* a new and enlarged edition by A. Gatty, etc., London, 1869, p.310.

13.5 The Earl of Shrewsburys' house at Coldharbour from John Norden's "description of the moste *Famous Citty* LONDON," 1600.



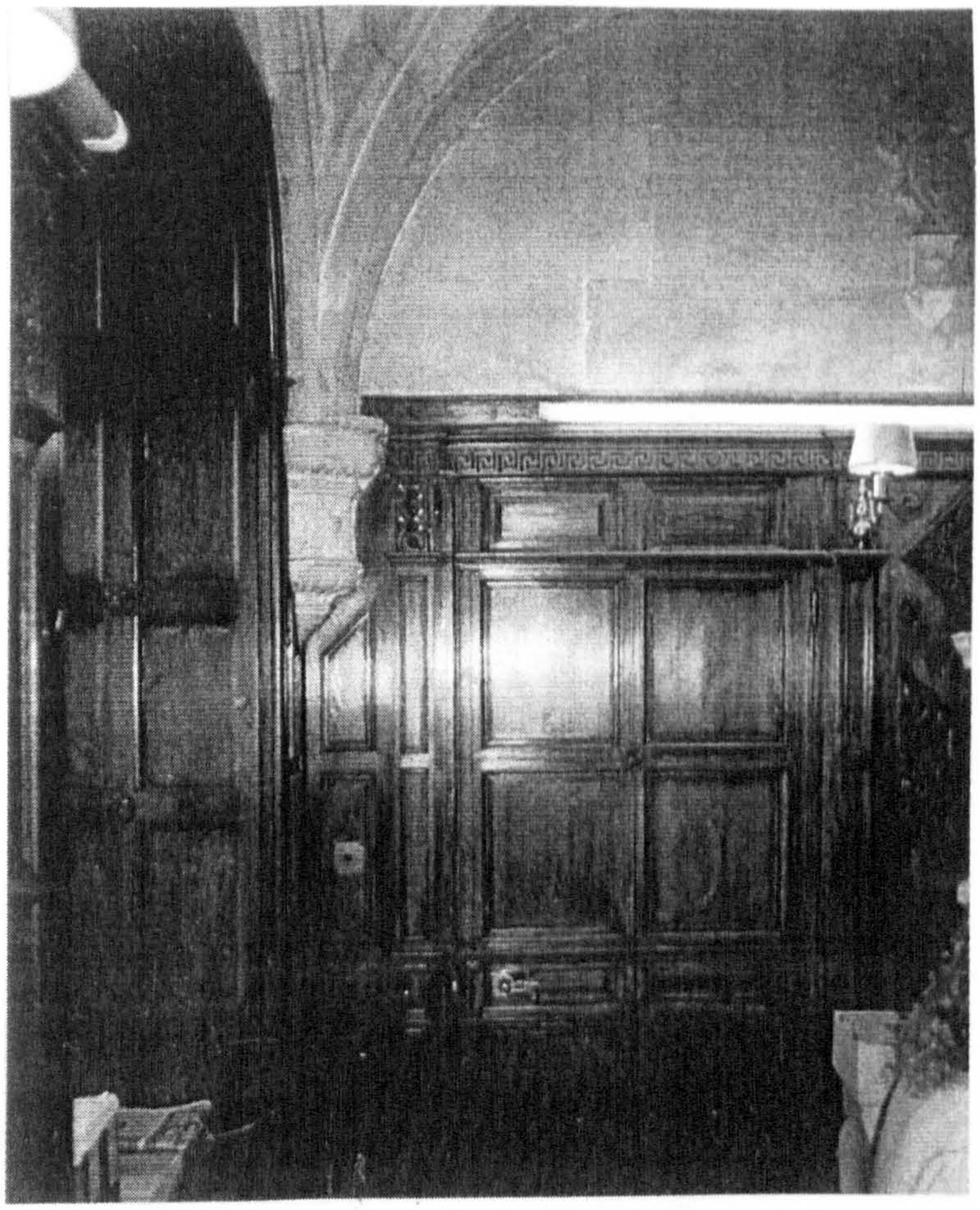
This plan is based on the RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, I/23; III/15 (3-4); III/15 (5-7); III/15 (8); William Senior's survey of Welbeck, 1629; Francis Richardson's survey of Welbeck, 1748; and Ignatius Stanley's survey of Welbeck, 1750. Other details were determined by the surviving views mentioned in the text and by observation of the surviving remains.

The south-west wing, formerly the abbot's lodgings, remodelled c.1608.

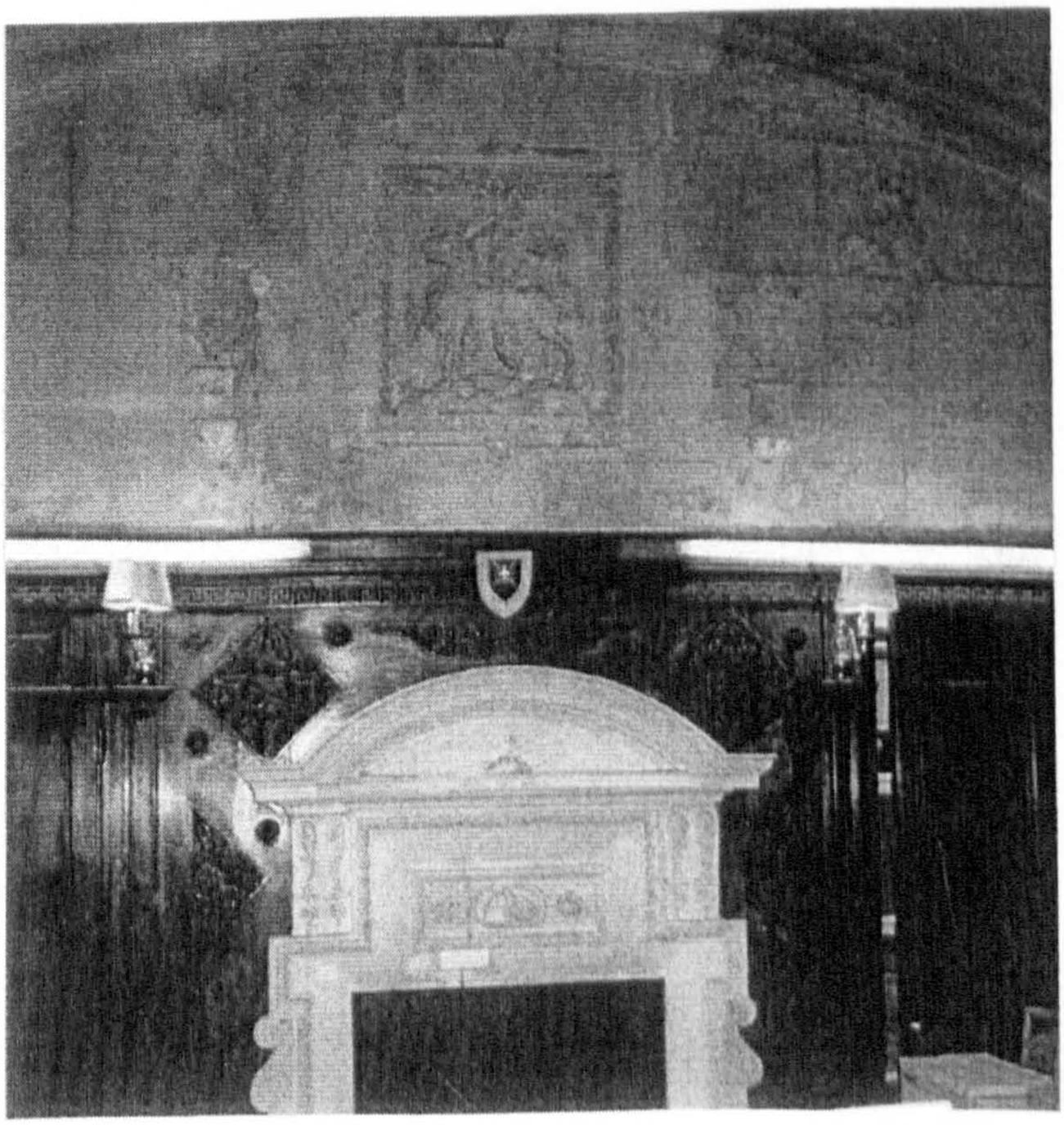
WELBECK ABBEY, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
Illustration 14.1

Reconstruction plan of the Abbey in about 1670.

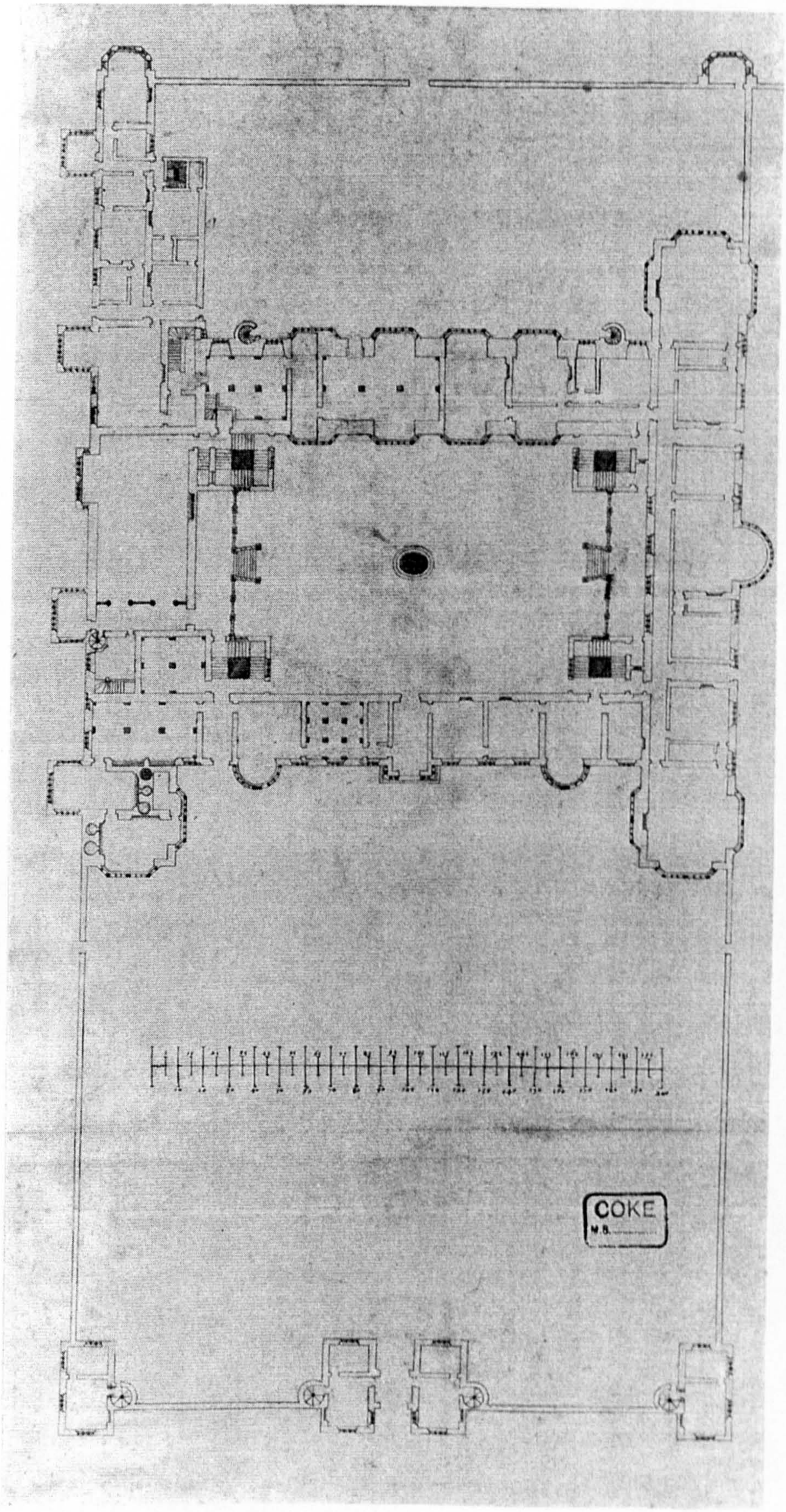
0 10 20 feet



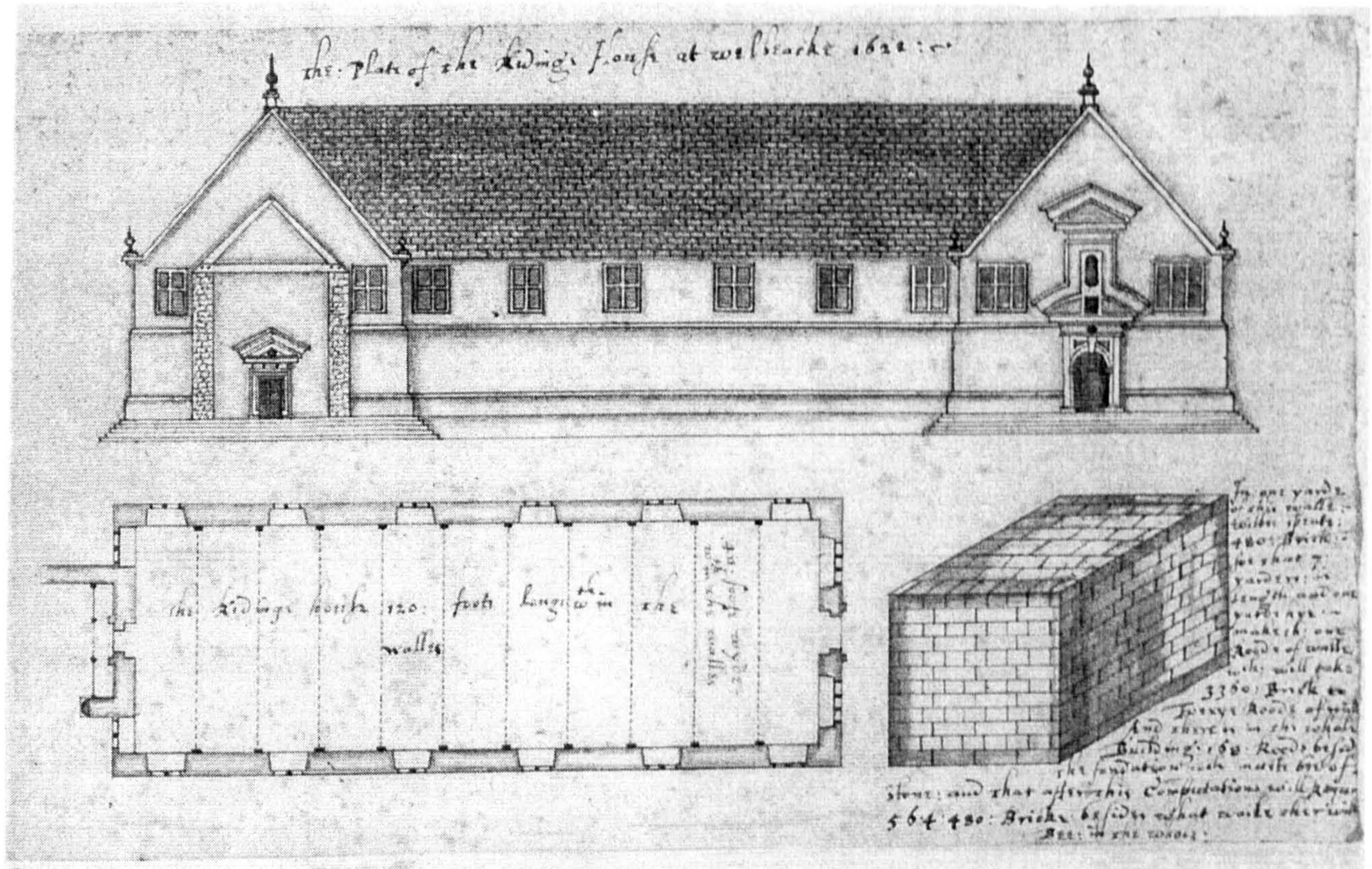
14.2a The 'Horsemanship Room,' Welbeck Abbey, 1999.

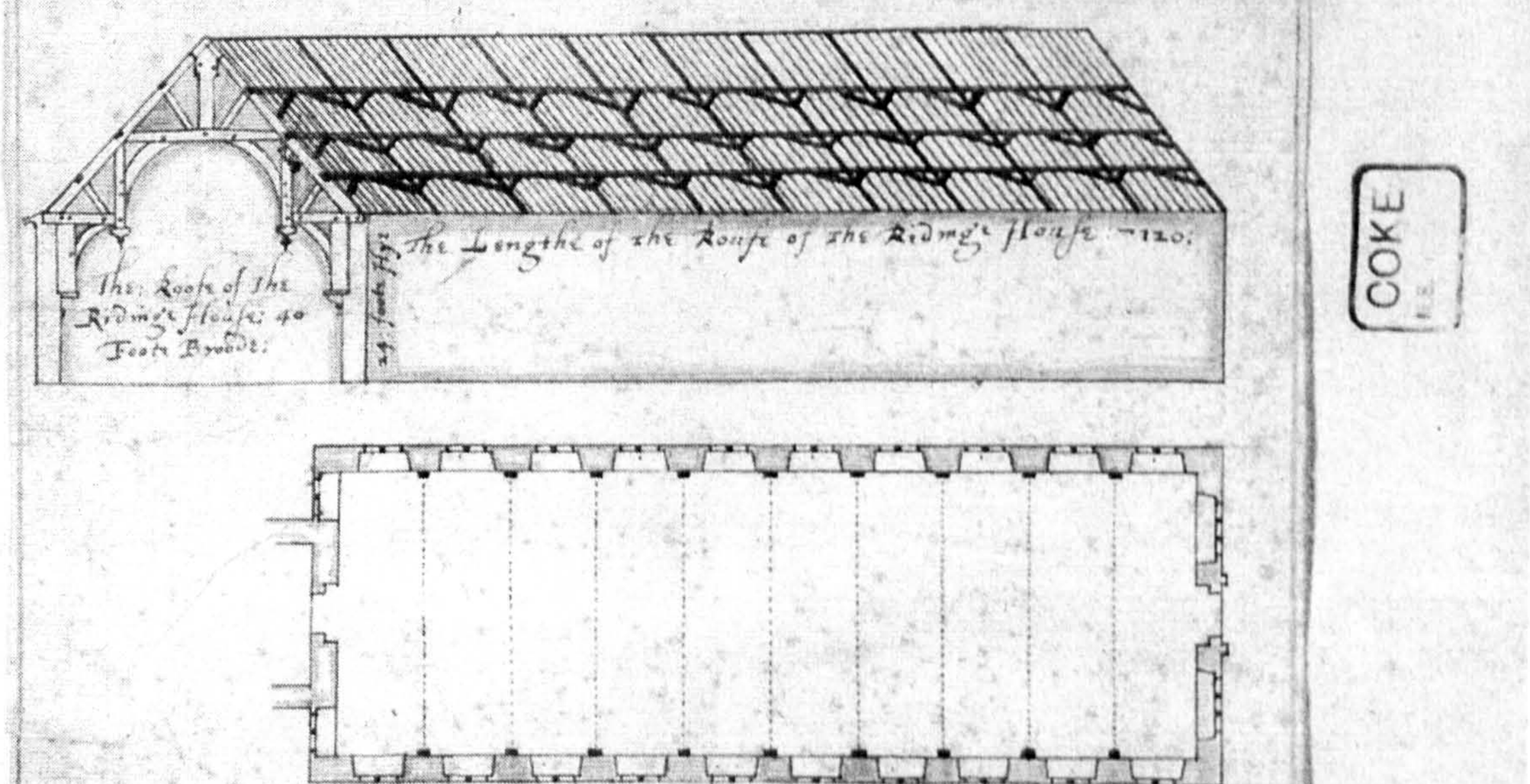


14.2b The 'Horsemanship Room,' Welbeck Abbey, 1999.

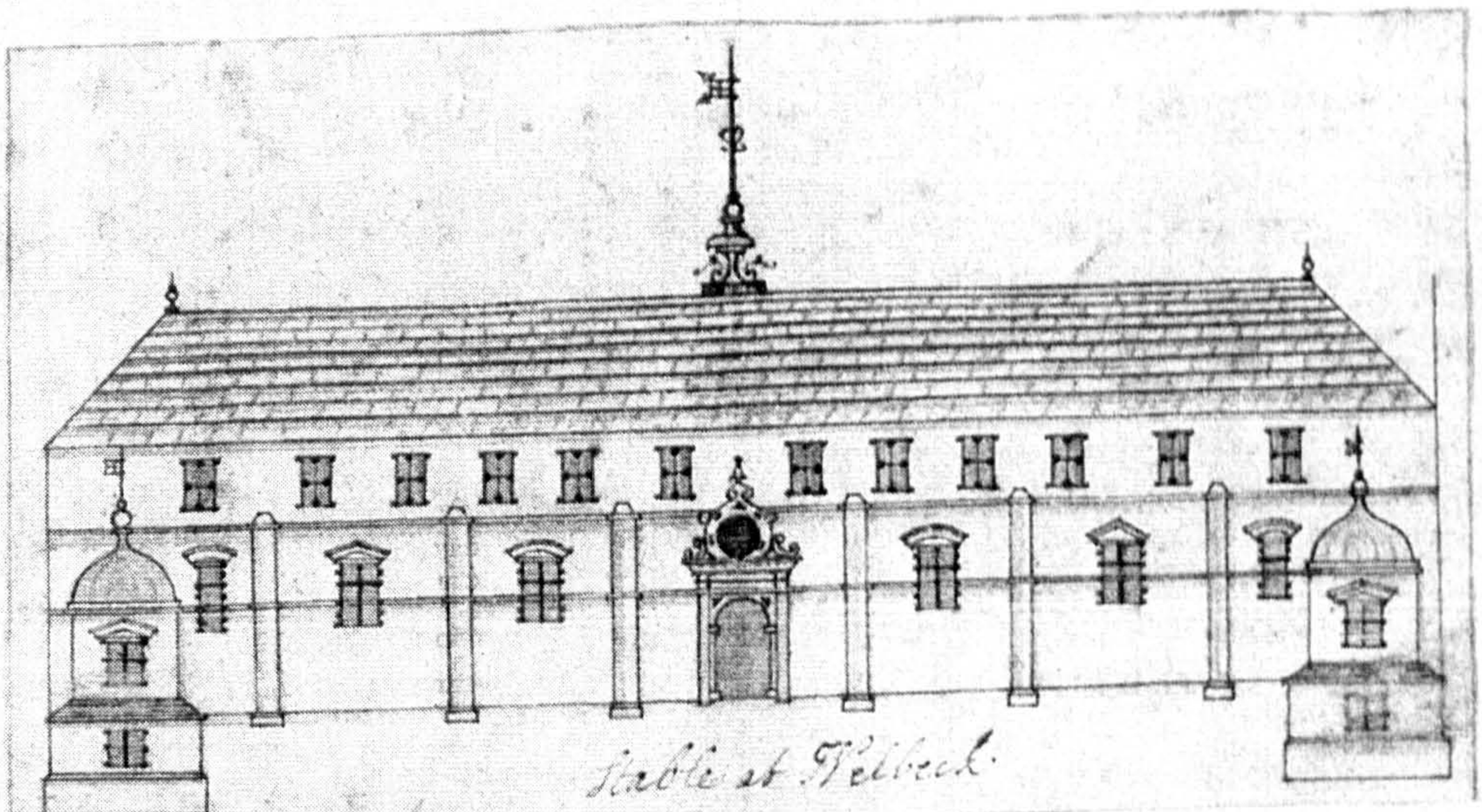


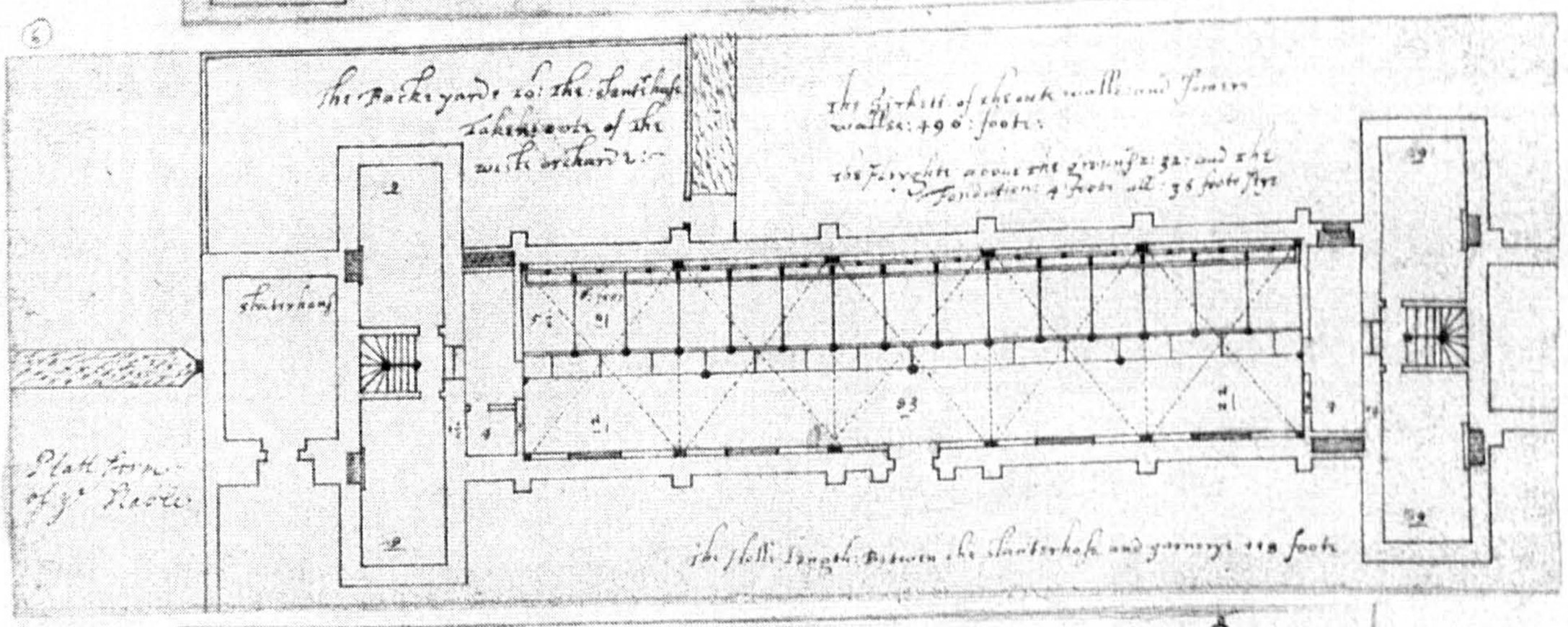
14.3 Robert Smithson's plan for the remodelling of Welbeck Abbey, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, I/23.

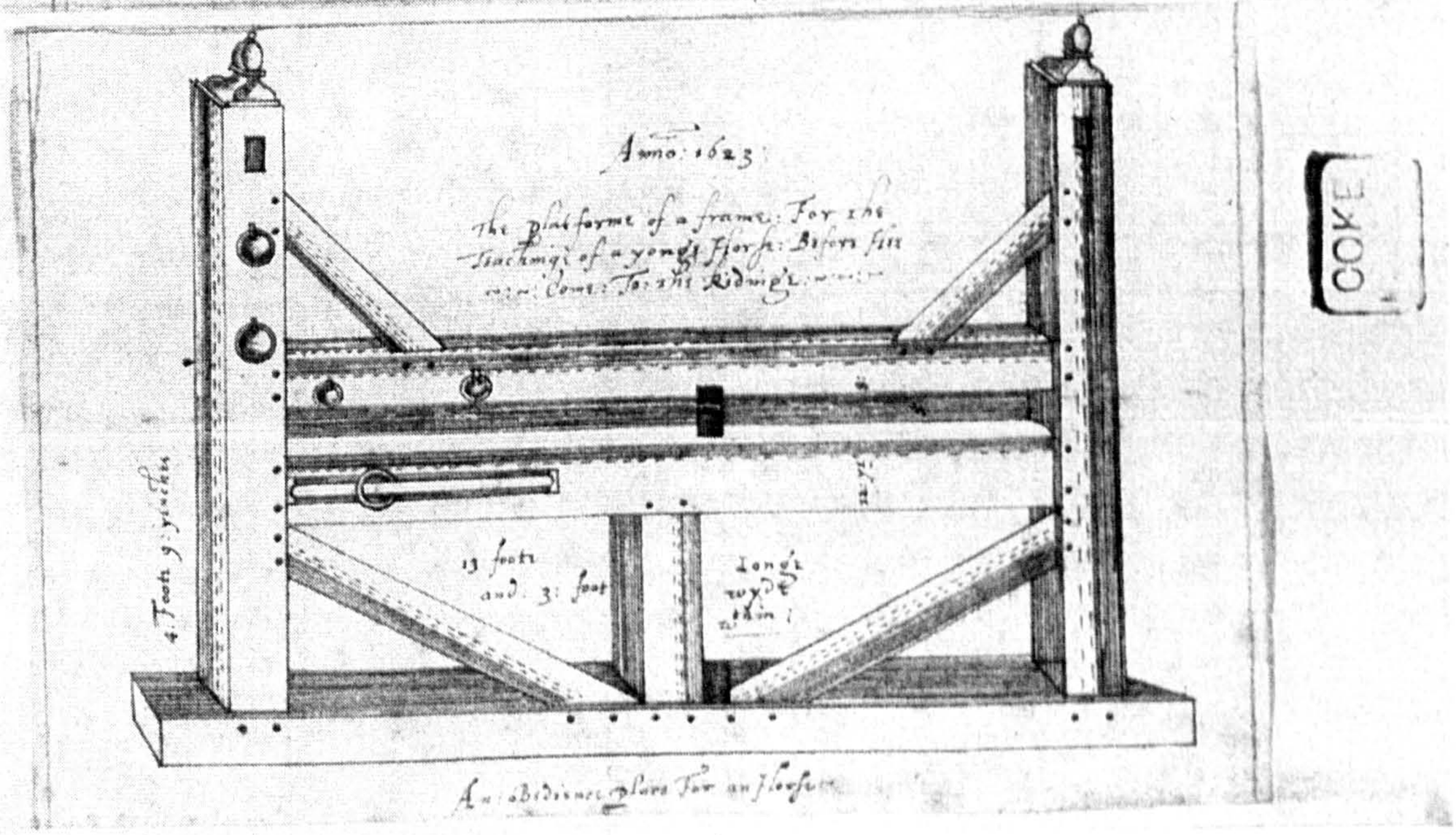




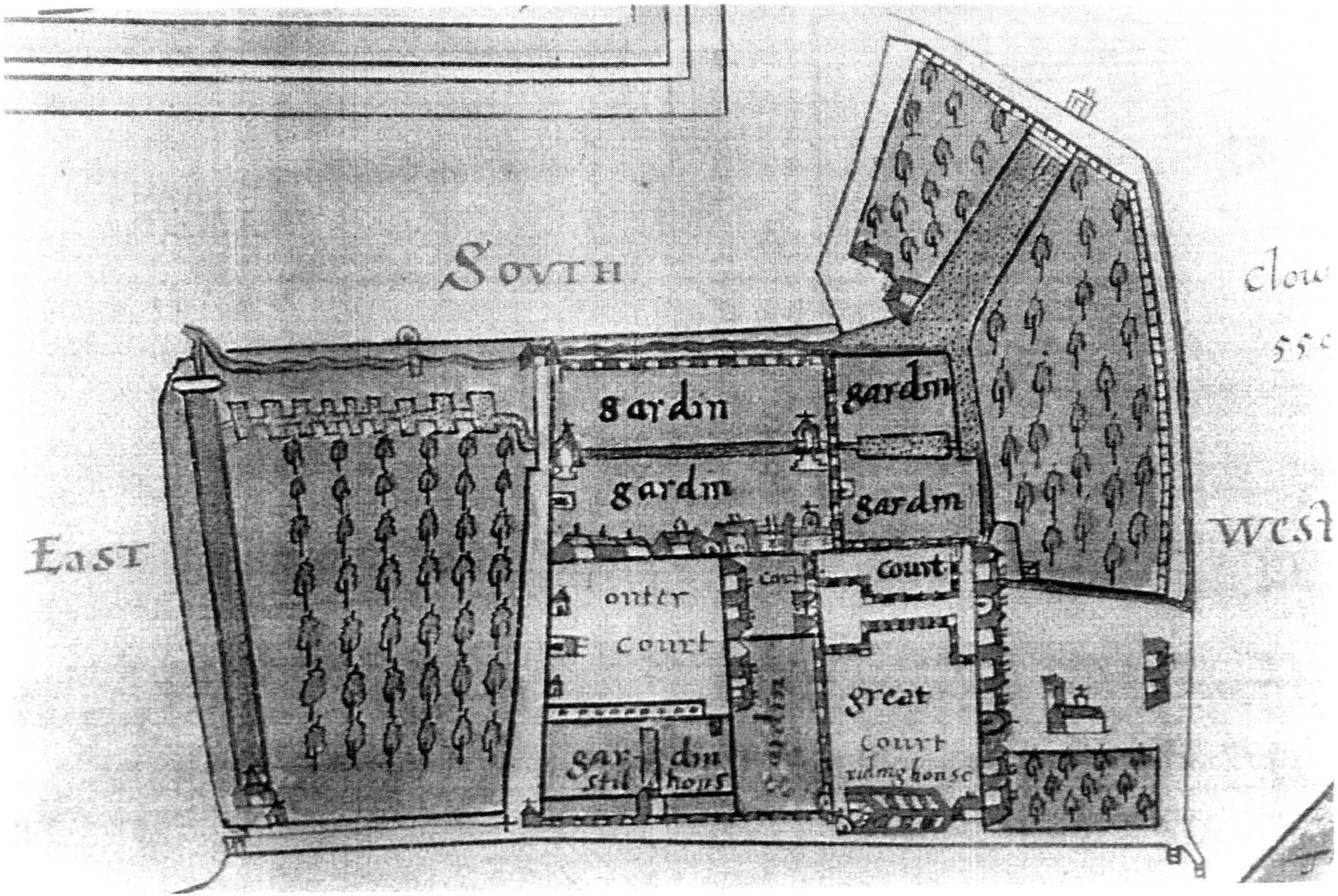
14.4 John Smithson's designs for the Riding House, Welbeck, *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III/15 (3-4).



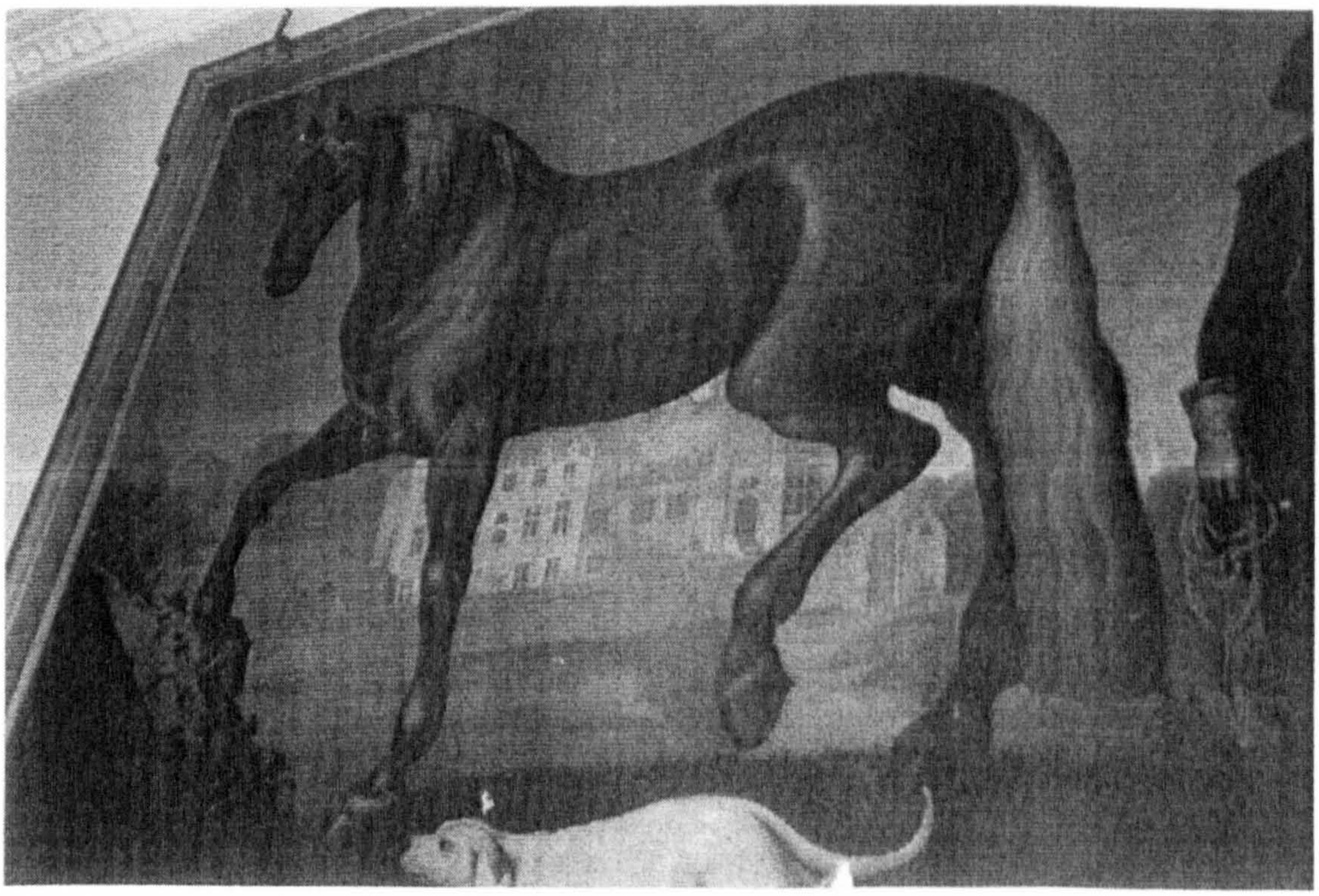




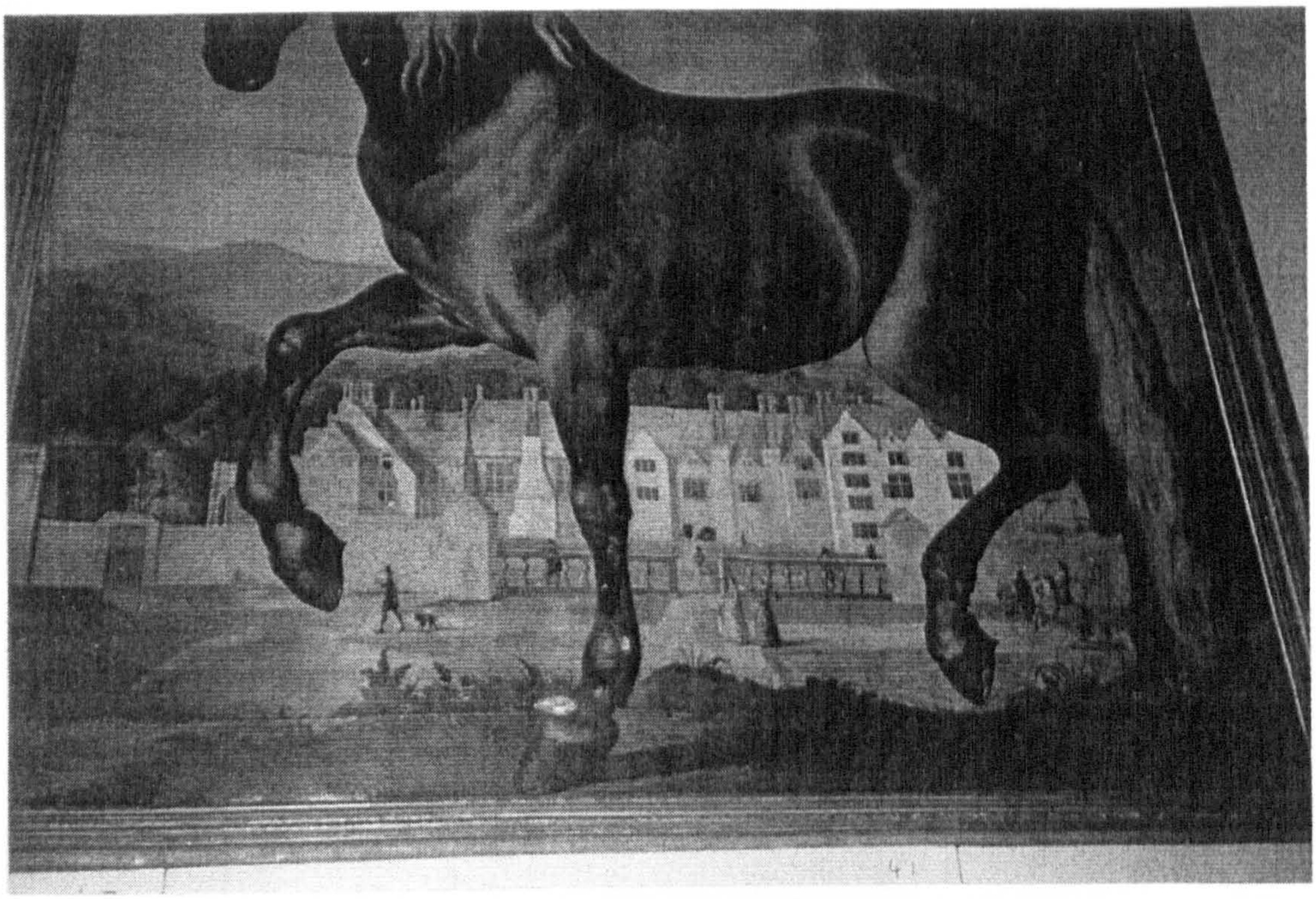
14.5 John Smithson's design for the Stable, Welbeck. *The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection*, The Smythson Collection, III-15 (5–7).


SOVTH
East
garden
garden
garden
garden
outer
court
court
court
great
court
ridinghouse
garden
stable
house

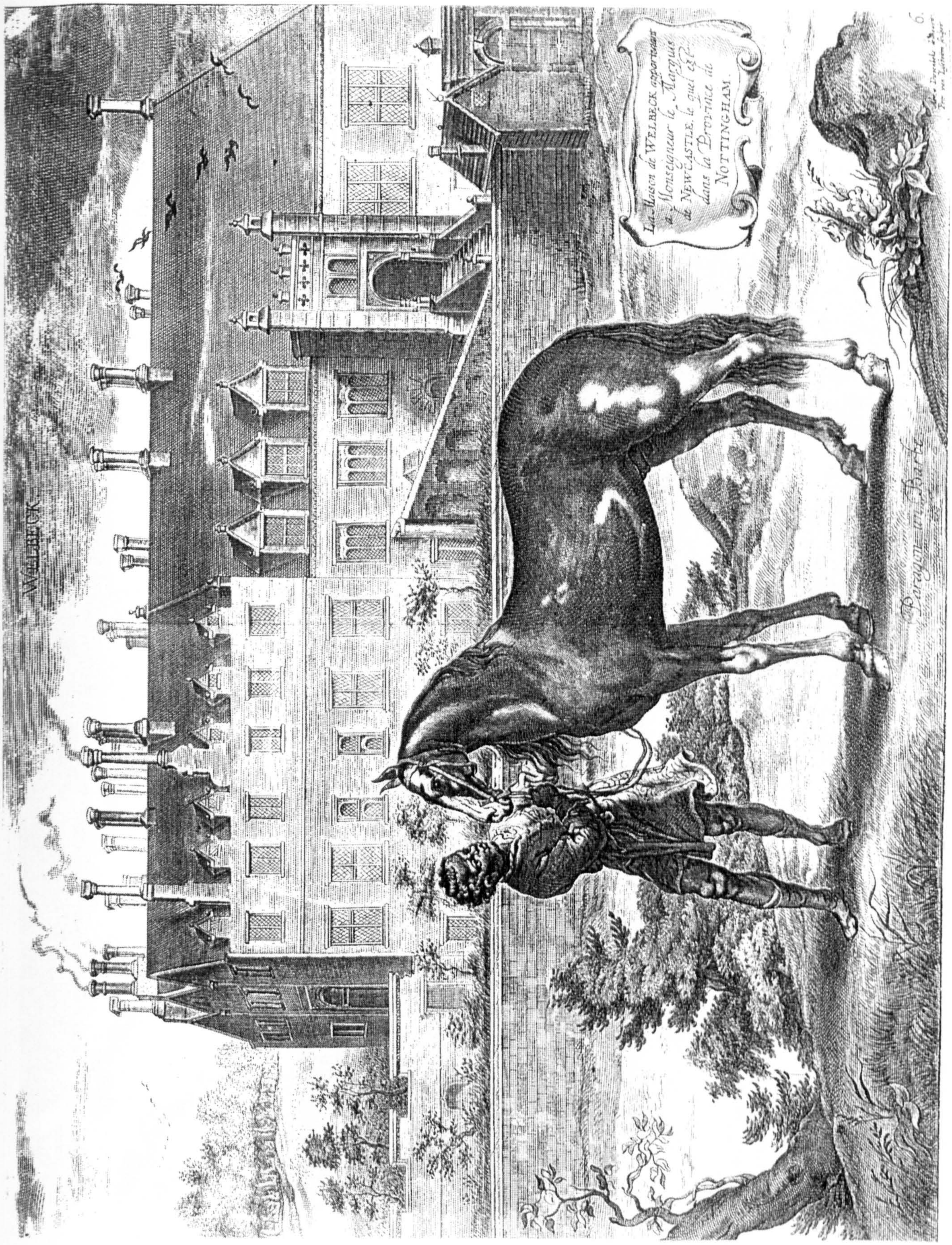
14.7a Seventeenth-century painting showing the west front of Welbeck Abbey in the background, *Private Collection*. See Goulding, (1936), p.115, catalogue No.297.



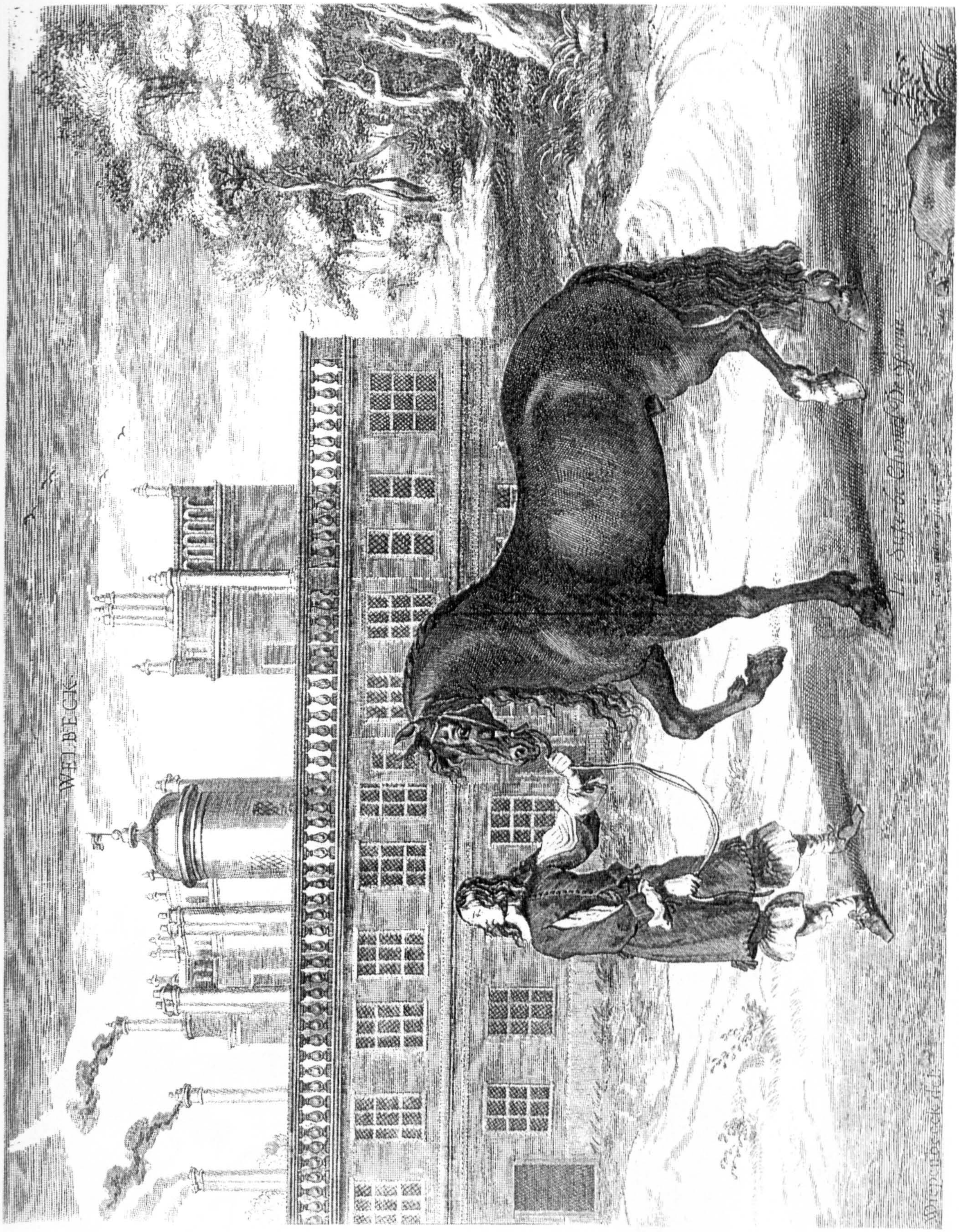
14.7b Seventeenth-century painting showing the west front of Welbeck Abbey in the background (detail), *Private Collection*.



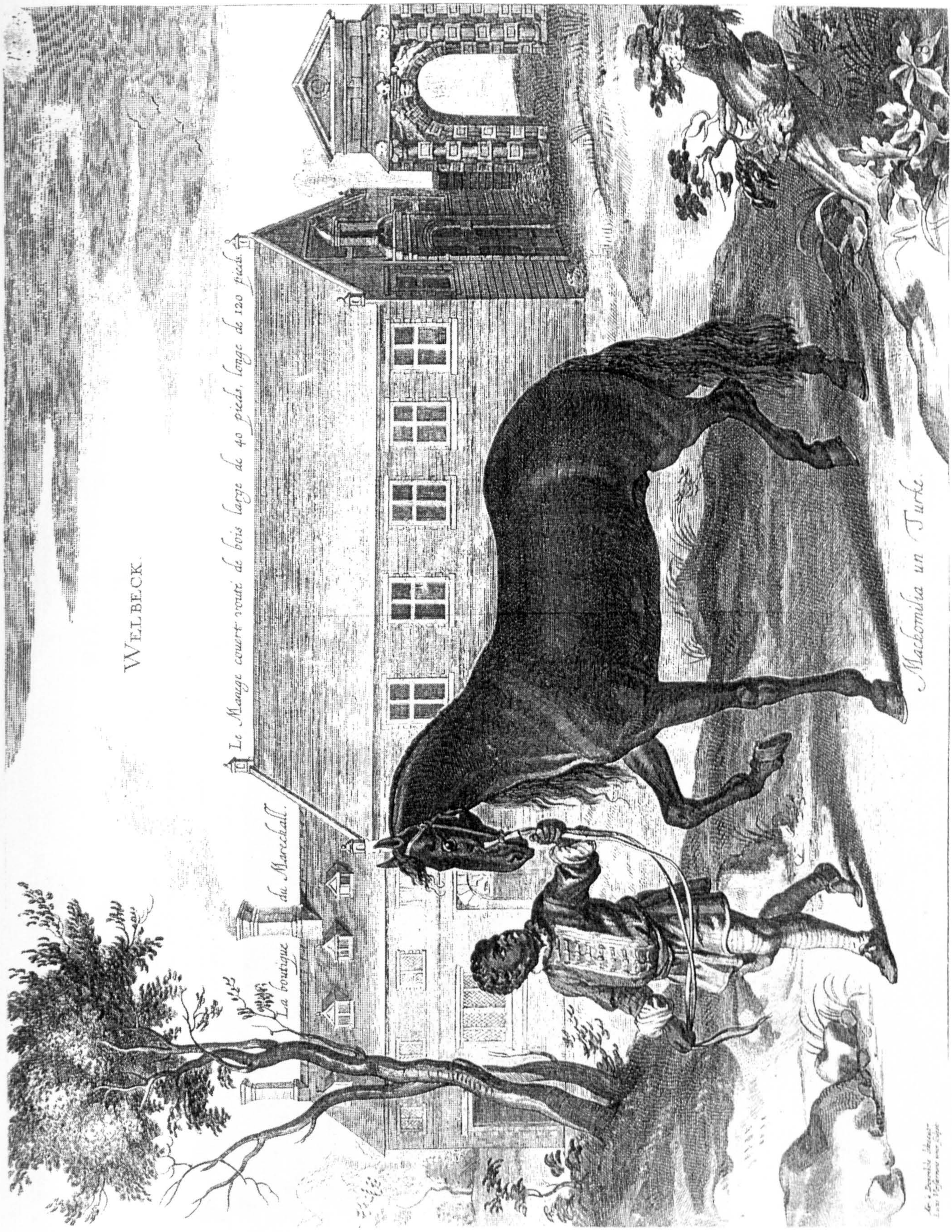
14.8 Seventeenth-century horse painting showing the east front of Welbeck Abbey in the background, *Private Collection*. See Goulding, (1936), p.115, catalogue No.298, where it is wrongly labelled as 'south front.'



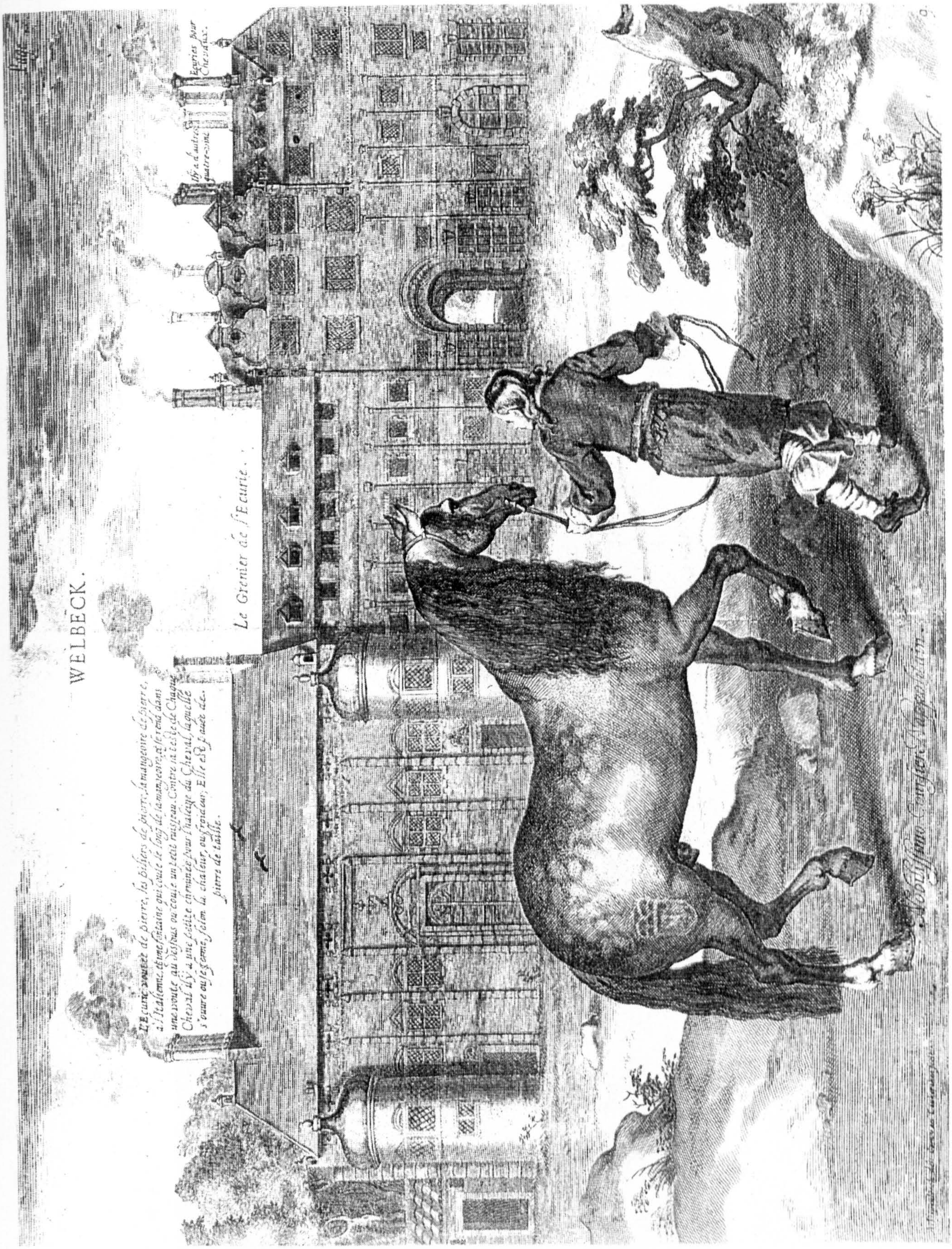
14.9 Engraving by Petr. van Lisebetten after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the west front of Welbeck Abbey, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 6, following p.18.



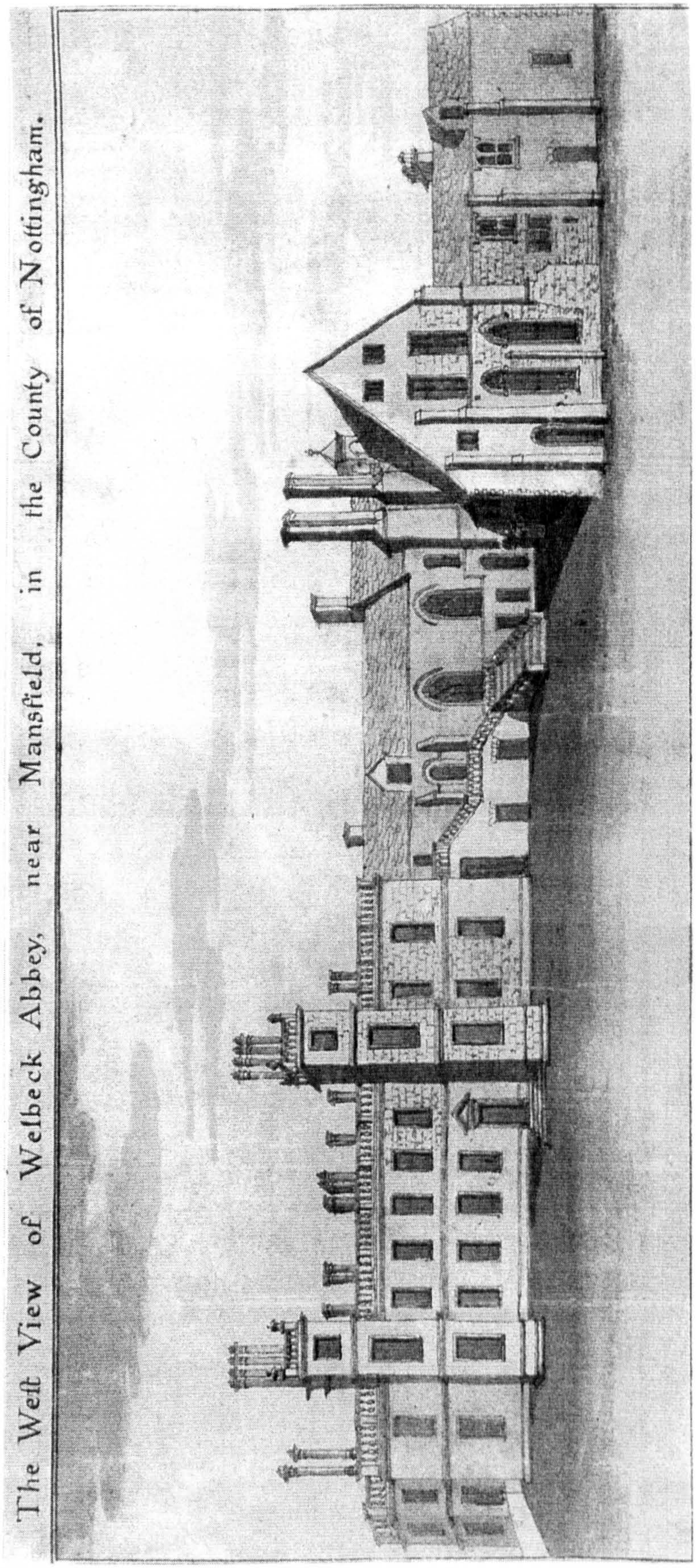
14.10 Engraving, by C. van Caukercken after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the south-west wing of Welbeck Abbey, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux,* Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 7, following p.18.



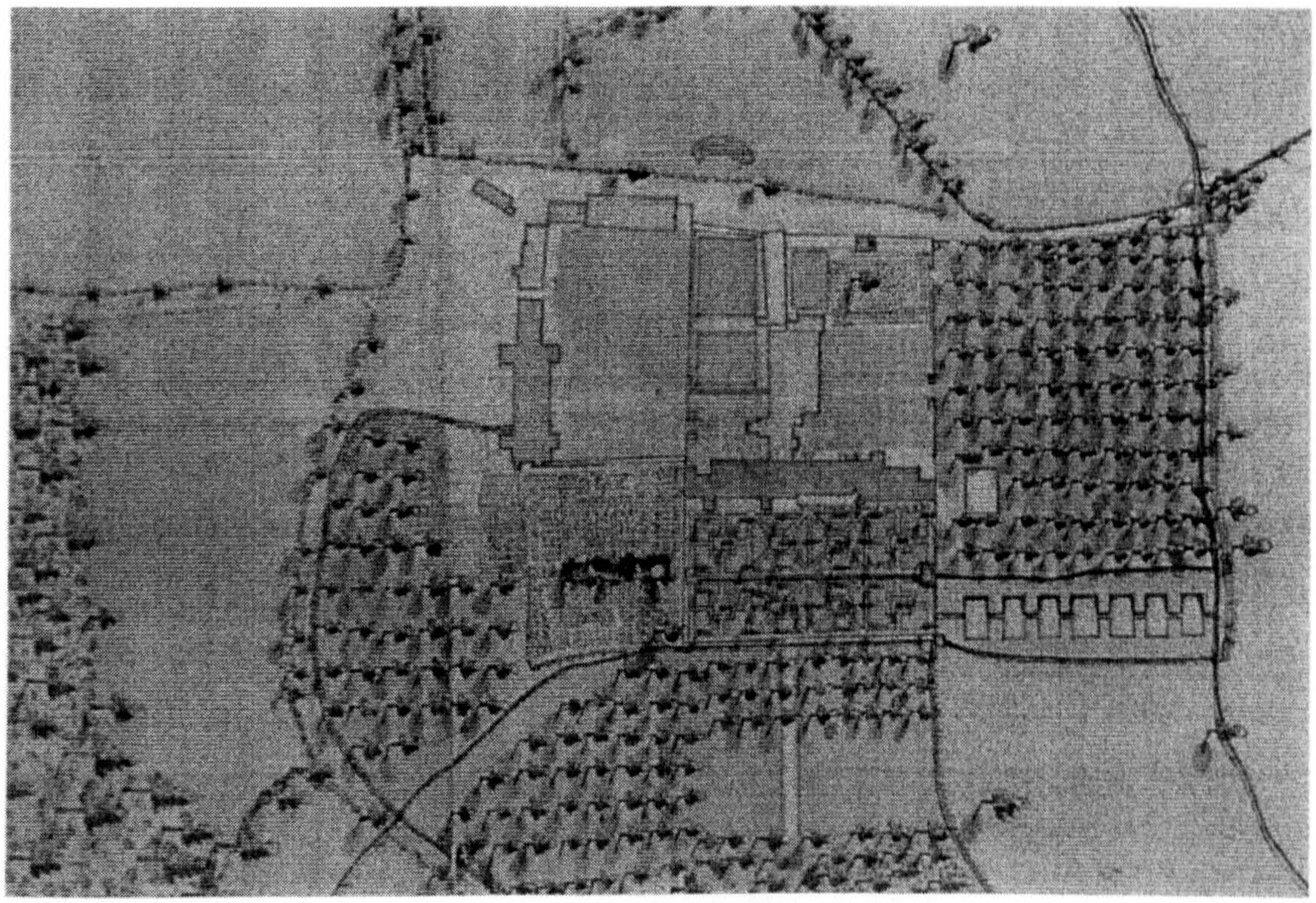
14.11 Engraving, by Lucas Vorstermans after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the Riding House, Welbeck Abbey, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 8, following p.18.



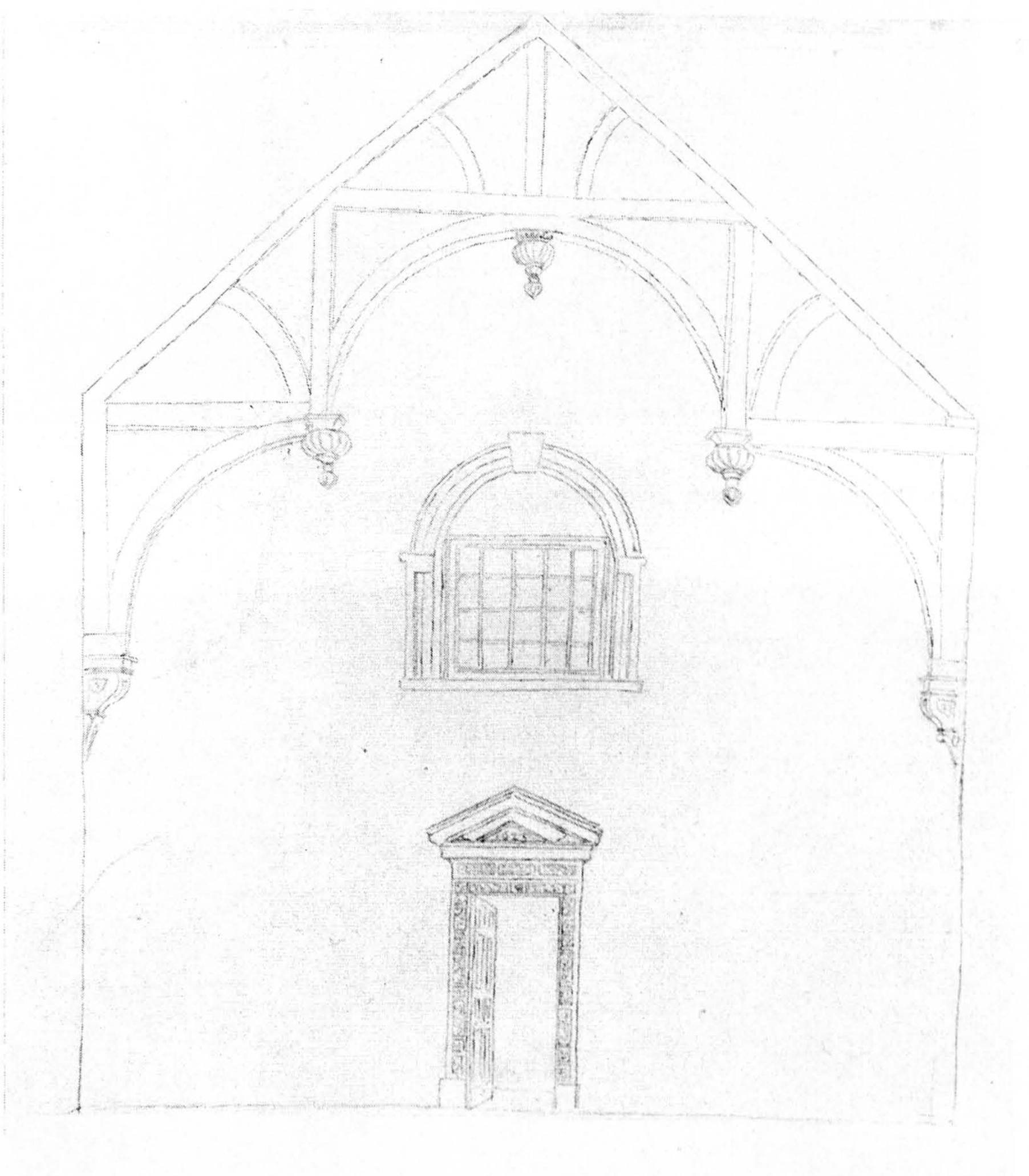
14.12 Engraving, by Corn. van Caukercken after Abraham Diepenbeke, of the Stable, Welbeck Abbey, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux,* Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 8, following p.18.



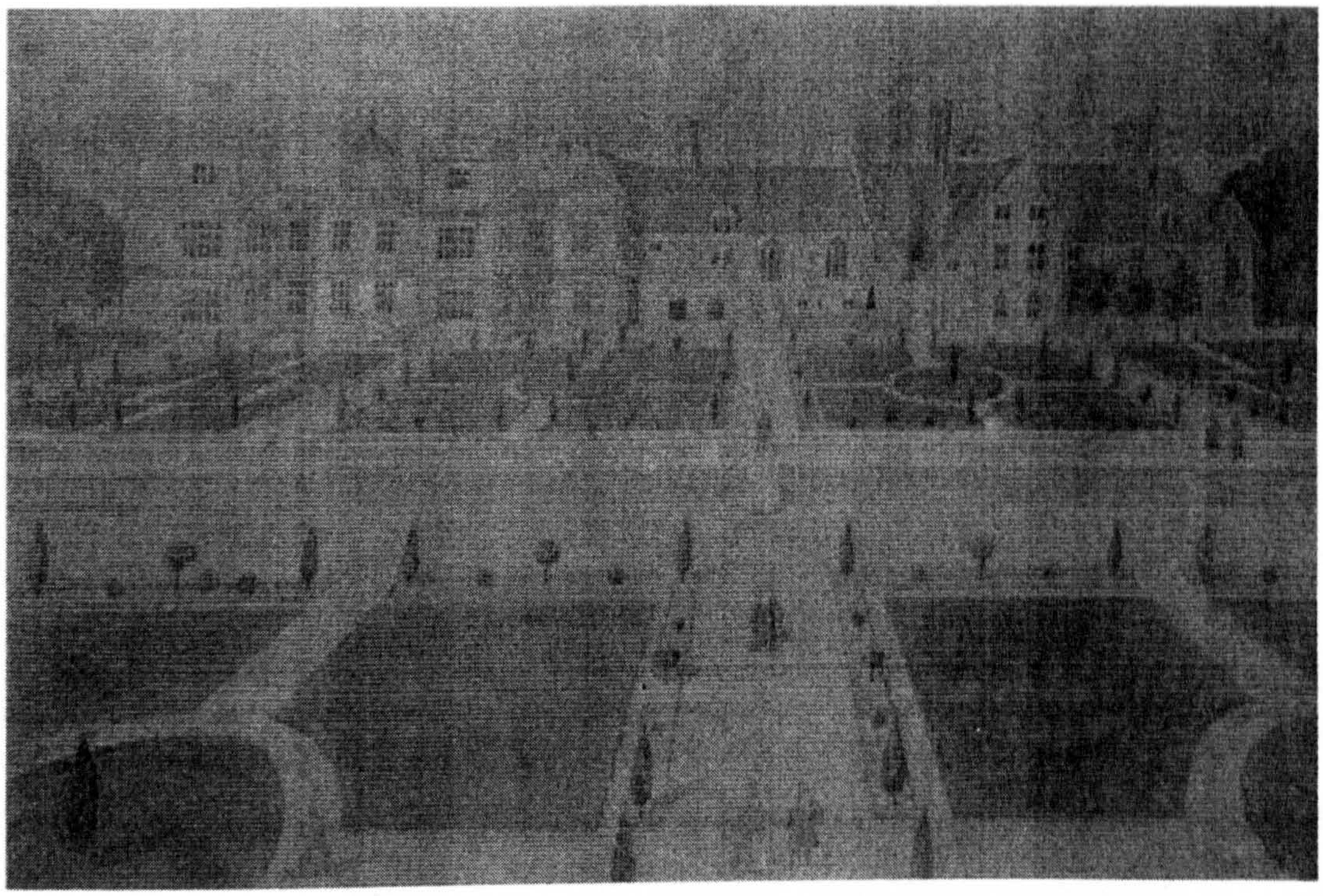
14.13 Samuel Buck, 'The West Front of Welbeck Abbey,' Gough Maps 26, f.19v(c), *The Bodleian Library, Oxford.*



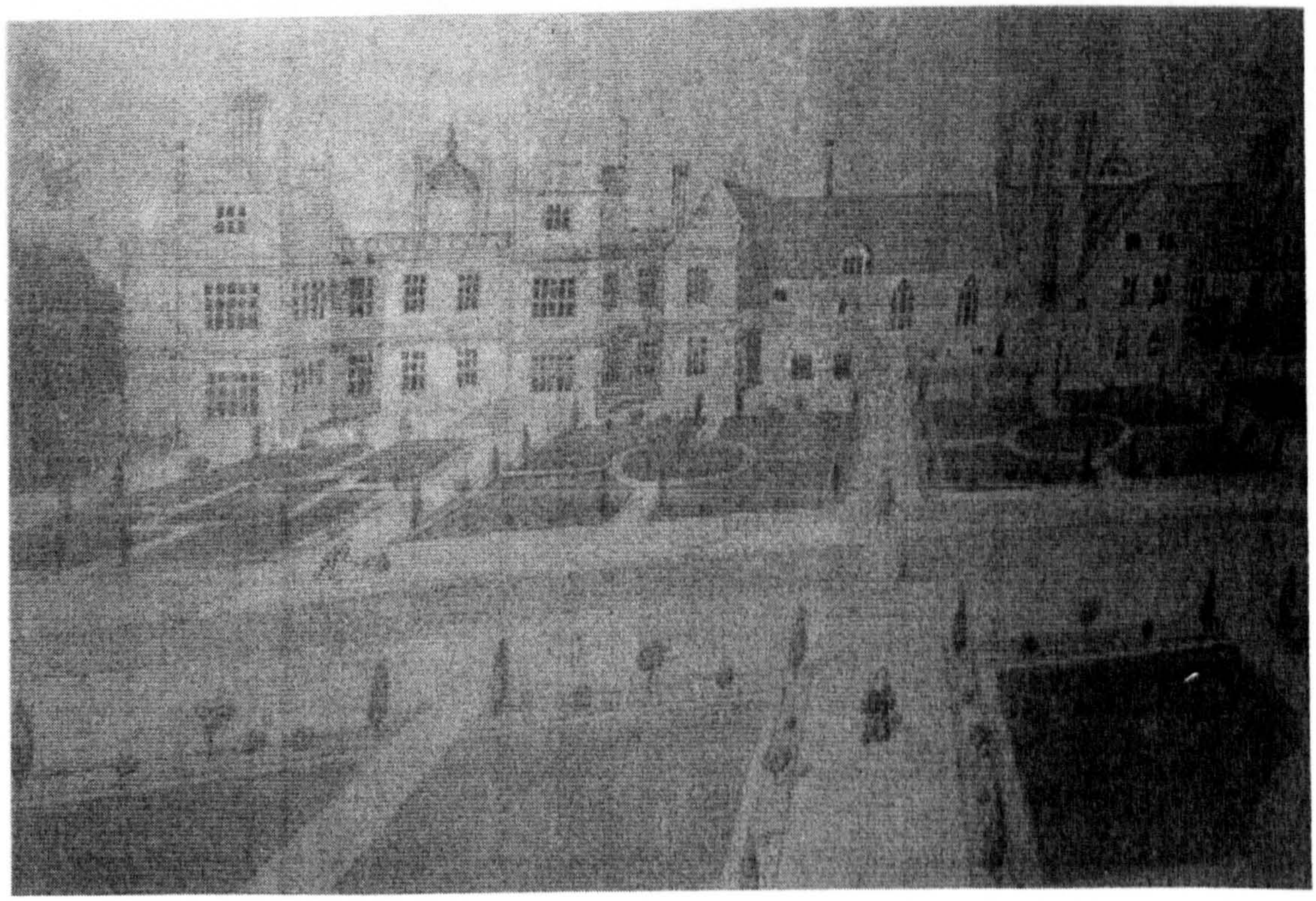
14.14 Francis Richardson's survey of Welbeck, 1748, *Private Collection.*



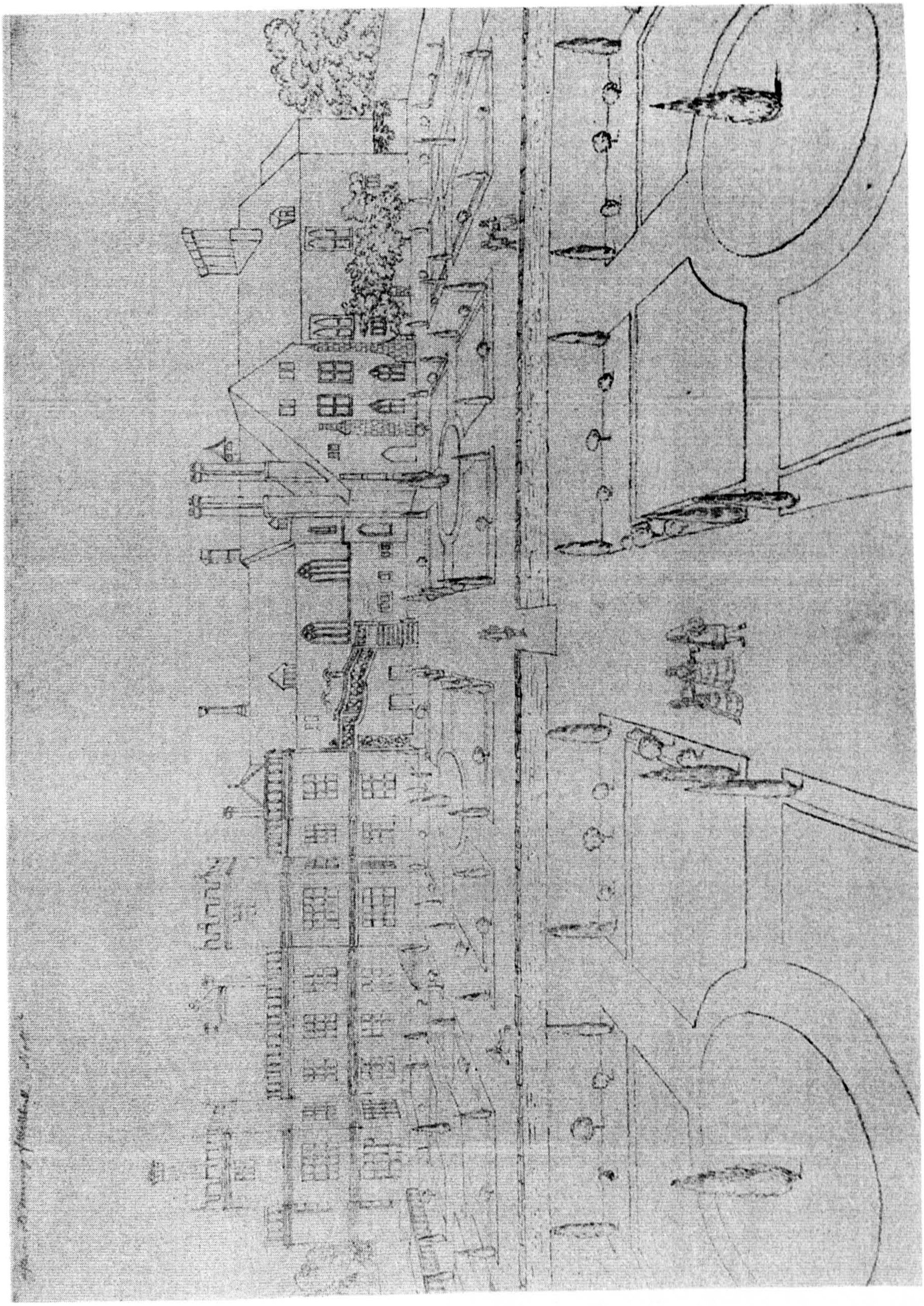
14.15 The interior of the Riding House, Welbeck Abbey, by Samuel Grimm, Add MS 15545, f.69, *by permission of The British Library.*



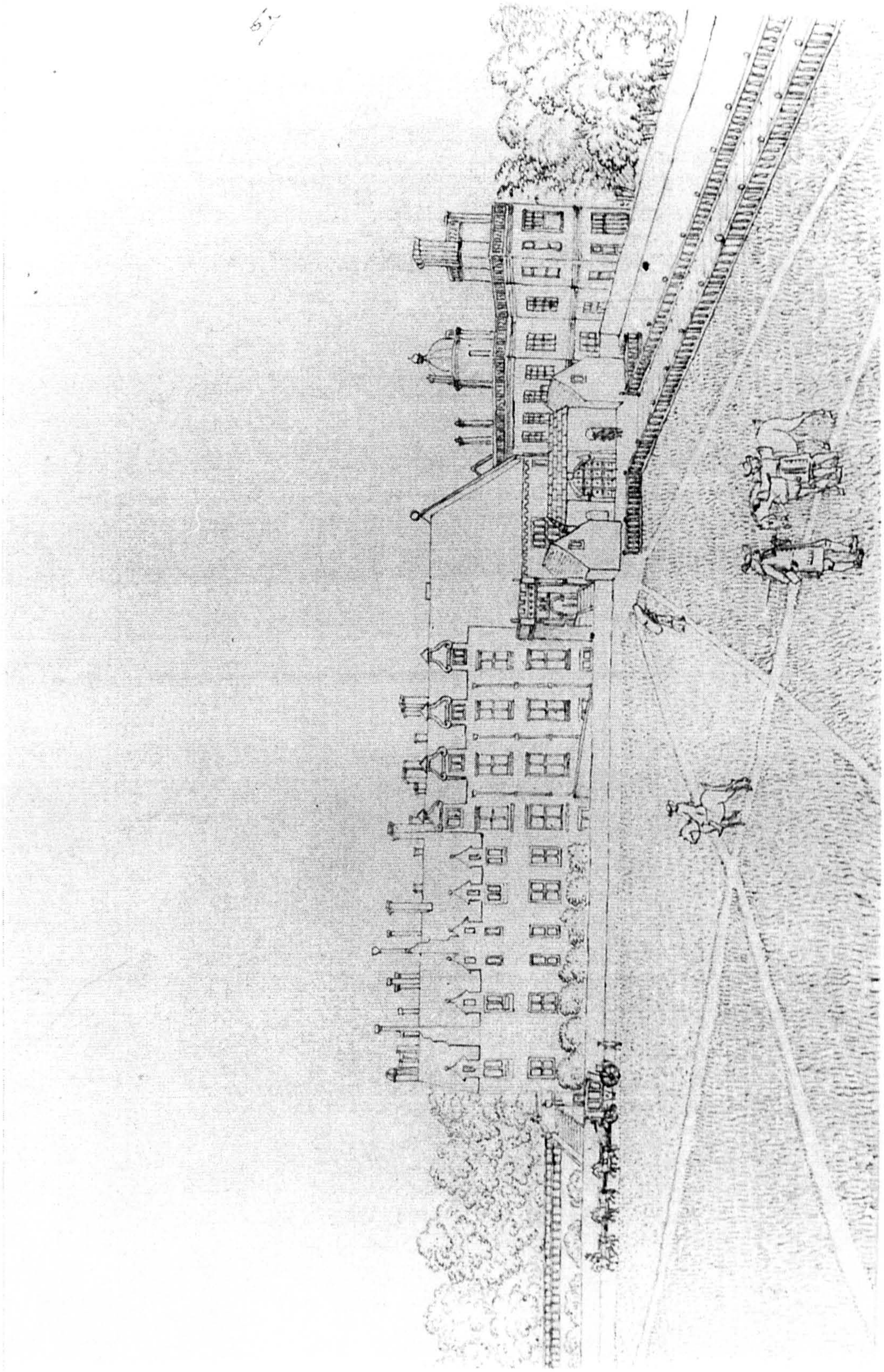
14.16a Eighteenth-century drawing of the south front of Welbeck Abbey, *Private Collection.*



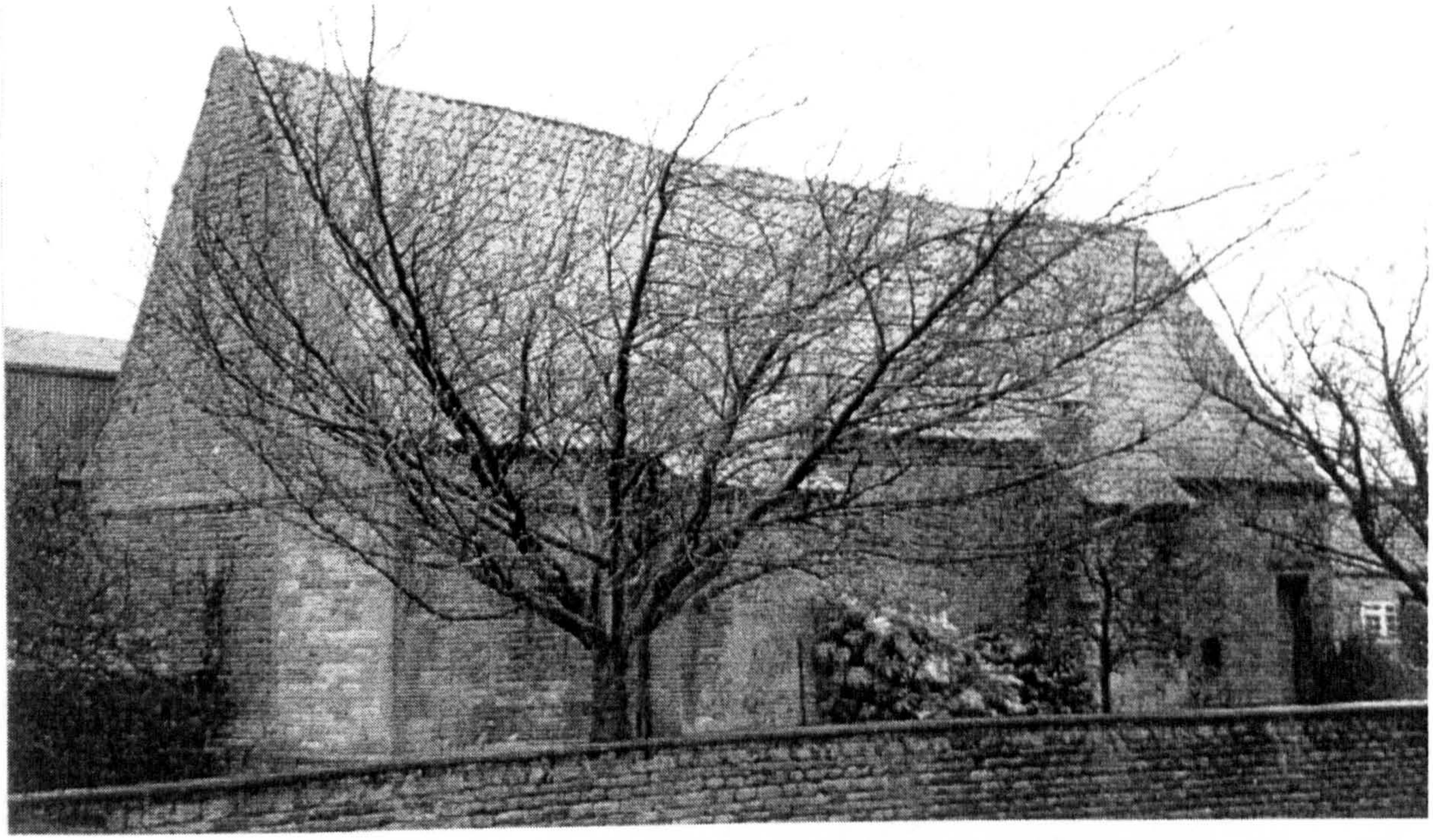
14.16b Eighteenth-century drawing of the south front of Welbeck Abbey (detail), *Private Collection.*



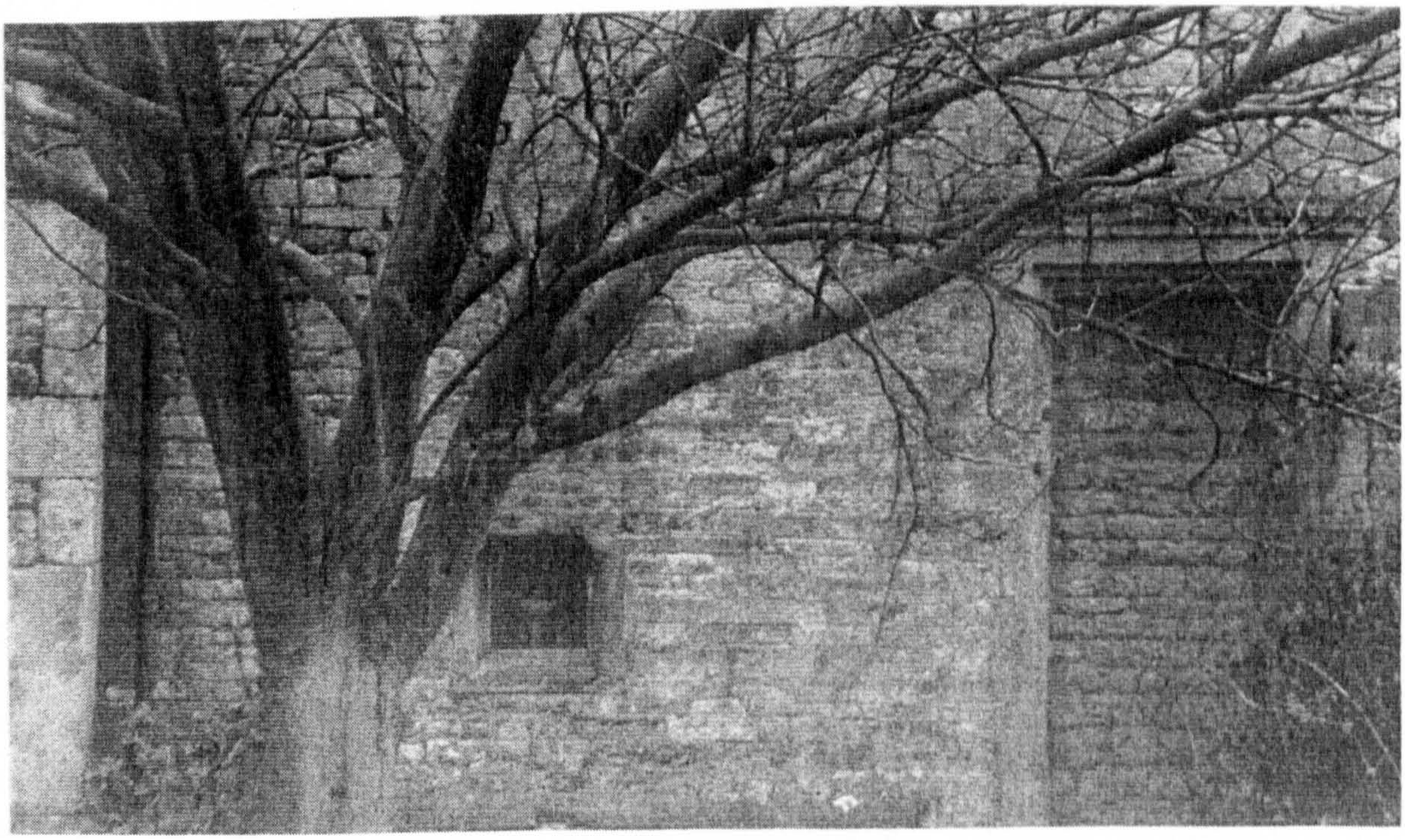
14.17 The south front of Welbeck Abbey, 'After an old drawing,' by Samuel Grimm, Add MS 15545, f.66, *by permission of The British Library.*



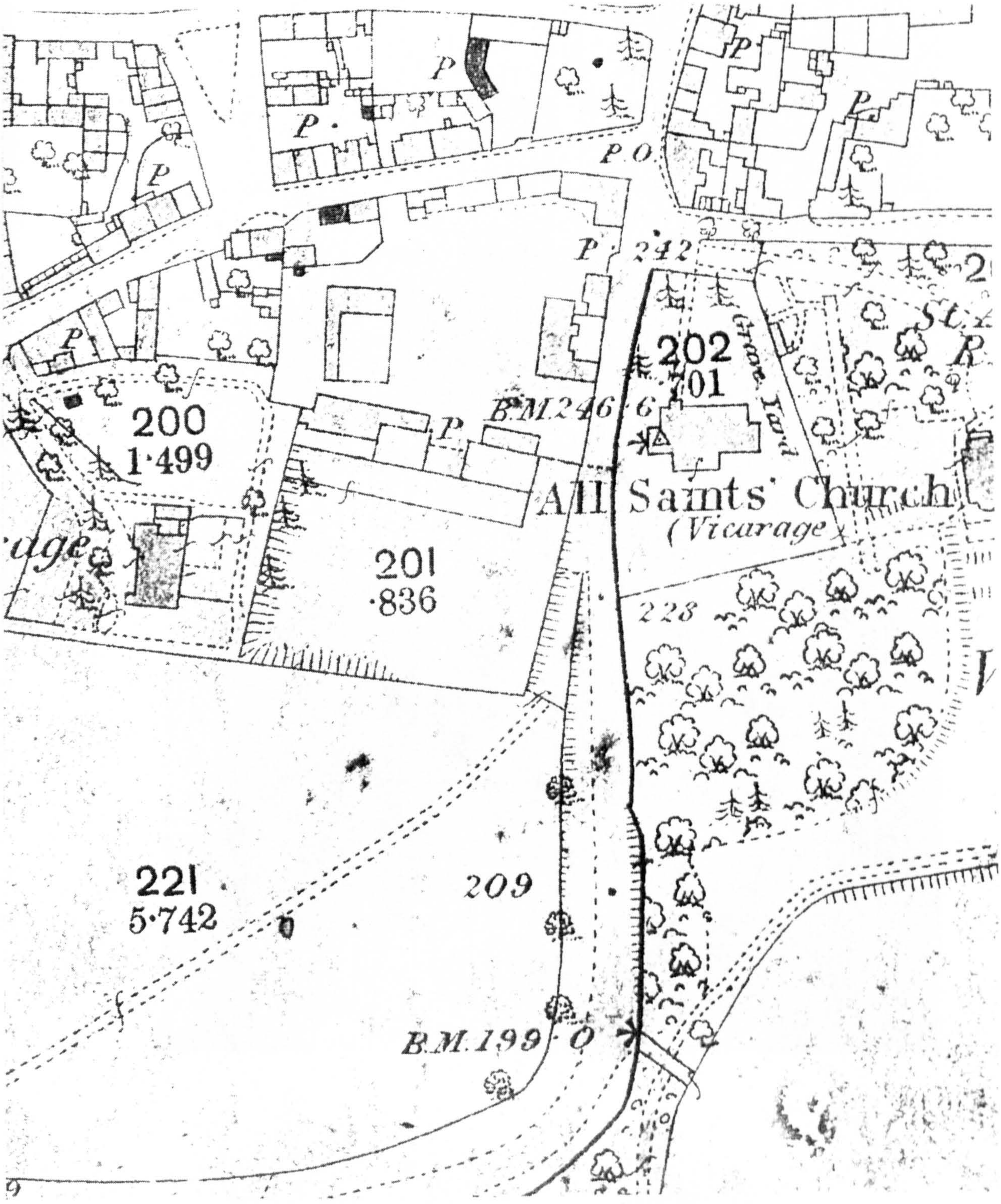
14.18 The west front of Welbeck Abbey, presumably also after an old drawing, by Samuel Grimm, Add MS 15545, f.67, *by permission of The British Library.*



15.1 The east front, Wellingore Manor, Lincolnshire, 2001.



15.2 The surviving doorcase, Wellingore Manor, Lincolnshire, 2001.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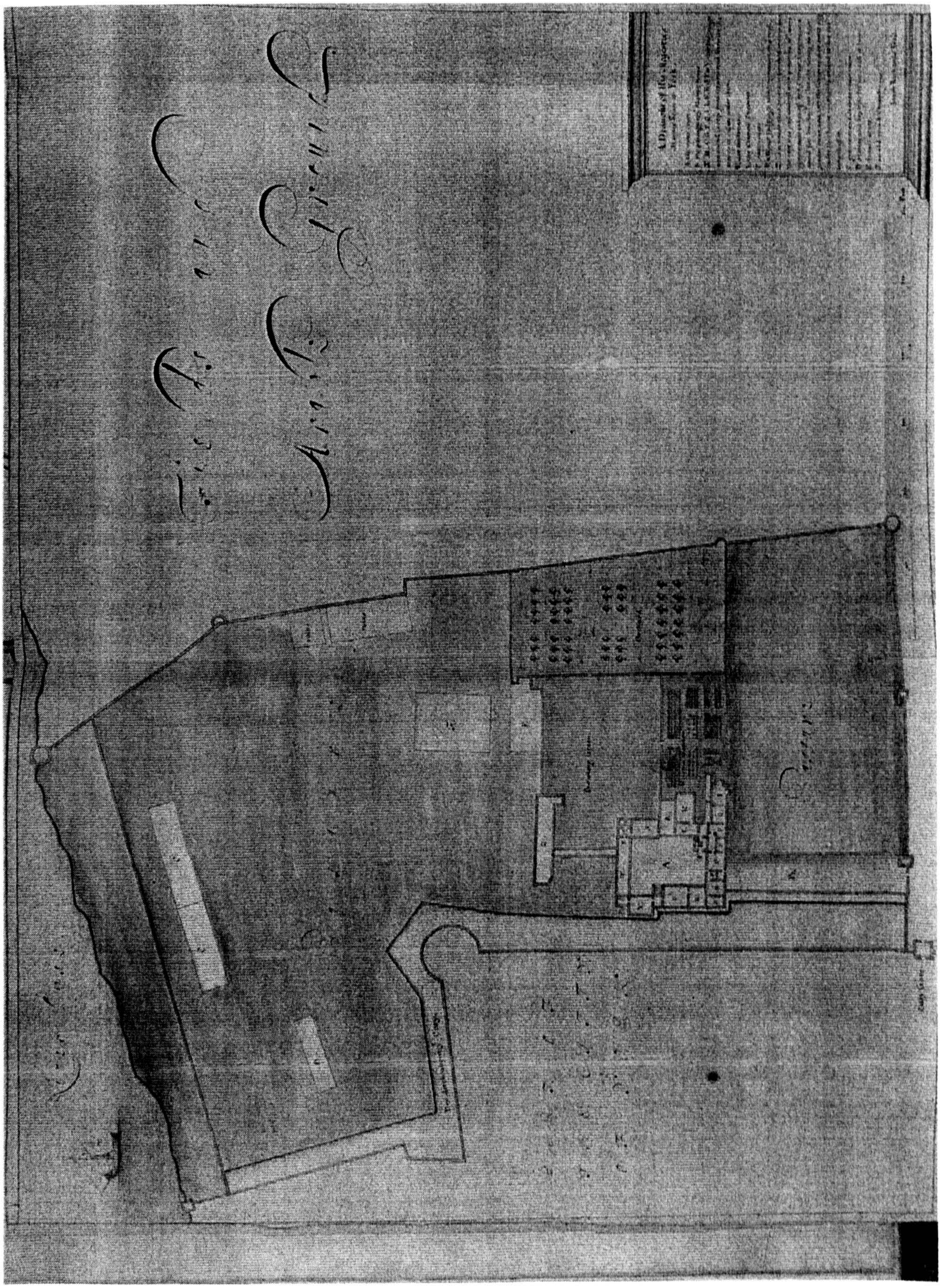
16.1 Albani, Francesco, 'Allegory with Hercules Carrying the Globe,' *Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees,* image provided by *Photographic Survey, Courtald Institute of Art.*

16.2 Elizabeth Bassett by William Larkin, *English Heritage Photographic Library.*

16.3 The garden front, Capheaton Hall, Northumberland, 2000.

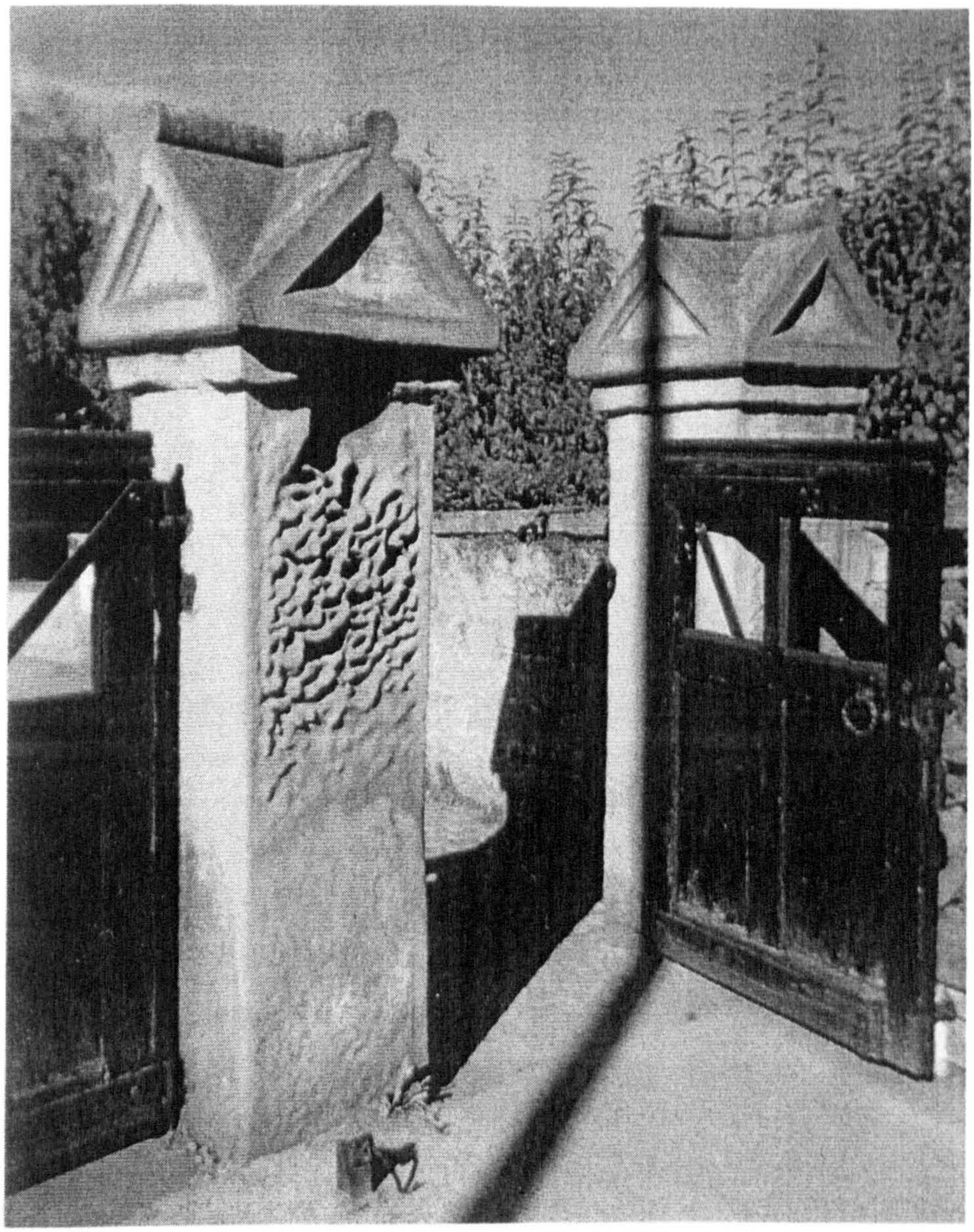
16.4 The door in the garden front, Capheaton Hall, Northumberland, 2000.



16.5 Survey of The King's Manor, York, by Jacob Richards, c.1682, *The William Salt Library, Stafford*, Dartmouth MS D1778.III.02.

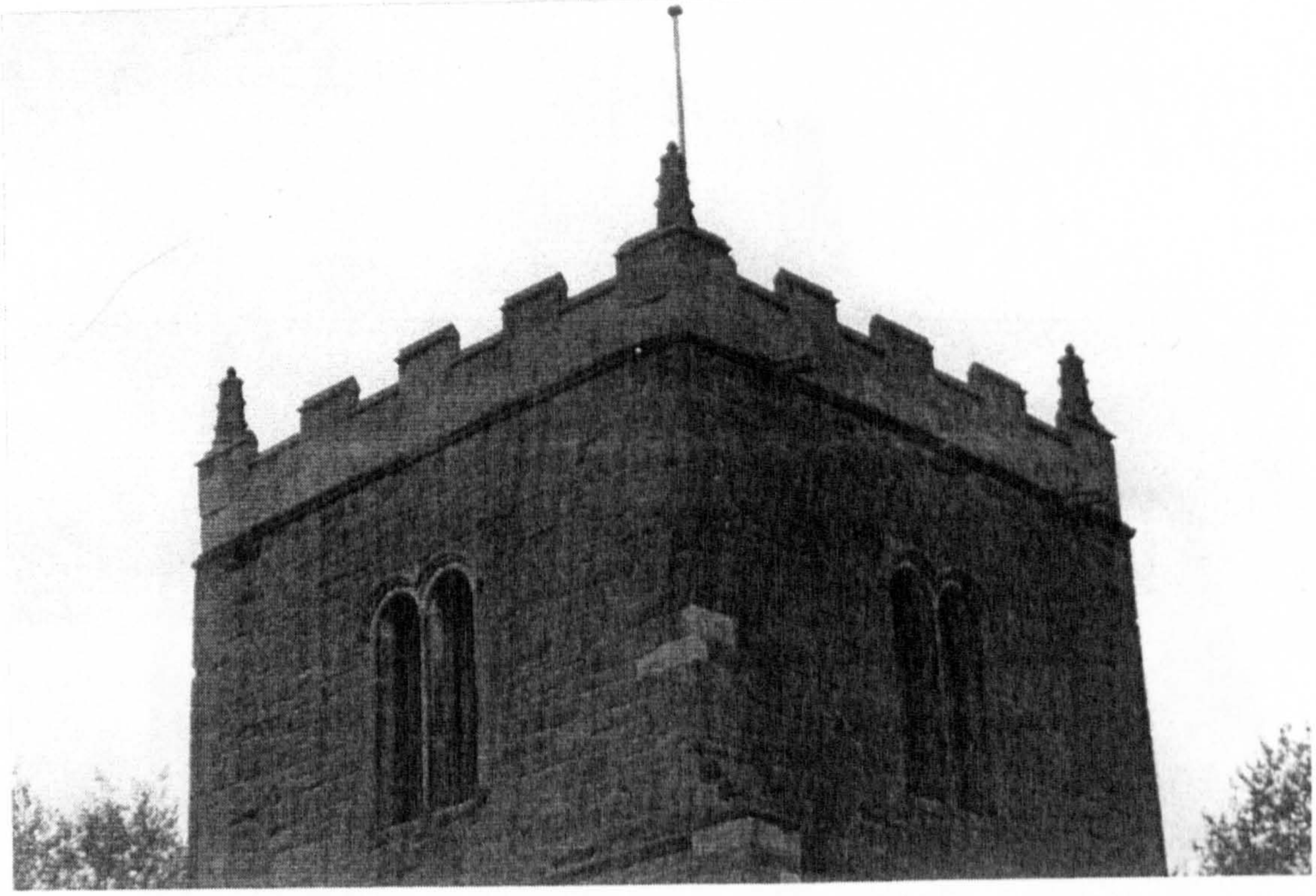
16.6 The King's Manor, York, gallery, 2000.

16.7 The Manor House, before demolition, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, reproduced from Ashley, F., Sinfied, S., and Lee, G., ed., *Britain in old photographs - Kirkby and District*, n.p., 1995.



16.8 Seventeenth-century gate pier, St Wilfred's Church, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, 1999.

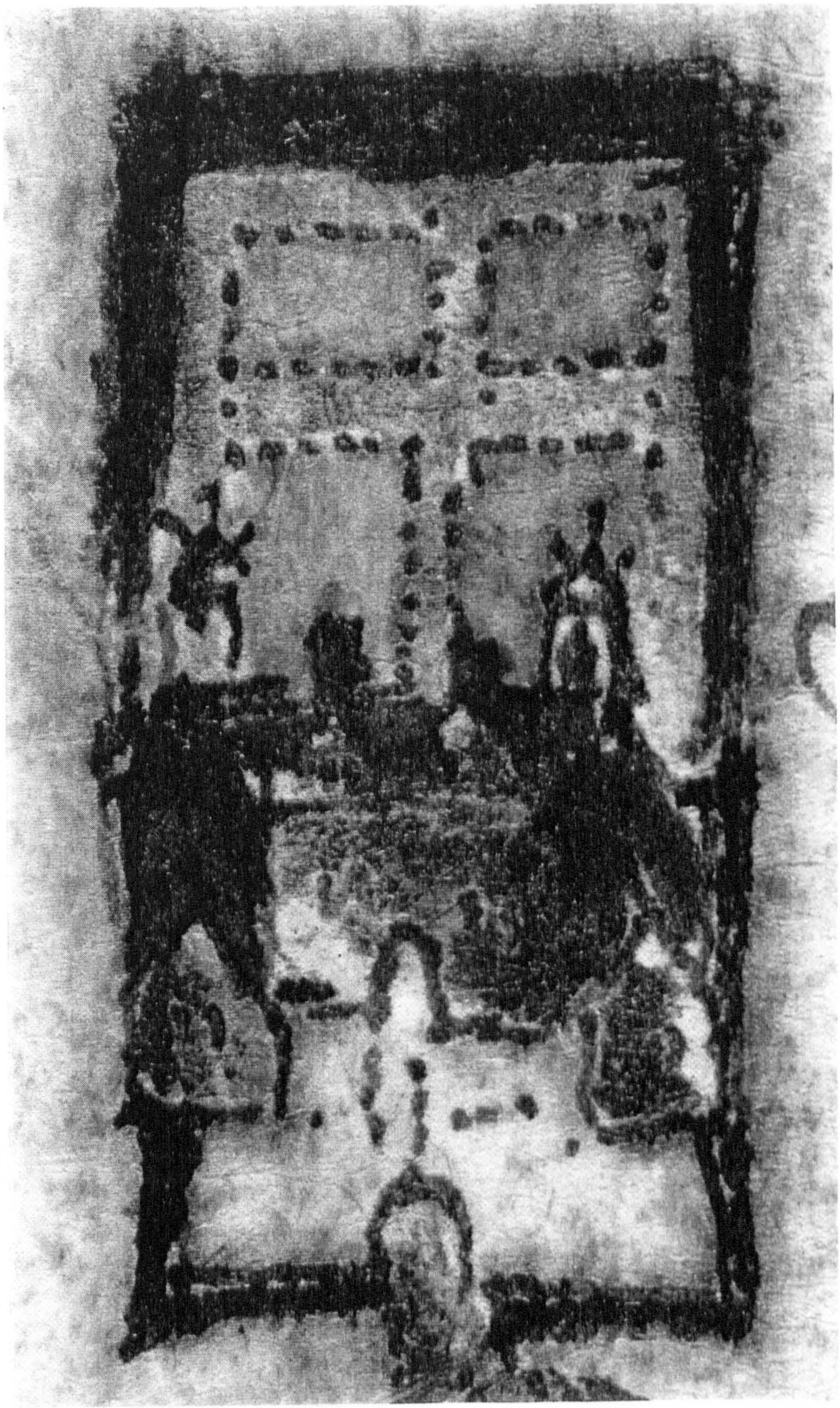
16.9 Screveton Church, Nottinghamshire, 2000.



16.10 Detail of seventeenth-century tower, Screveton Church, Nottinghamshire, 2000.

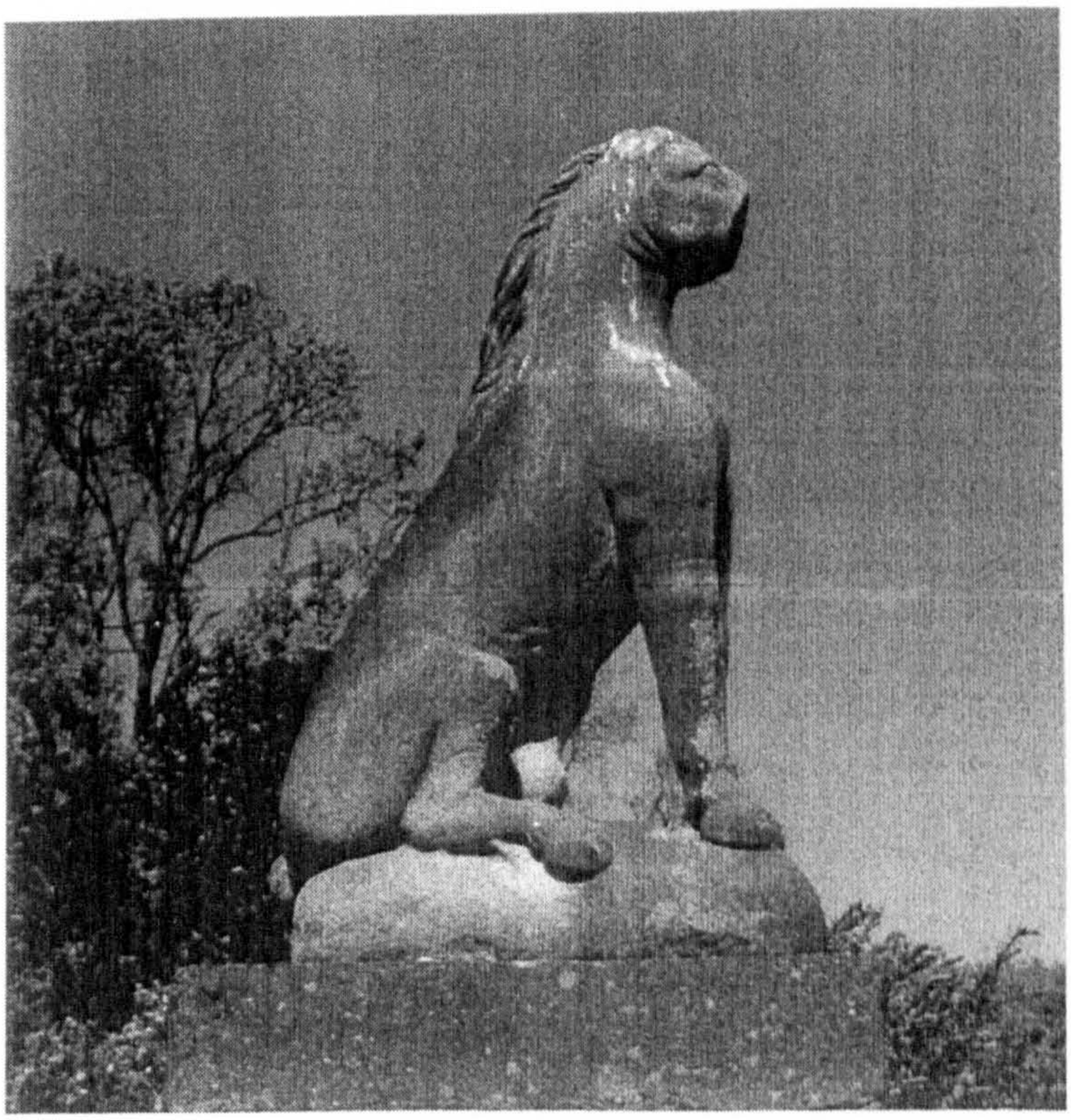
16.11 Warsop Church, Nottinghamshire, 2000.

16.12 Detail of seventeenth-century tower, Warsop Church, Nottinghamshire, 2000.

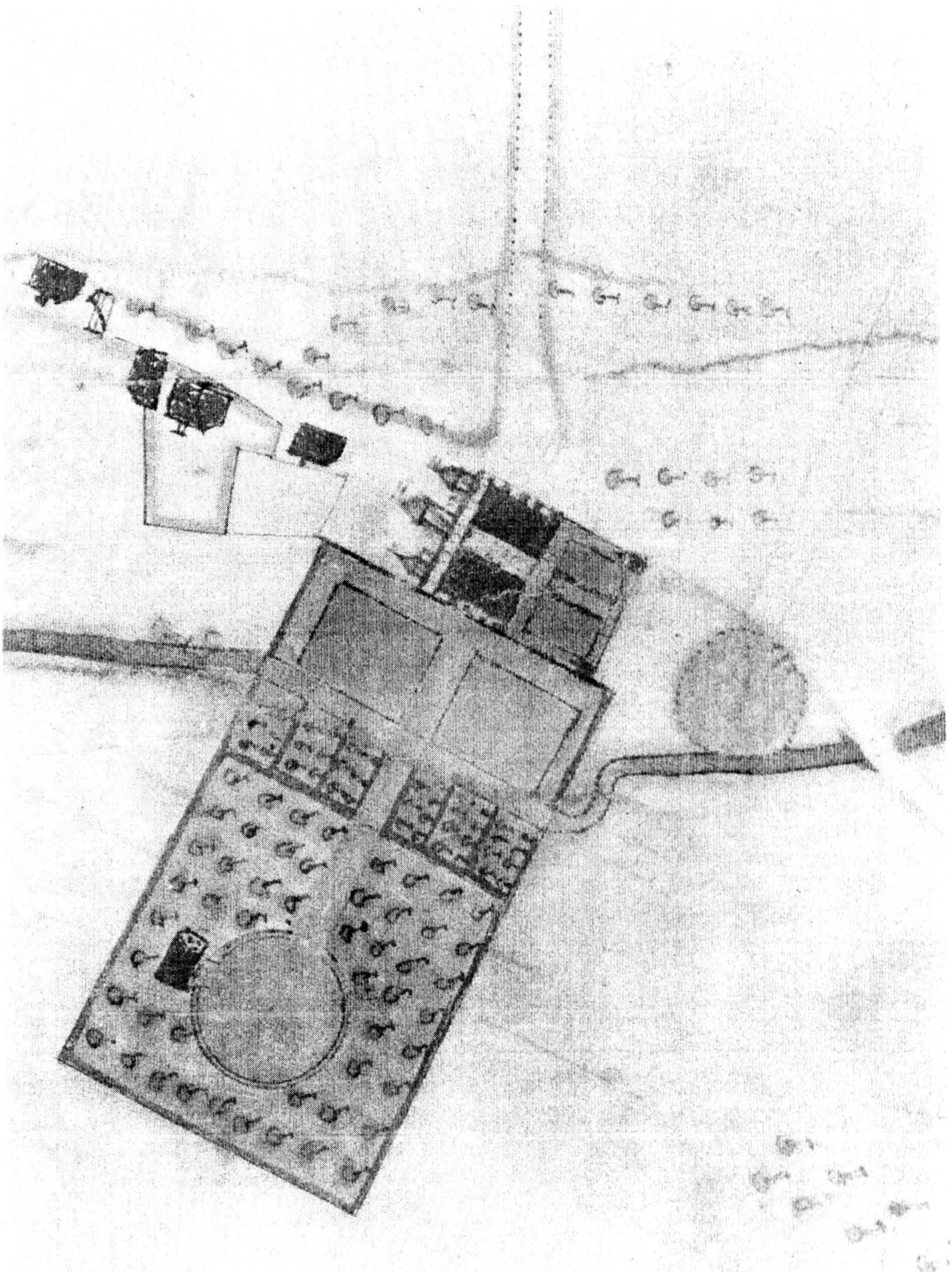


16.13 BL Harleian 6288, f.2, detail of Sheriff Hutton Lodge, from the 'Plot of Sherifehutton Park,' for Charles, Prince of Wales, by John Norden the elder and John Norden the junior, 1624, *by permission of The British Library.*

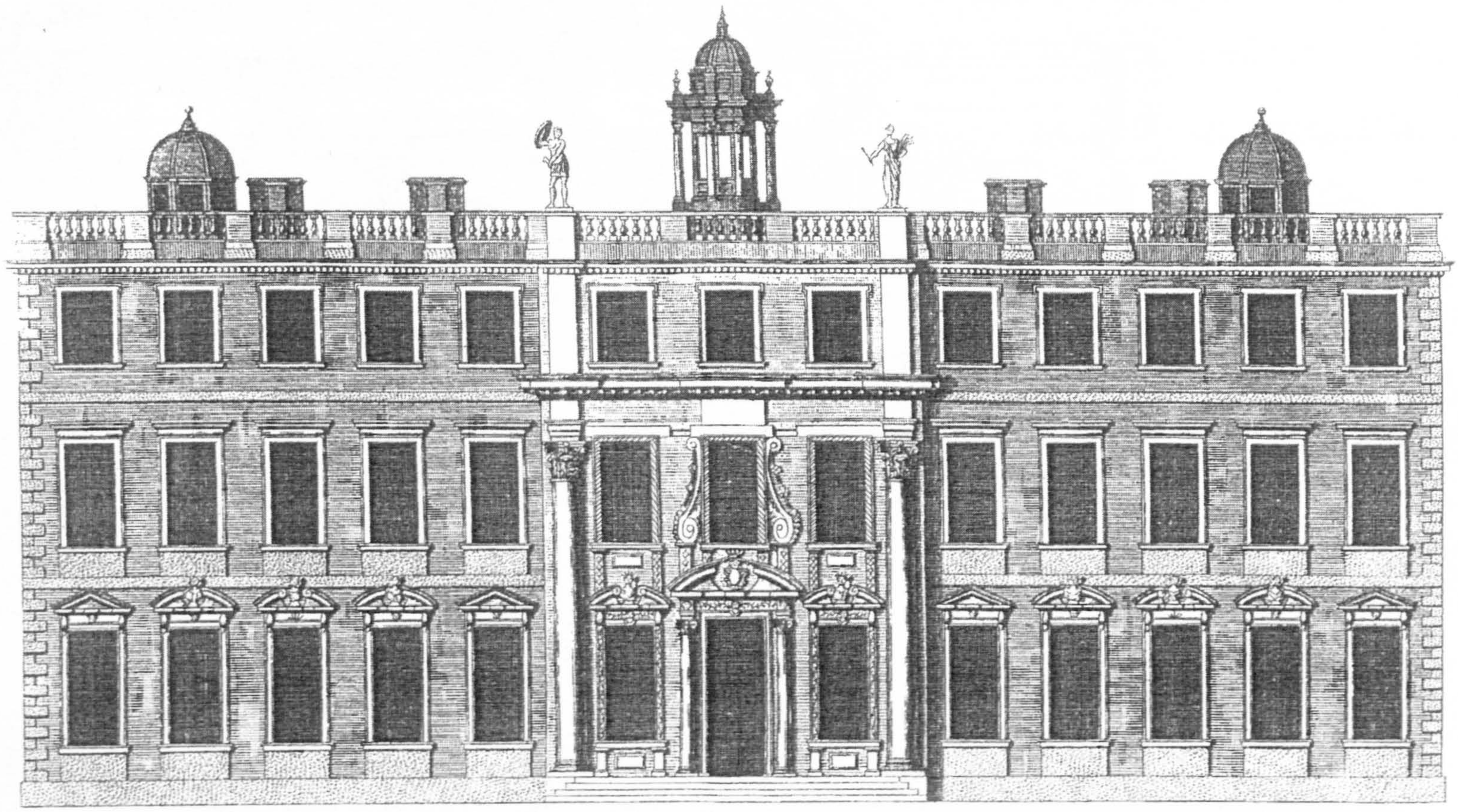
16.14 Seventeenth-century terracotta statue of a Roman soldier, Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire, c*ourtesy of Judith Dobie.*



16.15 Seventeenth-century carved horse, Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire, *by courtesy of Judith Dobie.*



16.16 Survey of the manor of Thoresby by Thomas Cleer, c.1690. *Nottingham University Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts*, Ma.4P.19.



40 Feet — Extends 148

The Elevation of Thorsby house in the County of Nottingham the Seat of the R.t Hon.ble the Marquiß of Dorchester to whom this plate is most humbly Inscribed

Ca: Campbell Delin. *Elevation de la Maison de Thorsby dans la Comté de Nottingham.*

C. 1, Pl. 91

16.17 Campbell, Colen, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect*, London, 1717, Vol.1, Plate 91, Thoresby Hall, by Samuel Marsh.

16.18 Engraving by van Lisebetten, Petr., after Abraham Diepenbeke, of William's family, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, Plate 42, following p.258.

16.19 An autograph page of William's scurrilous poems, *Nottingham University Hallward Library, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts*, PWV.25, f.140r.